THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

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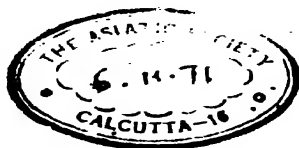and Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON
K.C.I.E.

IN TWO PARTS
PART II: MORPHOLOGY, BENGALI INDEX

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MORPHOLOGY

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CHAPTER I : FORMATIVE AFFIXES

394. Hoernle's discussion of the NIA. suffixes in his 'Gaudian Grammar' remains the most thorough study of the scope and origin of these, although some of his derivations are more or less speculative. The Bengali formative affixes have been discussed in some detail by Rai Bahadur Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi in his Bengali grammar (published by the VSPd., pp. 147-191), but the arrangement is capable of improvement, and some of the etymologies can be questioned. There is no doubt as to the source of most NIA. affixes, but there are a few which have not been satisfactorily explained.

The OIA. affixes, primary or secondary, became disguised, or simply dropped off in NIA., through either assimilation or phonetic decay. But a number of OIA. affixes have been preserved, and occur in NIA. as living forms, although in their present shape they are widely removed from their OIA. originals (*e.g.*, « -pan » < « -tvana- »; « -ab, -ib, -iv » < « -tavya- »; « -I » < « -ika, -ikā »; etc.). The NIA. speeches preserve only the relics of some OIA. affixes, which as a result of phonetic decay now form integral and indivisible parts of the words, and have, so far as the speech-feeling of the NIA. speaker is concerned, no separate existence, and are not recognisable or analysable any more as an affix. Thus, for example, the OIA. primary affixes « -ă, -ā, -as », in noun and adjective formations, are no longer living ones in Bengali, as they are lost in all inherited words; but the affix « -ana », to form verbal nouns, continues to be in full force as অন, ওন « -ănḍ, -ōnḍ »; and in words like চাম, কাম « cāmḍ, kāmḍ », the -ম « -mḍ » is only partially representative of the original OIA. affix « -man »; but it is no longer possible to analyse the Bengali words as being made up of a root *plus* an affix, and neither can -ম

« -m‡ » be distinguished from the -ম « m‡ » in words like জাম্ব « jām‡ » (jambu) and আম্ৰ « āmꞅ » (āmra). The words in Bengali have become to all intents and purposes root-words, or primitive words, the sense of their being composed forms being long lost, from the beginning of MIA. So in words like ৰাতি « rāti » (rātri), পঁতি « p̐ti » (paꞑkti), সোঁতা « sŏtā » (MIA. sŏnta-, OIA. srŏtas), কাজ্‌ « kāj‡ » (kārya), the OIA. affixes « -tri, -ti, -tas, -ya » are present, but they are no longer alive. These relics or fragments of dead forms are not necessary to consider, unless the subject of study were the history of the OIA. suffixes down to NIA. through MIA.

Below are given in a rough alphabetical order all the living affixes, primary as well as secondary, which are found in Bengali, Old, Middle and New, with indications of their origin.

[A] SUFFIXES

[I] TADBHAVA SUFFIXES

(1) অ « -ă, ‡ » : masculine, feminine and neuter noun affix.

395. Representing the primary affixes of OIA., masculine « -ăḥ », feminine « -ā », neuter « -am », also « -as », with or without « guṇa » of the root-vowel, this affix may be said to have existed in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali, but was lost from Late Middle Bengali times with the loss or assimilation of the final vowel: e.g., চাৰ « cāra » (cāra), সান « sāna » (saṁjñā), মণ « maṇa » (manas), সাঙ্কম « sāꞑkama » (saꞑkrama) *bridge*; but cf. Late M.B. দে « dē » (dēha), মন « m‍ănꞅ » (manas), বাত « bāt‡ » (vārtā), বোল « bŏl‡ » *speech* (MIA. *bŏlla), চাল « cāl‡ » *way, style* (cāla), etc.

(2) অ « -ă », also written ও « -ŏ ».

396. This is the pleonastic suffix, found in a number of nouns and adjectives—e.g., ভাল, ভালো « bhālă, bhālŏ » *good*; কাল, কালো « kālă, kālŏ » *black*; ধল « dhălă » *white*; etc. It comes from the pleonastic or pejorative « -kă » of OIA., added to nouns in « -ă » = « -ă-kă » > MIA. « -ăꞗă- » > « ăꞗă »: see *ante*, pp. 302, 346, 347, 348. The affix is thus of secondary origin. The employment of the pleonastic « -ka », giving, with the

preceding « -a » of the word, the MIA. forms « -aga, *-aǥa, -aẇ/ẏa », is quite a note-worthy thing from the Second MIA. stage; and in Skt. as written in that period, as well as in later times, this vernacular habit is fully reflected: in the Skt. of inscriptions, this is very much in evidence. (Cf. Damodarpur Copper Plates of the Gupta Period, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 130, 138.) The combination of « -ăă » > « ăẇă » seems to have begun to be altered to an « ă » (long [ɔː]) sound in the OB. period; and it was accomplished by the 14th century. (See pp. 260, 302, 346.) In MB., it is frequently found in personal names, where it is commonly written as ও « -ō »: e.g., শিবো « Šibō » (OB. * Šibaẇa = ts. Šiva + ka), রুদো « Rudō » (*Rūdaẇa < Rudra + ka), বিভো « Bibhō » (*Bibhaẇa < *Vibha = Vibhu + ka), সিধো « Sidbō » (*Sīdhaẇa < Siddha [= Siddhēśvara] + ka), etc. These common contractions of personal names in MB. are thus on the basis of a form in « ă- », shortened from the full names (e.g., জনো « Jănō » < « Janārdana », পিথো « Pithō » < « Pr̥thvīdhara », etc.), with the pleonastic « -kă » added. Forms like the above are very common in MB. genealogical works (kula-grantha, kulajī = kulăpañjikā): which shows that they were much in use.

　　There is another affix, also (occasionally) written -অ « -ă », indicating the sense of *about to do something* : e.g., কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kădă-kădă », beside কাঁদো-কাঁদো « kădō-kădō » *ready to burst into tears.* This is a primary affix forming verbal adjectives and is derived from ও « -ō » < উ « -u », which see, *infra.*

(3) Affixes derived from the OIA. Active Present Participle « -ănt- »: অন্ত « -ăntă »; অৎ > অতা, অতী (অতি) « -ătẏ > -ătă, -ătī (-ăti) », অত « -ătă ». (Cf. also আইত, ইত « -āit, -it- », and আন্ত « -āntă ».)

　　397. অন্ত « -ăntă »: this is a stereotyped form, which occurs only in a few adjectives used attributively: e.g., জীয়ন্ত « jīăntă » > জ্যান্ত « jyăntă » [ʤæntɔ] *living* (jīvant-); চলন্ত « călăntă » *moving* (calant-); বাড়ন্ত « băṛăntă » *prospering* < বার্ধন্ত « bărhăntă » (√vr̥dh > *vardhant-); ঘুমন্ত « ghumăntă » *sleeping* (ঘুম্ √ghum); ভাসন্ত *floating* (ভাস্ √bhās *float*); etc. It occurs in a feminine form অন্তী « -ăntī » = « -ant- + -ikā » used with sentient feminine nouns: নাচন্তী < নাচন্তী « năcuntī < năcăntī » (nr̥tyant- + -ikā); দেখন্তি < দেখন্তি « dēkhunti < dēkhăntī » *seeing, seer* (MIA. dĕkkhantī), etc. অন্ত « -ăntă »

is not the regular development in Bengali of the OIA. affix « -ant- », but it became established in some forms, which were set apart in MB., because of their adjectival force, from the regular MB. and NB. change which made ইত « -it » out of MIA. « -anta, -enta »<OIA. « -ant- » (see p. 335).

অৎ « -ȧtȧ », found commonly in its extended form অতা « -ȧt-ā », feminine অতী, অতি « -ȧt-ī, -ȧt-i ». This affix seems to be borrowed from the Bihārī dialects, and Hindōstānī: « -anta>-at ». The feminine force is lost to Bengali. Examples: ফেরত ডাক « phērȧtȧ ḍākȧ » *return post*, also ফিরতী ডাক « phirȧtī ḍākȧ » (ফির √phir); চলতী ভাষা « cȧltī bhāsā » *current speech, colloquial* (√cal), cf. Hindī « caltī cakkī » *the moving wheel* (quern-stone = the world); বহতা জল « bȧhȧtā jȧlȧ » *running water* (বহ্√bȧh < √vah *flow*); উঠতি বয়স « uṭhȧti bȧyȧsȧ » *growing age, youth* (উঠ্ √uṭh < ut+sthā); সব-জান্তা « sȧbȧ-jāntā » *all-knowing*; বিলাত-ফেরত, or ফেরতা « bilātȧ-phērȧtȧ, -phērȧtā » *returned from Europe*; দেখতা « dēkhȧtā » *seeing*, as in the idiom আমার দেখতা « āmārȧ dēkhȧtā » (for আমি দেখতা « āmi dēkhȧtā »?) *with me looking on*; ঝরতি পড়তি « jhȧrȧti pȧrȧti » *things that are scattered and fallen, remainder*; etc.

Another form of this affix is অত « -ȧtȧ », which seems to be a blend of অৎ « -ȧt »+অন্ত « -ȧntȧ » : *e.g.*, জানত « jānȧtȧ », পারত « pārȧtȧ », করত « kȧrȧtȧ », etc. Forms with this affix, however, are rather rare, and they have a special employ. জানত « jānȧtȧ » is used as an absolutive with the subject in the genitive, *e.g.*, আমার জানত « āmārȧ jānȧtȧ » *me knowing, with my knowledge* (cf. আমার দেখতা « āmārȧ dēkhȧtā » above); and it is frequently confused with the *ts.* passive part. adjective in ত « -tȧ », and used as an adjective : *e.g.*, আমার জানত লোক « āmārȧ jānȧtȧ lōkȧ » *a man known to me* beside আমার জানিত লোক « āmārȧ jānita lōkȧ » (where « jānita » = জান « √jān » + *ts.* affix « -ita »). পারত « pārȧtȧ », also « pārȧtȧ » is commonly used in the phrase পারত-পক্ষে « pārȧt(ȧ)-pȧkṣē » *on condition of being able*, which is frequently altered to a Skt. পারগ-পক্ষে « pārȧgȧ-pȧkṣē ». করত « kȧrȧtȧ » *doing*, is used as a conjunctive participle = *having done*, and sometimes a Sanskrit colour is given to this form by adding a « visarga », which helps to preserve the final « -ȧ » in the word : করতঃ [kȯrȯtȯ] *having done, after doing*.

In onomatopoetic formations in আৎ « -āt » like পটাৎ « påṭāt » *with a cracking noise*, ঝপাৎ « jhåpāt » *with a dashing or splashing sound*, কপাৎ, গপাৎ « kåpāt, gåpāt » *with a gulp*, ছলাৎ « chålāt » *with a splash*, which are used with the conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে «kåriyā, kōrē », we have also possibly this « -anta » affix of MIA. and OIA.

(4) অতী, তী (অতি, তি) « -åtī, -åtī (-åti, -åti) ».

398. This forms abstract nouns of action or manner : *e.g.*, পড়তি « påṛåti » *fall* ; উঠতি « uṭhåti » *rise* ; চুকতি « cukåti » *settlement, fixing up* ; বাড়তি « bāṛåti < bāṛhåtī » *rise, increase* ; ঘাটতি « ghāṭåti » *decrease* ; by analogy, the hybrid কমতি « kåm-ti » *decrease*, from Persian, « kam » ; খাকতি « khåkåti » *greed* (cf. onomatopoetic খাঁখাঁ « khåkhå » *the sense of emptiness and hunger*) ; গুনতি « gunåti » *counting* ; ভরতি «bhåråti » *filling-up*, etc.

Hoernle explains this affix ('Gaudian Grammar,' § 325) as being a Sanskrit (or OIA.) « *-āptikā », from the causative affix « -āp- » + « -ti » + pleonastic « -kā » : *e.g.*, বিনতি « bināti » (vijñåptikā = vijñåptikā > viṇṇattia), বাড়তি « bāṛåti » (*vardhāptikā > *vaḍḍhattia) ; etc. But this derivation is rather problematical. Cases like ডাকাইত « ḍākā(i)tå » *robber* (ডাক« √dāk » *shout* : cf. under আইত « -āit » below), ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)tī » *robbery*, ঢাঙা(ই)ত > ঢাঙা(ই)তী « ḍhāṅ(g)ā(i)tå > ḍhāṅgā(i)tī » *rowdy > rowdiness* (ḍhaṅga), etc., with the ঈ (ই) « -ī (-i) » affix of abstraction (for which see *infra*), show that in examples like উঠতি « uṭhåti », ভরতি « bhåråti » etc. above, we have an extension of the অৎ « -åt » affix (< present participle « -anta ») by addition of the abstract ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » : উঠতী « uṭhåtī » = « uṭhå(n)t(å) + -ī » *the state of rising = a rise.*

The change of « -anta » to « -åt- », and not to « -it- », would show that this affix is not native to Bengali, but borrowed, with cognate loan-words, from its western neighbours.

It seems also that in the formation of this affix, there was the influence of the Skt. nominal affix « -ti » as well, through the presence of a large number *ts.* as well as *sts.* forms in « -ti », like « yukti (jugati), bhakti (bhakati), mati, gati, praṇati » etc. In post MB. times,

the Perso-Arabic loan-words in « -at », with the Indian or Persian « -ı » added, re-inforced this affix: *e.g.*, « wakālat » > ওকালতী « ōkālåt-ı » *a pleader's profession*; and by analogy, it was extended to other foreign words, *e.g.*, জজ « jåj »=English *judge* > জজিয়ৎ, জজিয়তী « jåjiyåt, jåjiyåt-ı » *the work of a judge.*

(5) অন (ওন, এন) « -ånå.(-ōnå, -ēnå).

399. This is a living suffix in Bengali, forming abstract verbal nouns, some of which have acquired a concrete sense. It is the OIA. « -ana ». Examples: কাঁদন « kådånå » (krandana); কুঁদন « kūdånå » (kūrdana); খাঅন, খাওন « khāånå, khāōnå » (khādana); গায়ন, গায়েন « gāyånå, -yēnå » *singer* (gāyana: *gāthayana ? cf. Khaskurā « gåhinē » *singer* < « gāhiniyā »); ঘুরন « ghurånå » *turning round and round* (ঘুর √ghur < ghūrn-); চাহন, চাওন « cāhånå, cāōnå » *gaze, look* (চাহ √cāh); ছাড়ন « chårånå » *leaving* (ছাড় √chār); ছাঁদন « chådånå » *binding* (chandana); জলন « jwålånå » [ʤɔlon] (jvalana); ঝাড়ন « jhårånå » *dusting, a duster,* ঝোঁটন « jhōṭånå » *crest, top-knot* (see p. 479); ঝুলন « jhulånå » *swing* (see p. 479); ঢাকন « ḍhākånå » *covering* > *a cover* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); থাকন « thākånå » *staying* (থাক √thāk); দেখন « dēkhånå » *sight*; ধরণ « dharånå » *manner* (« ṇ » through Skt. influence) (dharana); নাচন « nācånå » *dance* (নাচ √nāc); পড়ন « påṛånå » *fall* (paḍana < *paṭana < patana); পাঅন, পাওন « pāånå, pāōnå » (prāpaṇa); পাড়ন « pārånå » (pātana); পোড়ন « pōrånå » *burning* (পুড় √pur < √puṭ); ফোড়ন « phōrånå » *spices, chatter* (√sphuṭ); বাঁধন « bådhånå » (bandhana); বাজন « bājånå » *music* (বাজ √bāj < vādya); বাড়ন « bārånå » *broom* (vardhana); বেঁধন, বিঁধন « bēdhånå, bīdhånå » *piercing* (viddha < √vyadh); মরণ « mårånå » (maraṇa); শুনন « śunånå » *hearing* (শুন √śun < śṛ-ṇō-ti); হঅন, হওন « hå(w)ånå, håōnå » *being* (*ahana = as-ana + bhav-ana); etc., etc.

This affix is now becoming a little archaic in the Standard Colloquial, which prefers the other verbal noun in আ « -ā »: but it is a very living form in the East Bengali dialects.

The affix « -ånå » has two extensions :

(5a) অনা > -না « -ănā > -ănā »: this is simply অন « -ănă » extended with the আ « -ā » affix. The « -ă- » in this affix drops when inter-consonantal; when after a vowel, it becomes « e » or « o » and forms a diphthong. The original force of this « -ā » was to denote simply a coarser or biggish aspect of the action, or to indicate a connected object, but this has been to a considerable amount modified, so that অনা, না « -ănā, -ănā » in many cases is not different from অন. « ănă ». Examples : কান্না < কাঁদনা, কান্দনা « kānnā < kăd̆nā, kāndănā » (see p. 360), beside কাঁদন « kăd̆nă » (krandana-) ; কুটনা « kuṭ̆nā » slicing > sliced vegetables (কুট √kuṭ) ; কাটনা « kāṭ̆nā » spindle (কাট √kāṭ spin) ; খেলনা « khēl̆nā » playing > toy beside খেলন « khēl̆nă » playing (খেল √khēl) ; গহনা, গয়না « găhănā, găynā » jewels (grahaṇa-) ; গাহনা > গাওনা « *găhănā > gāonā » singing (গাহ √gāh < √gāthaya-) ; ছাঁকনা « chăk̆nā » strainer (ছাঁক √chăk) ; ঝরনা « jhăr̆nā » water-fall (ঝর √jhăr: see p. 478) ; ঢাকনা « ḍhāk̆nā » largish lid (ঢাক √ḍhāk) ; দোলনা « dōl̆nā » swing (দুল √dul) ; দেনা « dēnā » giving > debt, beside দেন « dēnă » giving (দে √dē give = √dā) ; so লেনা « lēnā » beside লেন « lēnă » taking (লে √lē take < √lah = labh + √nī) ; পাওনা « pāonā » receiving, dues (prāpaṇa-) ; পিটনা « piṭ̆nā » mallet to beat with (পিট √piṭ) ; বাজনা « bāj̆nā » musical instrument, see বাজন « bāj̆nă » above ; বাটনা « bāṭ̆nā » paste of pounded spices (বাট √bāṭ pound, mash) ; মাগনা, মাগনা « măğnā, măg(g)̆nā » asking > gratis (mārgaṇa-) ; রান্না < রাঁধনা « rānnā < rădh̆nā » cooking (randhana-) ; শুখনা « śukh̆nā » dry, dry-land (শুখ √sukh < śuṣka-) ; etc. There are some formations from nouns as well : ছানা « chānā » youngling (of animals) (beside ছা « chā », = « śāba- ») ; পাখনা « pākh̆nā » wings (beside পাখ pākh̆ < pakṣa).

(5b) অনী > নী, উনী (নি, উনি) « -ănī > -̆nī, -unī (-̆ni, -uni) ». Originally feminine in form (-ănă + ī), indicating a dimunitive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost, except where the word indicates a woman. The change to « -uni » is by Vowel Harmony (see p. 398). কাঁদুনি < কাঁদনী « kăduni < kăd̆nī » weeping, petty fit of weeping, supplication ; ŚKK. নাচুনী < নাচনী « năcunī < năc̆nī » danseuse ; ছেনী « chēnī » < « *chēănī » a cutting instrument (chēdana, chēdanikā) ; ছাউনী < ছাঅনী « chāunī < chāănī » awning, camp (chādanikā) ;

ছাঁকনী « chắkắnī » *small strainer* (ছাঁক √chẵk); MB. পোড়নী « pōṛắnī » *burning* (পুড় √puṛ); কুরনী > কুরুনী « kurắnī > kurunī » *scraper* (কুর √kur *scrape*); মউনী « mắunī » < « *mắ(h)ắnī » *churning stick* (*mathanikā); etc., etc. The word রাঁধুনী < রাঁধনী « rằdhunī < rằdhắnī » *cook* is now both masculine and feminine, but originally it seems to have been only feminine (« randhanikā »: or a masc. =« *randhanikẵ » ?); when it means a kind of flavouring spice, it is the feminine form undoubtedly. So MB. বেচনী « bēcắnī » *a seller* (বেচ √bēc).

Causative forms of this affix, in আন্ « -ắn∮ », আন, আনা « ānẵ, -ānā » আনী, উনী « -ắnī, -unī » also occur: see *infra*.

In the word দাঁতন « dẵtắn∮ » *twig used as tooth-brush* we do not have the « -ắn∮ » affix (unlike in formations from nouns like পাখনা « pākhắnā », বাজনা « bājắnā », etc.): the Maithilī « datamani », Bhōjpuriyā « datuan », and Hindōstānī « datwan, dataun, datūn » show that the word is a compound of « danta »+« vana » (?).

(6) আ « -ā » (i): Definitive, Pejorative, Connective, Agentive, Pleonastic.

400. This affix is a very characteristic one of Bengali. It indicates definiteness (this definitive force is now considerably weakened); it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object; it means reference or connection; it forms agentive adjectives; and frequently it is also pleonastic. In all its various forces, the « -ā » affix of Bengali can be compared with the pleonastic affixes giving rise to the strong, long and redundant forms of the Bihārī dialects (see p. 96). The source of Bengali « -ā », as an OIA. « *-āka », has been indicated at pp. 302, 348-349. Cf. Sanskritised forms like « Nāgāka, Dhamāka, Visiāka, Bhaluāka, Pappāka (beside Pappẵ), Rudāka, Chitarāka », all representing vernacular names in « -ā », in the Siyadoni Inscription (10th century: Lalitpur District, U.P.; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) Where no special force of the « -ā » is present, as in a noun like ঘোড়া « ghōṛā » (beside ঘোড়- « ghōṛ∮ » in compounds), that is, where it is merely a pleonastic extension, it is not unlikely that the « -ā » represents only the termination of an oblique case (see p. 349). Examples: OB. (Caryā 41) হথা (hasta-); (Caryā 49)

পঁউআ « pāüā = paṅ̃uā » (*paduma-, padma-); (Caryā 8) মাগা « māgā » (mārga-); (Carya 2) পিটা « pitā » *pail*; (Caryā 3, 20) পসারা « pasārā », নিসারা « nisārā » (prasāra-, niḥsāra-); (Caryā 4) বীরা « bīrā » (vīra-); (Caryā 6) হরিণা « hariṇā » (hariṇa-); MB. নেহা « nēhā » (snēha-): MB., NB. নেতা « nētā » *rag* (nētra > nētā̆ = *fine stuff*); কাঁসা « kāṅsā » (kānsya-); ŚKK. কনআ « kanāyā » (kanaka-); পাতা « pātā » (patra-); কুআ, কূআ « kūā » (kūpa-); গোরা « gōrā » (gaura-); উঁচা « ūcā » (ucca-); চোরা « cōrā » (caura-); বাঘা « bāghā » (vyāghrā) *big tiger > tiger-like, ferocious, strong* (e.g., বাঘা *a common name for a dog*, বাঘা তেঁতুল « bāghā tĕtulă » *kind of tamarind with strong acid taste*); খাঁড়া « khāṅrā » *sacrificial sword* (khaṇḍa-); বকরা « båkārā » *goat* (barkara-); কুঁকুড়া > কুঁকড়া, কুঁকড়ো « kūkurā > kūkărā, kūkărō » (kukkuṭa-); রামা « Rāmā » contemptuous for « Rāmă »; চাঁদা « cā̆dā » *big round moon*, beside চাঁদ « cā̆dă » *moon* (candra-): cf. চাঁদা মাছ « cā̆d-ā māchă » *a kind of roundish fish, pomfret*; থালা « thālā » *plate* beside থাল « thālă » (sthāla-); ধুআ, ধুঁআ « dhūā » (dhūma-); রাঙা, রাঙা « rāṅ(g)-ā » *red in colour* (raṅga-); তেলা « tēl-ā » *oily* (tāila-); লোনা « lōnā » *salty* (lavaṇa-); হাতা « hātā » *handle* (hasta-); তাওআ « tāwā » *pot for heating or dry cooking* (tāpa-); বামনা « bāmănā » *a low Brāhman* (brāhmaṇa-); *sts.* পশ্চিমা « paścimā » *western* (paścima-); দক্ষিণা, by Vowel Harmony দ'খ্নে (see pp. 400-401) « dåkkhiṇā » > [dokhne] *southern* (dakṣiṇa- > dåkkhiṇā-); একা « ēkā » [æka], একলা « ēkălā » *alone* (ēka-, *ēkāka; ēka-la-); মুহা « muh-ā » *with a face* (mukha-); ভয়সা « bhåysā » *belonging to a buffalo* (bhaĩsă < mahiṣa + -ā); খেয়া « khēÿā » *ferry* (kṣēpa-); etc.

In compounds with active meaning: ছেলে-ধরা « chēlē-dhår-ā » *child-stealing = kidnapper*; চা'ল-ধোয়া « cālă-dhōā » *rice-washing*; কাপড়~কাচ « kāpåră-kāc-ā » *cloth-washing*; কলম-কাটা ছুরী « kålåmă-kāt-ā churī » *pen-(cutting)-knife*; ভাত-রাঁধা হাঁড়ী « bhātă-rā̆dh-ā hā̆rī » *pot that boils rice*, etc.

This affix is added to both *tatsama* and foreign words: রোগা « rōg-ā » *sick, sickly, lean and thin* (rōga-); সফেদা « såphēd-ā » *rice-powder* (Pers. safēd *white*);

Other affixes of Bengali, like « -āṭa, -uṭa, -ɪ(-i) -ū(-u), -āla, -āra » etc., are extended by addition of this « -ā »: for which see below.

(7) আ « -ā » (ii) : Passive Participle and Verbal Noun Affix.

401.   This suffix is derived from the OIA. affix « -ta, -ita » > MIA.
« -a, -ia » *plus* the preceding pleonastic affix আ « ā ». The following
examples illustrate the line of development : « yāta > jāa + -ā > OB. *jāā,
NB. যাওয়া *jāẇā » *gone > a going* ; « kṛta > *karita (a non-Māgadhī
formation : cf. p. 375) >karia + ā > OB. kariā>করা kārā » *done>doing*, as
in New Bengali. So রাখা « rākhā » *kept > keeping* (rakṣita + ā) ; খাআ, খাওয়া
« khāẇā » (khādita + ā), etc. We have the loss of the « -i- » already in
OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 20 « saṅghārā » *struck* ; but it is the « -i- » forms, with or
without the pleonastic « -ā », that are common in the Caryās (when without
« -ā », the final « -a » is found to have assimilated with the preceding « i », as
follows : « -ita > -ia>-ī, -i ») : *e.g.*, in Caryā 19 « uchaliā » (ucchalita + ā),
« caliā » (calita + ā) ; Caryā 13 « muniā » (=jñāta-) ; Caryā 17 « suniā »
(=śruta-), « miliā » (milita + ā), guniā (=gaṇita + ā) ; beside « pahāri »
(prahārita), « ahāri » (āhārita-), etc. ; and cases are found with the Western
Apabhraṁśa modification of the « -itaḥ » to « -iu » (« -itaḥ > -idō > -iō >
-iu » : cf. p. 115 *supra*). The affix seems to have come into prominence
only after the Early MB. period : in the ŚKK. it is non-existent. The
« -i- » as in « -iā » of OB. probably first became « -ĕ- » and then was
dropped, following the forms in simple « -ā » like « yāta + -ā> যাওয়া jāẇā »,
« *dita + ā > দেওয়া dēẇā » etc. ; and possibly also through an attempt to
distinguish this passive participle affix from the conjunctive participle in
« -ī(-ī), -iā » (*e.g.* রাখী, রাখি, রাখিআ « rākhī, rākhi, rākhiā » *having kept*,
with or without « -ā » < MIA. « rakkhia » < OIA. « -rakṣ-ya »). The
OB. forms of the passive participle in « -iā » show that « -ita + -ā » is the
source of this passive participle affix of MB. and NB. In Pañjābī, in the
Old Western Hindī dialects and in Modern Hindōstānī we find a parallel
development with loss of « -i- » : *e.g.*, « calita-, calitaka » > MIA. (Śaura-
senī) « cali(d)a-, cali(d)aa- », nominative « cali(d)ō, cali(d)aō » > Śaur.
Apabhraṁśa « caliu, caliaü », whence Brajbhākhā « calyu, calyau », Early
Hindī or Hindōstānī « calyā » (beside Pañjābī « caliā, cālẽā »), but Modern
Hindōstānī « calā », Bundēlī and Kanaujī « calō ». Ōṛiyā has this affix
also : *e.g.*, « jāṇ-ā » *known*, « kăr-ā » *done*, « dēkh-ā » *seen*, etc.

It has been attempted to connect this « -ā » affix in its nominal employ with the verbal noun affix ইব, ইবা « -ibă, -ibā » < « itavya+ā »; but that is hardly tenable.

In OB. and MB., there was a feminine form of this affix, with the ঈ « -ɪ̄ » (< -ikā); *e.g.*, ŚKK. (p. 381) জড়ী « jăɽɪ̄ » *jewelled* qualifying চূড়ী « curɪ̄ » *bracelet* (jaḍita+-ikā).

(8) আই « -āi » (i): Verbal and Abstract Nouns.

402. This is a Late MIA. formation, being a feminine verbal noun from the causative stem of the root: an OIA. « -āp-ikā » (as in Skt. « jñāp-ikā » *information*, which would be the basis of a possible NIA. « *jăṇāi ») would give « -āviā, ·āviă, -āw̆ɪ, āɪ > আই āi ». The causative in « -āpa > -āva » became established in MIA., and on the model of the nouns in « -āpana- > -āvana- » (see *infra*, § xxx, under আন « -ănă »), formation of abstract and verbal nouns in « -ikā » from the « -āpa->-āva- » base would be a matter of course. Examples: যাচাই « jācāi » *enquiry* (যাচ √yāc : OIA. *yācāpikā); বাছাই « bāchāi » *selection* (বাছ √bāch); লড়াই « lăɽāi » *fight* (লড় √lăɽ); খোদাই « khōdāi », also খোঁদাই « khõdāi » *engraving* (খোদ, খোঁদ √khōd, khõd); দোলাই « dōlāi » *a hood or shawl fastened round the neck and covering the ears and head, and hanging on the back* (দুল, দোল « √dul, dōl »: possibly influenced by « dukūlikā »>দুলী « dūlɪ̄ » [see p. 352], also meaning the same thing); ঝালাই « jhālāi » *soldering* (ঝাল √jhāl); বাঁধাই « bẵdhāi » *binding (of a book)* (বাঁধ √bẵdh); ঢালাই « ḍhālāi » *founding (in metal)* (ঢাল √dhāl *pour*); etc.

This affix is not found with all roots, and is but restricted in use. Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs: *e.g.*, চোরাই « cōrāi » *theft > stolen property* (<cōra); বামনাই « bāmănāi » *the way of a Brāhman, the pride of a Brāhman* (<bāmănă < brāhmaṇa); MB. রাজাই « rājāiꞌ » *kingship, reign* (rājă); মিঠাই « miṭhāi » *sweetness > sweetmeat* (< miṭhā < miṣṭa-); পালটাই « pālăṭāi » *exchange, returning* (pālăṭă = paryasta); ভালাই « bhālāi » *well-being* (< bhălă=bhadra-); সাঁচাই « sẵcāi » *honesty* (săcā = satya-); বড়াই « băɽāi » *pride, boasting* (বড় băɽă *great*);

খোলতাই « khōlₐtāi » *dazzle, beauty* (< khōlā *open, clear,* *khōlₐt- *opening*);
পোষ্টাই « pōṣṭāi » *nourishing* (*sts.* < puṣṭi); and even with foreign words,
e.g., সাফাই « sāphāi » *clear* (Pers. « sāf » *pure*), MB. সাজাই « sājāi » *punishment* (Pers. sazā).

There are a few borrowings from Hindōstānī also, showing this affix :
e.g., চড়াই « cₐṛāi » *ascent*; উতরাই « utrāi » *descent*; সেলাই « sēlāi » *sewing*;
ধোলাই « dhōlāi » *washing, washing charges*; and চোলাই « cōlāi » *distilling,
preparing liquor* (<« √cū »=« cyav » : may be native Bengali).

In one or two words, through dialectal influence (see *supra,* p.
407), « -āi » occurs as ই « -i » in the Standard Colloquial : *e.g.,* বানী « bānī »
for বানাই « bānāi » *making, charges for making jewellery* (probably from
Hindōstānī « banāī »). It would be seen that there is semantic alteration
in this affix, making its force that of *cost or wages* for the *work* indicated
by it.

Hoernle's derivation of this suffix from the OIA. affix « -tā » *plus*
pleonastic « -ka » (« -tikā » in the feminine) is not convincing (see
' Gaudian Grammar,' § 223).

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(9) আই « -āi » (ii) : Diminutive.

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403. Affectionate diminutives like কানাই « Kānāi » (< Kāna, Kaṇha,
Kṛṣṇa), বলাই « Bₐlāi » (< Bala-rāma), সোমাই « Sōmāi » (Sōma-), দনাই
« Dₐnāi » (Janārdana ; Danuja- ?), রামাই « Rāmāi » (Rāma), জগাই « Jₐgāi »
(Jagat-), মাধাই « Mādhāi » (Mādhava), ছিরাই « Chirāi » (Śrīpati), etc.,
which are very common in MB. and fairly frequent in NB., are formed
with this affix. It is of pleonastic origin, coming from an OB. « -*āi »
from Late MIA. « -āia, -ₐiₐ »=OIK. « -ākika, -akika (i.e. -āka, -ₐka+
-ika) » : « Kānāi<*Kān(h)āi<*Kanhāia, *Kanhₐia<*Kṛṣṇākika, *Kṛṣṇₐk-
ika ». This affix is found in various forms in Hindōstānī and in Eastern
Hindī and Bihārī. (Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.,* pp. 100-101.) The suffixes ইয়া
« -iā », উয়া « -uā » (as well as ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » and ঊ, উ « -ū, -u ») are
connected : see *infra.*

It is likely that in Bengali the আই « -āi » affix as an affectionate
diminutive was influenced by the MB. word আই « āi » *long life*<« āyuṣ ».

(10) আইত, আত « -āitɔ, -ātɔ », with extensions.

404. Causative and denominative present participle base: OIA. « -āp-ant-, -āy-ant »>MIA. « -āvant-, -āant- » > OB. « -āẏ/ẇanta »>MB. আইত « -āitɔ » : ডাকাইত, ডাকাত « ḍākāitɔ, ḍākātɔ » *robber* < *shouter* (ডাক √ḍak *yell*) ; MB. বাইতি « bāiti » *player on a musical instrument* (vādayant- +-ika). This is a rare affix in Bengali. There are a few instances of this affix with nouns : সাঙাৎ, সাঙাৎ « sāŋ(g)ātɔ » ([ʃaɲat, ʃæɲat] ; for [æ], see p. 322) *companion, bosom friend* (saŋga) ; সেবাইত « sēbāitɔ » *temple-priest* (sēvā) ; পোআতী, পোয়াতী, পোহাতী « pō(h)ātī » *pregnant woman, a recent mother* (« pōta » : for intrusive « h », see p. 341 : this form has the feminine affix ঈ « -ī » < -ikā). Cf. Oṛiyā খণ্ডাইত « khāṇḍāitɔ » *a military caste* (*in Orissa and S. W. Bengal*) (khaṇḍa *sword*) ; Hindōstānī « ḍhalait » *shield-bearer* (ḍhāl), etc.

Abstract nouns are formed from this affix by adding ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » (see p. 655, *supra*) : ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)tī » *robbery* ; MB. ঢাঙাতী « ḍhāŋ-(g)ātī » *rowdiness* (ḍhaŋga).

(11) *আউ>আও « *-āū>āo » : Verbal Noun Affix.

405. This affix is now confined to a limited number of words ; and in those cases where it is found, it seems there is reinforcement from similar Hindōstānī forms. It is connected with আই « -āi » (i) above. The source is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base : « -āpa », with an extension « *-āp-uk-ā (-āpa+-u-ka+-ā) », corresponding to « *-āpikā » the source of আই « -āi ». The affix, as « -āw, -āō, -āū » is a common one in Hindōstānī. Hoernle traces it (*op. cit.*, §227) to OIA. « -tva » : « -tva > -tta > -a », a derivation which is inadmissible. Examples : চড়াও « cɔrāo » *aggression, attacking* (চড় √cɔr » : also used as an adjective, through influence of a form like উধাও « udhāo » *running out of one's sight* = « uddhāvuka » : cf. also ওয়া « -ōā » in next paragraph) ; ঢালাও « ḍhālāo » *abundance, 'galore'* (ঢাল √ḍhāl *pour*) ; পাকড়াও « pākɔṛāo » *arrest, seizure* (পাকড়া « √pākɔṛā » *to seize*) ; ঘাবড়াও « ghābɔṛāo » *fright* (ঘাবড়া « √ghābɔṛā » *to be checked, to fear*) ; ছাড়াও « chārāo » *separation, release* ;

ফালাও « phālāo » *spreading, abundance*, from Hind. « phailāw »; বনাও in বনি-বনাও, beside বনি-বনা « bâni-bânāo, -bânā » *amity, harmony*, cf. Hind. « banāw » *preparation, concord.*

(11a) আউআ, (আওআ)>ওয়া « -āuā>-ōā »: Adjectival as well as Abstract.

406. This affix is an extension of the preceding one with the adjectival or pleonastic আ « -ā » (see *ante*, § 400) = *e.g.*, ঘরোয়া « ghârōā » *homely, domestic* [ghɔroa]= « ghârāo, *ghârāū + -ā » (this word shows extension of the affix to a noun); জড়োয়া « jârōā » *jewelled, adorned with precious stones* = « jârāo, *jârāū + -ā »; বাঁচোয়া « bẫcōā » *safety, safe state* = « bẫcāo, *bẫcāū + -ā »; চড়োয়া « câṛōā » *aggressive* = « câṛāo, *câṛāū + -ā ».

(12) আট, আটি (আটি), « -āṭĭ, -āṭĭ, (-aṭi »).

407. This is not so much an affix as an independent word, phonetically decayed, and forming part of a disguised compound. It is from কাঠ, কাঠি « kāṭhĭ, kāṭhi » = « kāṣṭha, *kāṣṭhikā », *wood, beam, stick.* গাবরাট « gābŭrāṭ » *lintel* (garbhâgārakāṣṭha); পাঁকাটী « pā̃kāṭi », see p. 492; MB. ধরাট « dhârāṭĭ » *a nautical term = special deck in a boat*; OB. চামাঠি « cāmāṭhi » *whip* as in Sarvânanda, is explained by that scholar as meaning « carma-yaṣṭi », but it may be equally from « carma + kāṣṭhikā », which is also found in Sanskrit.

(13) আন্, আন (আনো) « -ānĭ, -ānă (-ānō) » (i).

408. The affix, forming verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases, is from OB. «-āṇa, -āṇawa, -āwaṇa, āwaṇawa » (OIA. « -āp-ana, -āp- -ana-ka »). The forms without the final « -a » in New Bengali have in most cases obtained a concrete or definite sense. Examples : আঁচান « ā̃cānă » *washing mouth after meals* (*ācamāpana = ācamana); জানান্, জানান « jânānĭ, jânānă » *making to know, information, intimation* (*jānāpana- = jñāpana-); চালান « cālānĭ » *invoice, send-up*, চালান « cālānă » *sending forward* (*cālā- pana- = cālana); মানান « mānānă » *harmony, agreement, beauty* (*mānāpana < mânaya-); উজান « ujānĭ » *flow-tide, up-stream* (*udyāpana-); উড়(া)ন্ « uṛānĭ, uṛānă » উড়ান, উড়ন « uṛānă, uṛănă » *causing to fly away, extravagance,*

wasteful expenditure (*uḍḍāpana-); ‡ ছোড়ান্ « chōṛānḍ » *separating, freeing, disclosing* > *a key* (ছোড় √chōṛ = ছাড় √chāṛ); শোনান « śōnānḍ » *causing to hear* (MIA. *suṇāvaṇa = śrāvaṇa); গড়ান্ « gḍrānḍ » *slope*, গড়ান « gḍrānḍ » *a rolling, to roll* (MIA. *gaḍḍ); etc. There are old and recent formations from nouns also : জুতান, জুতানো « jutānḍ, jutānō », also in Calcutta জুতোনো, জুতুনো « jutōnō, jutunō » *shoe-beating* (জুতা « jutā » *shoe*); sts. যোগান্ « jōgānḍ » *aiding with materials*, যোগান « jōgānḍ » *act of supplying* (yōga); লাথানো « lāthānō » *kicking* (<লাথ lāthḍ, লাথি lāthi *kick*); হাতানো « hātānō » *obtaining, filching* (হাত « hātḍ » *hand*); পেঁচানো « pēcānō » *twisting, moving to and fro* (পেঁচ « pēc » *twist* from the Persian); কমান « kḍmānḍ » *lessening* (Pers. « kam » *less*); জমান « jḍmānḍ » *gathering* (Pers. jamᵒ); etc.

The affix has a feminine form, from OIA. « -āpana + -ikā » = OB., eMB. « -āwaṇī, -ānī », which gives in NB.

(13a) আনী (আনি) « -ānī (-āni) », ঊনী (উনি) « -unī (uni) ».

This affix possesses only a vague diminutive force. OB. « *-āwaṇī » would normally be contracted to MB. and NB. « -āni » (see p. 349), and this « -āni » by Vowel Harmony becomes « -ani » and « -uni » (p. 398). But in the transformation of the affix from « *-āwani » to « -āni, -uni », it seems that there was some influence of the glide « -ẇ- » in bringing about the « -ḍ-, -u- »; dialectally at least, the « ẇ » was pronounced in MB. : the word ভয়াউনী « bhḍyāunī » *frightful* (*bhaẏāwaṇia = *bhayāpanikā), beside the other regular forms in « -āni », would indicate that. Examples : শুনানী « śunānī » *hearing (of a case)*; পারানী « pārānī » *ferrying* > *fare paid in crossing* (*pārāpanikā); ঝাঁকানী « jhḍ̃kānī », beside ঝাঁকনী, ঝাঁকুনি « jhḍ̃kḍnī, jhḍ̃kuni » *a shaking*; দেখানি « dēkhāni » *sight* > *money paid for a sight* (= darśanī); তোলানি as in শেজ-তোলানি « śējḍ-tōlāni » *money paid for making or clearing the bed* (তুল √tul *raise*); নিকানি « nikāni » beside নিকুনি « nikuni » *wiping, mopping the floor* (নিক √nik < √nij, nikta); নিড়ানী « niṛāni » *hoeing (in agriculture)* (? ni + dru, drāv); উড়ানী, উড়ুনী « urānī, uruni » *sheet, light shawl* may be a blend of « *uḍḍāpanikā » *that which flies or flaps* + ওঢ়নী « ōṛhānī » = « ava-vēṣṭanikā » (see p. 398); জ্বলুনি < জ্বলনি « j(w)ḍluni, j(w)ḍlḍni » from *জ্বালানি « *j(w)ḍlāni » *burning*, beside জ্বালানি « j(ẇ)ḍlāni »

causing a burning = *firewood* (see p. 408); ŚKK. মাথানী « māthānī » *churn-stick* (*manthāpanikā); etc., etc.

(14) আন (আানো) « -ānằ (-ānō) » (ii).

409. The passive participle affix for causative and denominative roots = OIA. « -māna-ka, -y-āna-ka ». (See *infra*, under Verb: 'Causatives.') Examples: করান « kằrānằ » *done, caused to be done* (« *kằrāwằnằằ » for « *kārằpana-ka, *kāra-yāna-ka »); দেখান « dēkhānằ » *shown*; ঠেঙান « ṭhēŋgānằ » *(caused to be) beaten with a stick* (ঠেঙা ṭhēŋgā); etc., etc. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form with « -ānằ » is the verbal noun (p. 664), or the passive participle: *e.g.*, শোনান হইয়াছে « śōnānằ hằïyāchē » *it has been reported*, which may be either (a) *a-causing-to-be-heard has-taken-place*, or (b) *caused-to-be-heard it-has-been.*

(15) আনী (আানি) « -ānī (-āni) ».

410. This is a Bengali formation, from an earlier পাণী « pāṇī » *water* (= pānīya) in compounds: « -pāṇī » becomes « -ẁānī » and then there is dropping of « ẁ ». Examples: এঁয়ানি (see p. 349); চোআনি « cōāni » *water that leaks out* (চো, চা √cŏ, cō = cyav); চোবানি « cōbāni » *sousing water, a sousing* (চোব √cōb *to cause to dash into water, to plunge, duck into water*); চোখানি « cōkhāni » *water from the eye, tear* (চোখ cōkh < চউখ cằukhằ < cakṣuḥ); ধোয়ানি « dhōāni » *washings* (ধো √dhō = dhāv); নোকানি < নখানি « nōkāni < nằkhāni » *water stirred by the finger-nails (and so not fit for drinking)* (nakha + pānīya-); নাকানি « nākāni » *rheum or water from the nose, water reaching to the nose* (নাক « nākằ » *nose*); ছিটকানি « chiṭằkāni » *water scattered about* (ছিটকা « chiṭằkā » *scatter*; there is another ছিটকানি meaning *bolt to a door*, which shows the « -āni » affix under [13a] *supra*).

(16) আম্, আাম, ম্, ম, আামী (আামি), অমি, ওমি, উমি, মি « -āmằ, -āmằ, -mằ, -mằ, -āmī (-āmi), -ằmi, -ōmi, -umi -mi ».

411. A common affix to form abstract nouns, or nouns indicative of a characteristic or profession. It has been confused or connected wrongly

with the *ts.* affix « -iman » > ইম, ইমা « -imă, -imā », which is found in Bengali, as in other NIA. The source of this affix is an OB. কাম « kāma- » *work* (karma), with extensions : « karma>-kamma > -kāmă > -āmă >আম -āmă; karma-ka>-kamma-a > *-kāmawă > -āmă > আম -āmā; karmika, karmikā > -kammia > *-kāmī > -āmī > আমি -āmi ». The strong initial stress, as well as MB. mutation, has brought about the loss of the « -ā- » in lMB. and NB., and reduced the form to ম, ম, মি « -mă, -mă, -mi » etc. In MB., the word কামিনা, কামিন্যা = কামিনিয়া « kāminā, -inyă < -iniyā » occurs, meaning *a labourer*, and a form আমিনী, আমিনি « āminī, āmini » also is found (as in the ' Śūnya-Purāṇa ') : the latter word, explained as meaning a *female devotee of Dharma*, may be connected with কাম « kāmă » *work, service.* Examples : ঠকাম « ṭhăkāmă » *cheating, roguery* (ঠক « ṭhăkă » *cheat*, ' *thug* '); পাকাম, পাকামি « pākāmă, -mi » *behaving like a ripe (i.e. aged) person, precocity* (পাকা « pākā » *ripe*); so জেঠাম « jeṭhāmă » *behaving like a respected elder uncle = impertinence on the part of a boy or youth* (জেঠা « jeṭhā » *father's elder brother*); নেকাম, -মি « nekāmă, -mi » *playing a fool* (নেকা « nekā » *idiot, fool*); ছেলেম, -মি « chelemă, -mi » *childishness* (ছেলে = ছালিয়া « chelĕ, chāliā » *child*); বড়ুাং < বড়ুাম « băṛăṅ < bărămă » *playing a big man, boasting* (বড় « băṛă » *big*); বুড়াম, বুড়ম, বুড়ামি « burāmă, burămă, burāmi » *behaving like an old man*; গিন্নাম, গিন্নম « ginnāmă, ginnămă » *matronly talk and ways* (গিন্নি « ginni » = গৃহিণী « gṛhiṇī » *mistress of the house*); চেটাম, -মি « chĕṭāmă, -mi » *perversity* (চেটা « dhĕṭā » < « dhṛṣṭa- »); বাঁদরাম, -মি « bẵdrāmă, -mi » *trickishness (used of children)* (বাঁদর = বানর « bẵdară = bānară » = « vānara »); ফচকেমি, ফচকাম « phăcăkemi, phăcă-kāmă » (ফচকিয়া « phăcăkiyă » *chatterbox, over-smart fellow*); ফিচলাম ফিচলম, ফিচলামি, ফিচলিমি « phicălāmă, -lămă, -lāmi, -limi » *acuteness, trickery* (ফিচাল « phicălă » *an acute one*); পেজোম, পেজোমি « pējōmă, pējōmi » *viciousness* (পাজী « pājī » *mischievous character* > পাজুয়া + আমি « pājuă + -āmi »); গোঁয়ারতামি, -তমি « gõārtāmi, -tămi » *churlishness, rashness, brusqueness* (*গোঁয়ারত « gõārătă » *one behaving like a churl* [see p. 668], with « -ătă » affix, see §397, + « -ami »); ছোটলোকমি « chōtă-lōkă-mi » *meanness*; etc., etc.

The word ঘরামী « ghărāmī » *house-builder, maker of a hut* (= ঘর + কাম > আম + ঈ « ghără + (k)āmă + ī ») comes under this.
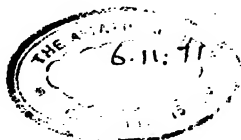
(17) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārɖ, -ārī (-āri) », অরি, ইরি, উরি « -ari, -iri, -uri », রা « -rā » (i).

412. From « -kāra, -kārin (-kārika) », forming agent nouns : দোহার, দোয়ার « do(h)ārɖ » < « *dhuāra » *member of a chorus* (dhruva-kāra) ; পূজারী « pūjārī » *worshipper* (pūjā-kāri-) ; কাঁসারী « kā̐sārī » *brass or bell-metal worker* (kānsya-kārika) ; কুমার « kumārɖ » *potter*, by Vowel Harmony কুমোর « kumōrɖ » (kumbha-kāra) ; চামার « cāmārɖ » (carma-kāra) ; শাঁখারী « śā̐khārī » (śaṅkha-kāri-) ; ভিখারী, ভিখিরি « bhikhārī > bhik(h)iri » *beggar* (bhikṣā-kāri-) ; জুয়ারী « juārī » (dyūta-kāri-), beside জুয়াড়ী « jūārī » (dyūta-+√vṛt) ; M.B. বানিজার « bāṇijārɖ » (vāṇijya-kāra) ; কুশারী « kuśārī » *a class of Brāhmaṇs* (kuśa-kāri-) ; M.B. চূনারী « cūṇārī » *lime-worker* (cūrṇa-kāri-) ; M.B. খেয়ারী « khēyārī » *ferryman* (kṣēpa-kāri-) : ডুবারী « ḍubāri », by Vowel Harmony ডুবুরি « ḍuburi » *diver* (ডুব √ḍub = MIA. buḍḍa) ; ধুনারী « dhunārī », beside ধুনুরি « dhunuri » *cotton-carder* (ধুন √dhun *shake*) ; পিয়ার « piyārɖ », fem. পিয়ারী « piyārī » *beloved* (priya-kāra, -kārikā) ; ছুতার « chutārɖ » *carpenter* seems to be a blend of « sūtra-dhāra » and « *sūtra-kāra » ; সেকরা « sēkɖrā » *goldsmith*, see pp. 194-195 ; উআরী « uārī », বার-উআরী « bār-uārī », see p. 325 ; গোঁয়ার < *গাঁওআর « gɔ̃ārɖ < gãᵒāra » *boor* (grāma + kāra) ; etc.

The word কামার « kāmārɖ » *black-smith*, in Pali « kammāra », represents the Vedic « karmāra » (which is probably connected with the Dravidian [Tamil] « karuṃā » *smith, smelter* : cf. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India, etc.' Madras, 1912, p. 15) ; and the Skt. কর্মকার « karma-kāra » is an artificial formation, which is now used by members of the black-smith caste as a surname.

(18) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārɖ, -ārī (-āri) » (ii).

413. From « -ākāra- », slightly modifying or altering the sense of the word. It occurs only in a very few words. পয়ার « pɔyārɖ » *a metre* (« padākāra », see pp. 285, 288) ; ঝিয়ারী « jhiyārī » *daughter* (ঝী « jhī » < « dhītā, duhitā » : the affix has only a pleonastic force here : probably through analogy of বহুয়ারী bɔhuārī » = বোহারী « bauhārī » [for which see p. 345], which is wrongly connected with বহু « bɔhu » = « vadhū », after the

metathesis of the « h » took place); মাঝার « mājhāra̱ » *middle*, মাঝারী « mājhārī » *middling-sized* (« madhyắkāra », pleonastic; « *madhyắkārika »).

(19) আর, আরী (আরি) « -āra̱, -ārī (-āri) » (iii).

414. From « -āgāra, -āgārin (-āgārika, -ikā) » : ভাঁড়ার « bhā̱rāra̱ » *store* (bhāṇḍấgāra); MB. কাঁড়ার, beside কাঁওার « kā̱rāra̱, kāṇḍāra̱ » *keel of boat* (kāṇḍấgāra); সাভার « sābhāra̱ » *place-name* (? sabhvấgāra); মেহার mēhāra̱ » *place-name* (? mahấgāra); ভাঁড়ারী « bhā̱rārī » *store-keeper* (bhāṇḍấgārika); কাঁওারী « kāṇḍārī » *helmsman* (kāṇḍấgārika); মেহারী mēhārī » *palace* (? mahấgārikā); etc.

(20) আরু « -āru ».

415. Found in a few MB. words, seems to be from « -āra » (i), with addition of « -u » (i.e. « -ū < -uka »): দিশারু « diśāru » *pilot* beside দিশারী « diśārī » (diśa = dik- + kāra-); ডুবারু « ḍubāru » *diver* beside ডুবারী « ḍubārī »; *sts.* বন্দারু « bāndāru » *bard, panegyrist* (<√vand); *sts.* বাগারু « bāgāru » *talkative person* (vāg=vāc).

(21) আল্, আল « -āla̱, -ālā̱ » (i), modified to অল, ওল « -āla̱, -ōlā̱ ».

416. The OIA. source of this is « -ā-l-a », also probably « -ā-l-u », both of which are found in Sanskrit, the sense being 'possessing,' 'pertaining to.' It has the « -l-a » affix (for which see *infra*) as its base. Examples : বাঙ্গাল, বাঙাল « bāṅ(g)āla̱ » *man of East Bengal* (vaṅga+-āla̱); পাঁকাল « pā̱kāla̱ » *belonging to mud > a fish* (paṅkāla); ধারাল « dhārāl(ā̱) » *sharp-edged* (dhāra *edge*); দুধাল « dudhāl(ā̱) » *yielding milk* (dugdha+-āla); মাথাল « māthāla̱ » *with a head, prominent, chief* (mastaka + -āla); আড়াল āṛāla̱ » *obstruction* (আড় « āṛa̱ » *slanting*); তেজাল « tējāla̱ » *spirited* (tējas); পেঁচাল « pē̱cāla̱ » *with twists* (পেঁচ « pē̱ca̱ »< Pers. « pēc »); ভাটিয়াল « bhāṭiyāla̱ » *belonging to the down-country > a folk-melody* (< ভাটি « bhāṭi » *flow of water=South Bengal*); বাচাল « bācāla̱ » (vācāla); দাঁতাল « dā̱tāl(ā̱) » *with (big) teeth* (danta+-āla-); ছিনাল « chināla̱ » *characterless woman* (MIA. chinnāla-); MB. পাক্যাল « pāīkāla̱ » *heroism* (« pāīka̱ » *soldier*, see p. 383).

This affix has the usual extensions : আলা > লা « -āl-ā > -lā » : *e.g.*, বাঙ্গালা, বাঙলা, বাংলা « bāṅ(gā)lā » *Bengali (speech, land)* (vaṅgāla+-ā); আলী

« -āl-ī », feminine and masculine (-ī < -ikā, -ikǎ), as well as abstract : *e.g.*, বাঙালী, বাঙালী « bāŋ(g)ālī » (Old Bengali = feminine = *a woman of East Bengal* ; NB. = masculine = *a man of Bengal, belonging to Bengal*) ; নগরালী « nāgar-āl-ī » *city manners* ; নাগরালী « nāgar-āl-ī » *gallantry, refined ways* (nāgara *gallant*) ; ঠাকুরালী « ṭhākurālī » *ways of a god, divinity* ; চতুরালী « cǎturālī » *smartness* ; মেয়েলী « mēyēlī <*māiālī » *belonging to women* ; ছিনালী « chinālī » *coquetry* ; রূপালী, রূপালী, রূপুলি « rupālī > rūpōlī > rupuli » *silvery* ; সোনালী « sōnālī » *golden* ; নিদালী, নিন্দালী « ni(n)dālī » *sleepiness* ; সুতালী « sutālī » *thin as a thread* ; etc.

(22) আল « āl৫ » (ii).

417. This affix, like the preceding one, denotes connexion. It is also used to form words indicative of trade or profession. It comes from OIA. « pāla » *keeper, guardian* by the dropping of « -p- > -w- » : « -pāla > -wāla > -āl৫ ». Examples : রাখাল « rākhāl৫ », MB. রাখোআল « rākhōālǎ » *herdsman*, (rakṣū-pāla) ; কেশেল < কাশীয়াল « Kēśēl৫ < Kāśīyāl৫ » *low class Brāhmaṇ from Benares* (Kāśī-pāla) ; কোটাল « kōṭāl৫ », Hind « kōṭwāl » *head of the police, holder of a fort* (koṭṭa-pāla) ; ঘাটীয়াল « ghaṭīyāl৫ » *holder of a pass or passage* (< ghāṭī) ; ‡ঘাটাল, ঘাটোআল « ghāṭāl৫, ghāṭōālǎ » *man in charge of a 'ghāṭ'* (ghaṭṭa-pāla) ; কুঠিয়াল « kuṭhīyāl৫ » *belonging to an office > a clerk* (kuṭhī kōṭhī < kōṣṭhikā) ; ঘড়িয়াল « ghaṛiyāl৫ » *man in charge of a clock > ঘ'ড়েল « ghōrēl৫ » *acute one* (ghaṭikā) ; etc.

There is an extension to আলা « -āl-ā » : গোয়ালা, ‡গয়লা « gōālā > gǎylā » (gōpāla-) ; বাড়ীআলা « bāriālā » *landlord, owner of a house* ; কাপড়আলা « kāpǎr-āl-ā » *cloth seller* ; চূড়ীআলা « curīālā » *bangle seller* ; পাহারালা « pāhār-ālā » *watchman* (prahara). Also to আলী « -āl-ī », masculine and feminine (= -ikǎ, -ikā) : গয়ালী « gǎyālī » *Brāhmaṇ from Gayā* (Gayā-pālikā) ; পেটেলী « pēṭēlī » < পাটিয়ালী « pāṭiyālī » *maid-servant* (pāṭa, pāṭi *order, arrangement, domestic work*) ; বাড়ীআলী « bāriālī » *land-lady* ; etc. Abstracts are formed from « -āl৫ » by adding the « -ī » of abstraction, *e.g.*, রাখালী « rākhālī » *the work of a herdsman* ; কেঁড়েলী « kēṛēlī » *impertinence, roughness* < *কাঁড়িয়াল « kāṛiyāl৫ » *rough* < *soldier, archer* (? kǎṇḍa *arrow*) ; etc.

The « -âlậ, -âl-â » of Bengali has within recent times been influenced by the cognate form in Hindōstānī, which is « -wālā » : the latter is substituted in many Bengali words in « -ālā », and ordinarily « -wālā » is reduced to ওলা « -ōlā » : *e.g.*, কাপড়ওয়ালা, কাপড়ওলা « kāpậr-ōālā (-wālā), -ōlā » ; so গাড়ীওলা « gāṛī-ōlā » *cabby*, পাহারওলা « pāhār-ōlā » *constable*, etc. The feminine of « -wālā » is « -wālī », which, by Vowel Harmony, is reduced to উলী « -ulī » in Bengali : *e.g.*, বাড়ীউলী « bāṛī-ulī » = native Bengali বাড়ীআলী « bāṛī-ālī ».

Through Bihārī or Hindī influence, we have also ওয়ারা « -ōārā=-wālā » in মাতোয়ারা « mātōārā (mātwārā) » *wild, mad, elated, pleased* (*e.g.*, *with perfume*)=« mātwārā » : the Bengali froms are মাতাল, মাতল, মাতলা « mātālậ, mātậlậ, mātậlā » *drunk=* Hind. « mātwāl ». The name বনওয়ারী « bānwārī » (see p. 521), from the Hindōstānī, can be equally from « vana-mālī » *garlanded with wild flowers* or « *vana-pālika » *dweller in woods*.

<center>(23) ই < ঈ « -i < -ī » (i).</center>

418. A secondary affix, forming nouns and adjectives. Three separate affixes of OIA. seem to converge into this single NIA. form : (i) « -ī < -in » : « mālin > NIA. mālī » *gardener* : but the force of the nominative form seems to have been only of secondary importance in the evolution of the NIA. affix ; (ii) « -īya » : « dēśīya > NIA. dēśī » *native* ; and (iii) « -ika » : « grāmika » > গাঁই gāī » *village name, clan name* : the feminine form of this « -ikā » is also ঈ, ই « -ī, -i », which is the most popular feminine affix of NIA., for which see below. Later in NIA. this affix was strengthened by the « -ī » of Persian.

Examples : « -ī > -i » with the sense of ' possessing, having ' : ভারী « bhār-ī » *heavy* ; *sts.* রাগী « rāg-ī » *full of passion* >*choleric* ; দামী « dām-ī » *costly* (dramma < Gk. drakhmē) ; দাগী « dāg-ī » *stained* (Pers. dāg) ; গুণী « guṇ-ī » *man of parts, artist* (cf. Skt. guṇin) ; ঢাকী « ḍhāk-ī » *drummer* (ḍhakkā) ; বেগুনি « bēgun-i » *purple* (=bāïgậṇ-ī< vātiṅgaṇa-) ; OB. নৌবাহী « nau-bāh-ī » *boat-man* ; গাঁঠী জাল « gāṭh-ī jālậ » *net with knots* (granthi-) ; গোলাপী « gōlāp-ī » *rose-coloured* (Pers. gul-āb = gul) ; হিসাবী « hisāb-ī » *careful, attentive to details* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb ») ; *sts.* মরমী « mārậm-ī »

with a heart (sts. **måråmɔ̃** <marman) ; *ts.* আলাপী « **ålåp-I** » *courteous talker, acquaintance* (cf. Skt. ālāpin) ; দরদী « **dåråd-I** » *sympathetic* (Pers. dard) ;

With the sense of ' pertaining to, coming from ' : দেশী > দিশি « **děśi** > diśi » *belonging to the country, country-born or made, native* (cf. Skt. děśiya) ; রাঢ়ী « **Råṛhi** » *belonging to Rūḍha* ; MB. কানড়ী, কানাড়ী « **kånåṛi, -nåṛi** » (Karṇāṭiya) ; মারহাট্টী « **Mårhåṭṭi** », মারাঠী, -টী « **Måråṭ(h)i** » (Mahārāṣṭriya) ; গুজরাটী « **Gujåråṭi** » as if from « ***Gūrja-råṣṭriya** » (গুজরাট « **Gujå-råṭɔ̃** », for গুজরাত « **Gujåråtɔ̃** » < « Gūrjara-trā », through influence of « rāṣṭra ») ; কটকী « **Kåṭåki** » *of Cuttack* (Kaṭakiya) ; বনারসী, বেনারসী « **Bånåråsi, Běnåråsi** » (Vārāṇasiya) ; বৃন্দাবনী « **Brndåbåni** » *of Brindāban* ; ঢাকাই « **Ḍhåkåi** » *of Dacca* ; ক'লকাতাই « **Kålåkåtåi** » *of Calcutta* ; etc. ;

With the sense of ' connected with,' generally forming names of professions : হাড়ী « **håṛi** » *a low caste* (haḍḍika) ; কেরানী < *করাণী « **kěråni** < *kåråṇi** » *clerk* (karaṇika+kIraka) ; MB. গারুড়ী « **gåruri** » *snake-charmer* (gāruḍika) ; বেহাই « **běhåi** » *son's or daughter's father-in-law* (vaivāhika), an inherited word, affix and all ; শুঁড়ী « **śũṛi** » *wine-dealer* (śuṇḍika, śauṇḍika) ; রাঁধুনি, রাঁধুনি « **rådhåni, -dhuni** » *cook* (see *ante,* p. 658) ; *sts.* নখকুনি « **nåkhå-kuni** » *cut or sore in the nails* (nakha-kōṇa+I) ; etc.

It occurs also as অই « -åi » > উই « -ui » : বাড়ই, বাড়ুই « **båṛåi** >bårui » *carpenter* (cf. Skt. vardhakin) ; বারই > বারুই « **båråi** > bårui », OB. বারঅী « **bårayi** », (see p. 188) *grower of the betel vine* (cf. Skt. « vāru-jivin » : ***বার** « bårå- », *বারু « **båru** » *betel*, an Austric word : cf. J. Przyluski in the BSLP., XXIV, p. 257). It is pleonastic in ভারুই « **bhårui** < *bhåråi** » *a bird* (bharata : *bhāratika) ; চড়ুই « **cårui** < cåråi** » *sparrow* (caṭaka, *caṭakika), beside চড়া, চড়াই « **cårå, cåråi** » (*caṭāka, *caṭākika) ; etc.

(24) ই < ঈ « **-i-** < **-I-** » (ii) : Feminine, Diminutive, Abstract.

419. Presents an « **-ikā** » of OIA., and is the most common feminine affix of NIA. Examples : রাই « **Råi** », MB. রাহী « **Råhi** » *a name* (Rādhikā) ; ঘুরি «*ঘোড়ী « **ghuri** < *ghōṛi** » *mare* (*ghōṭikā) ; মামী « **måmi** » *maternal uncle's wife* (måmå+-I) ; কাকী « **kåki** » *father's younger brother's wife* (kåkå+-I) ; খুদী « **khudi** » *a tiny girl* > *name for girls* (kṣudrikā) ; বুড়ী « **buṛi** » *old woman* (*vrddhikā=vrddhā) ; পাগলী « **pågåli** »

mad woman (pāgālā̆ + -ī); বামনী « bāmǎnī » (*brāhmaṇikā = brāhmaṇī); *sts.*
বইষী, বহ্‌ষী « bǎṣṭǎmī, -umī » (*vāiṣṇavikā = vāiṣṇavī).

A number of *sts.* forms show this « -ī » of Bengali, *e.g.,* সুবচনী
« subǎcǎnī » *a form of Durgā*; অপ্সরী « ǎpsǎrī » (apsaras); দিগম্বরী
« digǎmbǎrī » *a name of Kālī*; সুনয়নী « sunǎyǎnī » *with beautiful eyes,*
etc., with are solecisms from point of view of Skt.

The Skt. feminine affixes « -inī, -ānī » had an influence in restricting
the Bengali ঈ, ই « -ī, -Ī » < « -ikā » : see *infra,* under « -nī ».

With names of inanimate objects, the original feminine force is lost
in Bengali. In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the grammatical
gender, however, is preserved in the « -ī < -ikā » forms. The feminine
« -ikā » also expressed a diminutive or petty aspect of an action or an
object. The diminutive has become obscure in many words in Bengali,
so that « -ī < -ikā » has been reduced to a mere pleonastic affix.
Examples : বুলী « bulī » *talk* (bōllā + -ī); রুটী « ruṭī » *bread* (cf. rōṭikā);
চুষী « cuṣī » *baby-soother* (cuṣa + -ī); মাটী « māṭī » (mṛttikā); গলুই
< *গলহী « gǎlui <*gǎlǎhī » *prow of a boat* (gala-vahikā); ছুরী, ছুরি « churī,
-ri » *knife,* beside ছোরা « chōrā » *dagger* (churikā); রাই « rāi » *mustard*
(rājikā); পাই « pāi » *a fourth, pice* (pādikā); পুথী « puthī », পুঁথি « puthi »
Indian MS., book (pustikā), beside MB. পোথা « pōthā » (pustaka-); বাতী
« bātī » *candle, light* (vartikā); লাঠি « lāṭhi » (*yaṣṭikā = yaṣṭi); কাঠী
« kāṭhī » *a thin stick* (kāṣṭhikā); ছাতী « chātī » *umbrella* (*chattrikā), beside
ছাত « chātǎ » *roof,* ছাতা « chātā » *umbrella* (chattra-); ধুতী « dhutī » *'dhoti'*
(*dhōtrikā = dhōtra); জাতী « jātī » *small double knife to cut betel-nuts*
(yantrikā), beside জাতা « jātā » *mill, quern* (yantra-); বড়মানুষী, বড়মানষী
« bǎrǎ-māu(u)ṣ-ī » *living like a rich man, high style* (-mānuṣa + -ī); রাখালী
« rākhāl-ī » *work of a herdsman* (rakṣāpāla + -ikā); ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)t-ī »
robbery (see *supra,* p. 655); কেঁড়েলী < কাঁড়িয়ালী « kẽṛelī < kā̃ṛiyālī » *imper-*
tinancy, rowdiness (« kā̃ṛiyālǎ » *archer ?* [< kāṇḍa-] > *soldier, rough* + -ī);
পণ্ডিতী « pǎṇḍit-ī » *belonging to a Pundit* > *a Pundit's character or ways,*
scholasticism; etc. Cf. Hindī « lāl-ī » *redness,* « hariyāl-ī » *green colour,*
greenness, « rakhwāl-ī » *work of a herdsman,* etc. In Late NIA., the
Persian « -ī » affix of abstraction or connexion greatly reinforced this suffix.

In some stereotyped words, « -ɪ » represents the OIA. « -ɪ » : *e.g.*, রানী, রাণী « rānī » (« rājñī » : or < « raṇṇia < *rājñikā » ?).

(25) ই « -i » : Verbal Noun.

420. This affix, occurring in OIA., is practically lost to NB. It is found only in some epenthetic forms in dialectal Bengali, and it has practically become a dead suffix ; only some Skt. words in « -i » help to perpetuate it. Examples : গাঁট, গাঁইট « gã(i)ṭ » (granthi) ; মার, মাইর « mā(i)r » *a beating* < মারি « māri » (*mār-i) ; সারি > সা(ই)র « sāri > sā(i)r » *row* (sār-i) ; MB. হাস « hāsă » (« hās-i », which occurs as a *ts.* in NB.) ; গাল, গাইল « gā(i)l » *abuse* (*garh-i ? cf. Skt. garh-ā) ; সা(ই)ল « śā(i)l » *a kind of paddy* (śāli), also occurs in the *ts.* form in « -i » ; etc. Cf. also the OIA. suffix « -ti » in ষা(ই)ট « ṣā(i)ṭ », MB. ষাঠি « ṣāṭhi » (ṣaṣ-ṭi), সত্তর « sắttăr » (sapta-ti), পাঁত, পাঁইত beside the full form পাঁতি « pā̃(i)t, pắti » *row* (paṅk-ti), etc.

(26) ইআ, ইয়া, এ « -iā (-iyā) > -ē ».

421. This is a compound affix, being from the OIA. « -ikă » > MIA. « -ia » + the affix « -ā », as in § 400. It is used in forming adjectives with the sense of ' pertaining to ' or ' possessing ' ; and frequently it is used with a slightly disparaging sense ; as well as pleonastically. In NB., it is contracted to এ « -ē », with accompanying modification through the « -i », of connected vowels. Examples : কালিয়া, কেলে « kāliā > kēlē » *the black one* (*contemptuous*) (kāla *black*) ; হলদিয়া, হলুদিয়া > হ'লুদে « hălădiā, hăludiā > hōlude, hōlde » *yellow* (হলুদ « hăludă » *turmeric*) ; বাইগণিয়া > বেগুনে « bāigăniyā > bēgunē » *purple, of egg-fruit* (vātiṅgana) *colour* ; জালিয়া > জেলে « jāliā > jēlē » *fisherman* (jāla *net*) ; হালিয়া, হেলে « hāliyā > hēlē » *farmer* (hāla = hala *plough*) ; নগরিয়া > নগুরে « năgăriyā > năgurē » *man of the city* ; বানিয়া > বেনে « bāniā > bēnē » *merchant* (*vāṇika- = vaṇik) ; মাটিয়া > মেটে « māṭiā > mēṭē » *earthen* (māṭī < mṛttikā + -ika + -āka) ; (in the word মেটে as in মেটে ফিরিঙ্গী « mēṭē phiriṅgī » *a Eurasian, a half-caste*, we have, however, the French word « métis », approximated to the Bengali word by folk-etymology) ; উত্তরিয়া > উত্তরে

« uttáriyā >utturē » *northern*; দখিনিয়া>দখিনে, দ'খনে « dákhiniyā>dōkhinē, dōkhnē » *southern*; পুবিয়া<পুবে « pūbiyā > pūbē » *eastern*; পশ্চিমিয়া > পশ্চিমে « páscimiyā>pōscimē » *western*; MB. আভাগিয়া « ābhágiyā » > NB. আবাগে « ābāgē » *luckless*; পাড়াগাঁইয়া > পাড়াগেঁয়ে « párāgáiyā < -gēýē » *rural* (pátaka + grāma + -ika + -āka); কাঁদনিয়া> কাঁদনে « kádániyā>kádunē » *ready to weep*; MB. *নেঞায়-আঁকড়িয়া « *nēāyá-ákáriyā » > NB. নেই-আঁকুড়ে « nēi-ákurē » *one who clings to argument* (nyāya) > *obstinate*; নাগপুরিয়া > নাগপুরে « Nágápuriyā > Nágápurē » *of Nágpur*; ওড়িয়া > উড়িয়া, উড়ে « Ōṛiyā > Uṛiyā > Uṛē » *Oṛiyā, of the Oṛra country*; MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিয়া « nátiyā » = নাতী « nátī » *grandson* (naptṛ-); কহনিয়া > কহনে, কউনে « káhániyā > kō(h)unē » *talker*; জাগানিয়া>জাগানে « jāgániyā » *one who wakens*; দেঅনিয়া, দিয়নিয়া > দিউনে « dēániyā, diyániyā > diunē » *a giver*; etc.

Although one of the most common affixes in Bengali, it is frequently disguised in the Standard Colloquial by contraction and by mutation of vowels.

(27) ইএ, ইয়ে « -ie, -iyē ».

422. This NB. affix denotes 'one who is accustomed to do a thing, a *habitué*.' Typical words are খাইয়ে « khāiē » *a (good) eater*, গাইয়ে « gáiē » *a good singer, a professional singer*, বাজিয়ে « bājiē » *a clever musician*, নাচিয়ে « nāciē » *a good dancer*, খেলিয়ে « khēliē » *a clever player*, করিয়ে « káriē » *an adept*, বলিয়ে « báliē » *a conversationalist*, কহিয়ে > কইয়ে « ká(h)iē » *a good talker*. Forms like the above are used as adjectives or predicatives, and in some cases they have become nouns. They recall Western Hindī forms like « khawaiyā, gawaiyā, kahaiyā » etc. Earlier Bengali forms, not attested, would be « *khāáïyā, *gā(h)áïyā, *bājáïyā, *nācáïyā, *khēláïyā, *káráïyā, *bōláïyā, *káháïyā » etc. The Hindī affix « -aiyā, -awaiyā », and the source of the NB. « -iē » are apparently identical; and it is not unlikely that the affix in NB., which is found mainly in the colloquial, is a recent borrowing from Hindī, with the usual West Bengali contraction. There is no corresponding affix in Oṛiyā and in Assamese. Maithilī has the pleonastic «-aiyā », which, however, is different in meaning.

Hoernle takes this suffix to be « -awaiyā » and thinks that « -aiyā » is a contracted form of it ; and « -awaiya » he derives from an « -āw » from MIA. « -avva » (< OIA. « -tavya ») + a pleonastic « -aiyā » (< -aka + -ika+-ka) (Gaudian Grammar, §314). But it would be more reasonable to regard the suffix to be « -aiyā », and the « -w- » only as a euphonic insertion (cf. J. T. Platts, ' Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language,' London, 1873, p. 208). The OIA. basis of it apparently is an agentive in « -aka » (khādaka > khāaa, khāwaa, gāyaka > gāaa, gāwaa [*gāthayaka > *gāhaaa, *gāheaa], *vādya-ka [=vādaka] >*vajjaa >*bājaa, etc.), to which the « -ika > -ia » and then the « -āka > -āa, -ā » affixes were added, pleonastically, in the Early NIA. stage : « *kathaka +-ika+-āka » > « *kahaaīāa » > « *kahaiyā » (Hindōstānī « kahaiyā ») > কহিয় « kahiē » > কইয়ে « kaïyē » [koie].

<h3 style="text-align:center">(28) ইত « -it- ».</h3>

423. The affix ইত « -it- » is derived from the OIA. present participle base « -ant- » (see *supra*, pp. 653-4). In Bengali, it forms the present participle in an adverbial or conditional sense, with the locative affix « -ē » : e.g., মেঘ চাইতে জল « mēgha cāïtē (< *cāhantahi) jala » *(on one) asking for the cloud, (there is) rain* ; or করিতে কারিতে « karitē kāritē » (< *karantahi) *while doing* ; and it gives the base for the past habitual or past conditional (and in some East Bengal dialects, for the future) tense.

See also *supra* p. 663, under আইত, আত « -āita, -āta ».

<h3 style="text-align:center">(29) ইব « -iba ».</h3>

424. Base for the future, and for a verbal noun, with an extended form ইবা « -ib-ā ». From OIA. « -itavya- » > MIA. « -iabba- » > « *-abba, -ibba ». See *infra*, under 'Verb.'

<h3 style="text-align:center">(30) ইল « -ila » (i).</h3>

425. In MIA. « -illa », from OIA. pleonastic and adjectival affix « -i-la » (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 79), forming nouns and adjectives in Bengali, from nouns. It is not a living affix in NB., but is fairly common in MB. Cf. Hindī « chail » *handsome, accomplished* (chaïlla, chavila).

Examples : পাতিল « pātilă » *an earthen-pot for cooking* (patta, pātra) ; কুঁচিল « kūcilă » *crooked* (কুঁচ √kūc< √kuñc) ; *sts.* ‡আণ্ডিল « āṇḍilă » *strong one, chief* (aṇḍa+-illa) ; MB. *sts.* আরতিল « ārāti-lă » *filled with a great desire* (ārāti+-ila) ; পাকিল « pākilă » *ripe* (pakva+-ila) ; etc. Cf. *ts.* কুটিল « kuṭilă » *crooked.* The *ts.* word « śarīra » is vulgarly pronounced as শরীল, শরিল [ʃoril], as if it had the « -ilă » affix.

<h3 style="text-align:center">(31) ইল « -ilă » (ii).</h3>

426. Past base, also (specially in OB. and MB.) passive participle adjective. From OIA. « -(i)ta » + pleonastic affix « -i-la- » whence Late MIA. « *-iailla- > *-illa- », in Eastern Magadhan. (OIA. « -(i)ta+-alla » probably gave « *-alla- > -ală », in Central and Western Magadhan). See below, under 'Verb.' This « -ilă » occurs also in a few nouns and adjectives in Bengali, although the adjectival and nominal use of « -ilă » forms from verb roots is almost obsolete in the language. Examples : MB. ভুখিল « bhukhilă » *hungry* (bubhukṣita+-ila) ; সুতিল « sutilă » *sleeping* (supta+ -ila) ; ভাঙ্গিল « bhāṅgilă » *broken* (*bhaṅgita+-ila) ; OB. (Caryā 33) দুহিল দুধু « duhila dudhu » *milk that has been milked off* (*duhita+ila) ; NB. গেল « gēlă » *last < gone* (gata+ila) ; etc.

The affix ইলে « -il-ē » forming the conjunctive, is the old locative form of it : চলিলে « călilē » *on having walked* (*calillahi).

<h3 style="text-align:center">(32) উ < উ « -u < -ū » (i).</h3>

427. From an OIA. « -u » (adjectival and nominal) +« -ka ». It implies a pettiness and lovableness of the object indicated, and is found in familiar and affectionate forms, specially of names : *e.g.*, *sts.* দুষ্টু « duṣṭu » *the little naughty one* (duṣṭa-) ; *sts.* ধুত্তু « dhuttu » *the little sly one* (dhūrta) ; বলু « Bălu » affectionate for « Balarāma » ; খুকু « khuku » *tiny little baby, darling of a child* (< খোকা « khōkă » *baby*) ; পাঁচু « Pā̃cu » (Pañcānana *a name*) ; so নরু « Năru » (Narēndra), হরু « Hăru » (Harēndra, Hara-nātha, etc.), রাধু « Rādhu » (Rādhā-kānta, etc.), কানু « Kānu » (Kṛṣṇa-) ; বটু « Bătu » *title for a Brāhmaṇ* (vaṭuka = ?vṛta + -u + -ka) ; etc., etc. It occurs also (peonastically in some cases) in the formation of nouns

and adjectives, like গাড়ু « gāṛu » *water-jar with spout* (*gaḍḍuka); লাড়ু, নাড়ু « lāṛu, nāṛu » *sweetmeat* (laḍḍuka) ; নীচু « nīcu » *down, in a low position* (nīca) ; উঁচু « ūcu » *high* (ucca-), etc.   The « -u » affix of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, from OIA. « -aḥ », seems to have influenced this affix in the formative period of Bengali (see *supra*, p. 311).

(33) *উ, ঊ > ও > অ « *-ū > -u > -ō > -ă » (ii).

428. This is a primary affix, and the forms with it are generally repeated in NB. the meaning is 'about to do someting,' 'on the point of doing.'   *E.g.,* ডুবু-ডুবু « ḍubu-ḍubu » *about to sink*; উড়ু-উড়ু « uṛu-uṛu » *about to fly away, filled with a longing*; নিবু-নিবু > নিবো-নিবো « nibu-nibu > nibō-nibō » *on the point being extinguished* (also নিভ-নিভ « nibhă-nibhă ») ; কাঁদো-কাঁদো, কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kādō-kādō, kădă-kădă » *about to burst into tears* ; পাকো-পাকো « pākō-pākō » *nearly ripe* ; দাউ-দাউ ক'রে জ্বলা « dāu-dāu kōrē jwălā » *to burn fiercely*, etc.   The form হবু « hăbu » [ɦɔbu] *about-to-be, future* (*e.g.,* হবু-জামাই « hăbu jāmāi » *the son-in-law to be*, হবু-রাজা « hăbu-rājā » *the future king*) seems to be for *হো-উ « *hō-u », with euphonic insertion of « b » : similarly খাউ-খাউ> খাবো-খাবো করা « khāu-khāu> khābō-khābō kără » *to be eager to eat*, etc. (Cf. আদোবে « ādōbē », p. 511).

In Hindōstānī, there is an affix « -ū » which appears to be the same as the Bengali one : « bēc-ū » *seller*, « kīn-ū » *buyer*, « ḍāk-ū » *robber*, « jāg-ū » *watcher*, « uṛā-ū » *causer to fly > spendthrift*, « bigāṛ-ū » *spoiler*, « jhagaṛ-ū » *quarrelsome person*, etc.   Hoernle connects it with the Skt. « -tṛ » + pleonastic « -ka » (*op. cit.*, §333). But a likelier derivation would be from an OIA. « -u-ka » (cf. J. T. Platts, Hindustani Grammar, p. 209).   This affix is found in Skt., in words like « ghăṭ-uka, kām-uka, bhāv-uka » etc., 'having the meaning and construction of a present participle' (see Whitney, Skt. Grammar, § 1180).   There was also an « -ūka » rather rare, in OIA. : cf. Skt. « jāgar-ūka ».

Oṛiyā has the present participle affix « -u » (« kăr-u, khā-u, jā-u » etc.), which seems to be the same affix as the Bengali and Hindōstānī ones (Hoernle derives the Oṛiyā « -u », however, from the present participle « -anta », *op. cit.*, §301 : this is precluded phonologically).

(34) উআ > উও, ও « -uā > -uō, -ō ».

429. This is an extension of the preceding with the « -ā », used, like « -iyā » (p. 674), to indicate relation or connexion. It is also added to proper names, to indicate contempt. When affixed to an ordinary noun, it turns the latter to an adjective. There is the usual mutation of the vowels, and this fact often disguises this affix in the NB. Standard Colloquial. Examples: জলুআ > জ'লো « jȧl-uā > jōlō » *watery*; ঘরুআ > ঘোরো « ghȧr-uā > ghōrō » *domestic*; হাটুআ > হেটো « hāṭ-uā > hēṭō » *of the market*; জরুআ > জ'রো « j(w)ȧr-uā > jōrō » *suffering from fever*; MB. শরুআ « śȧr-uā » *like a reed > slender* (NB. সরু, শরু « sȧru, śȧru » *lean and thin* < « śȧrȧ + -ū »); ধানুআ > ধেনো « dhān-uā > dhēnō » (i) (*land*) *growing rice*, (ii) *rice-beer*; কাঠুআ > কেঠো « kāṭh-uā > kēṭhō » *made of wood*; দানুআ > দেনো « dān-uā > dēnō » *given as a gift*; *দীঅরাখুআ > দেরখো « *diȧ-rākh-uā > dērkhō » *a wooden or earthen lamp-stand*; *কাঠকুআ > কেটকো « *kāṭhȧk-uā > kēṭkō » *a wooden vessel*; টাকুআ > টেকো « ṭāk-uā > ṭēkō » *bald-pate*; so মেছো « mēchō » *fishmonger*; বাটুআ > বেটো « bāṭ-uā > bēṭō » *belonging to the road* (bāṭa < vartman) > *a hack*; পানুআ > পেনো « Pānuā > Pēnō » *contemptuous or familiar form of a name* (= Prāṇa-nātha, Pānnā-lālȧ, etc.), কালুআ > কেলো « Kāluā > Kēlō » (Kāla-), রেমো, শেমো « Rēmō, Śēmō » (Rāma, Śyāma); যদুআ > য'দো « Jȧdua > Jōdō » (Yadu), etc., etc.; *মাউসুআ > মেসো « *māus-uā > mēsō » *mother's sister's husband* (« māusi = mātṛvasṛ- »: cf. *পিউসিআ > পিসে « *piusiā > pise » *father's sister's husband*); etc., etc.

(35) ক, অক « -kȧ (-kȧ), -ȧkȧ », ইক « -ikȧ », উক « -ukȧ » (i).

430. This affix is quite a common one in Bengali, and is employed primarily to form nouns (abstract, concrete, or onomatopoetic), generally from verb roots: *e.g.*, মোড়ক « mōr-ȧkȧ » *packet* (মুড়√mur *fold*); টনক « ṭan-ȧkȧ » *jerk, blow, striking > remembrance* (টন ṭanȧ *sense of tightness*, টান √ṭān *pull*); চড়ক « cȧr-ȧkȧ » *a raising aloft > swinging by hooks from a high post, the hook-swinging festival* (চড় √cȧr *ride*); ছলক « chȧl-ȧkȧ » *splash, spill of water* (ছল chȧl *onomatopoetic for splashing of water*); so চলক « cȧl-ȧkȧ » *spilling of water*; মড়ক « mȧr-ȧkȧ » *pestilence* (< mada = mṛta); সড়ক « sȧr-ȧkȧ » *road, highway* (*sada = sṛta); ফ(†)টক « phȧṭ-ȧkȧ, phȧṭ-ȧkȧ »

gate (cf. ফাট √phāṭ *split*); আটক « āṭ-ak₫ » *confinement* (cf. আড় āṛ₫ *obstruction*); ঝলক « jhal-ak₫ *flame* (ঝল √jhal, p. 479); চটক « cāṭ-ak₫ » *brilliance*; জমক « jam-ak₫ » *pomp*; বৈঠক « baiṭh-ak₫ » *a stand* (baïṭṭha< upavi-ṭa); ফুক, ফুঁক « phuk₫, phūk₫ » *puffing, blowing* (cf. phutkāra); ঝিলিক « jhil-ik₫ » *sparkle*; ছিলিক « chil-ik₫ » *spilling or scattering of water*; চুক « cuk₫ » *mistake*; সুড়ুক « sur-uk₫ » *sound of quick motion*; etc.

The MIA. forms of the affix would be « -akka » : « *mōdakka, *ṭanakka, *maḍakka, *jhalakka, *uvaïṭṭhakka », etc. In Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, as a matter of fact, we find such forms as « sāsānala-jhal-akkiaü » (= śvāsanala-jhalat-kṛta), « khuḍukkaï » (= śalyāyatē), « ghu-ḍukkaï » (=garjati), « cavēḍa-caḍakka » (=capēṭa-caṭat-kṛta »), « phukkij-janta » (=phut-kriyamāṇa)(in the Apabhraṅśa verses in Hēma-candra: cf. Pischel, 'Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa,' Berlin, 1902). Following the indication of the Prakrit grammarians, the NIA. « -ak₫ » and the MIA. « -akka » can be well affiliated to an OIA. compounding of a root or its participle base in « -a(n)t- » with « kṛta, √kṛ »: চমক « camak₫ » (also চৌক « cauk₫ », চঙ্ক « caṅak₫ » in MB., the proper *tbh.* forms)<MIA. « camakka, *camakkaa, camakkia » <OIA. « camat-kṛta »; so চুক « cuk₫ » (cyut-kṛta); থক, থাক « thak₫, thāk₫ » *remain, be arrested* (stabh-kṛta), beside থমক « thamak₫ » *sudden stop* («*thambhakk[i]a < stambha+kṛta »: here apparently we have a generalised « -akka » added to a noun form in MIA.). A connexion with OIA. « -a-ka », apparently introduced as a *ts.* in Second and Late MIA. (the phonetics of which changed it to « -akka ») can also well be inferred: *e.g.,* MIA. (Māgadhī) « haḍakka = *hṛd-a-ka; haggē = *ahakkē = ahakaṁ < aham; lēḍ(h)ukka = lēṣṭuka; ṇāakka = nāyaka », etc. (See « -ka » [ii] below. Cf. Pischel, § 194; Hoernle, *Gaudian Grammar,* § 338; JASB., 1880, I, p. 37, ‘Hindī Roots’; also cf. Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ § 94). It has also been suggested, by Bloch, that the affix in part goes back to the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic « -kya », as in « pārakya < para » (cf. also « māṇikya < maṇi »). Further, Bloch draws our attention to the « -kk- » (also « -k-, -g- ») affix which is such a common one in the Dravidian languages, in which, apart from other functions, it is used in forming verbal nouns from

roots : *e.g.*, « √naḍ » *to walk* > « naḍ-akk-ai, naḍ-akk-al, naḍ-akk-udal » *walking* ; « √iru » *to be* >« iru-kk-ai » *being* ; « √śĕy » *to do* > « śĕy-gai » *doing*, etc., as in Tamil, and « √uṇṇu » *to eat* > « uṇṇike » *eating*, as in Kannada (Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 105; Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages[3],' 1916, pp. 542-543).

In its origin, it would thus seem that this affix is derived from « kṛta » and other forms of « √kṛ ». There seems also to have been present the influence of the Skt. affix « -a-ka », which was Prakritised into « -akka ». And it is not improbable that in MIA. times a « -kk-, -g-, -k- » affix existed in North Indian Dravidian dialects (now superseded by IA.), and this affix of Dravidian was not without its influence in the establishment of « -akka » in MIA. of the Second and Third stages.

The ইক, উক « -ikǎ, -ukǎ » forms seem to be due to Vowel Harmony, the « -ǎ- » changing to « -i-, -u- » when the root or base form had these vowels, by attraction.

Extensions of ক, অক « -kǎ, -ǎkǎ » in Bengali :

(অ)কা « -ǎkā », i.e. « -ǎkǎ + -ā » : adjectival and pleonastic, with an implication of biggishness or coarseness : পটকা « pǎṭǎkā » *cracker, squib*, beside পটক « pǎṭǎkǎ » *a throwing down with cracking noise* ; চলকা « cǎlǎkā » *a dash and a fall of liquid through overflowing* ; ফটকা « phǎṭǎkā » *dry, making a crackling noise when broken* ; হৈ(হ)কা « hŏṭǎkā » *grunting, ugly, rude person* ; হুড়কা « huṛǎkā » *a bar, a bolt* ; etc.

অকী, (অ)কি « -ǎkī, -ǎki » : with adjectival « -ī » : বৈঠকী « bǎiṭhǎkī » *polite, of good society* < *belonging to the drawing room.*

(অ কৌ, (অ)কি « -ǎkī, -ki < -ǎkī » : feminine > diminutive > pleonastic in NB., generally names of concrete objects : সড়কী « sǎṛǎkī » *javelin* (*that which moves quickly and strikes* : < sṛta<√sṛ) ; হেচকি « hĕcǎkī » *jerk* >*yawn, hiccup* (cf. হেচড়ান « hĕc-ǎ-ṛā-nǎ » *pull*) ; কুচকি « kūcǎkī » *groin* (cf. কুচকান « kūcǎkānǎ » *to be curled up*) ; ছিটকি « chiṭǎki », beside ছিটকিনী « chiṭǎkinī » *bolt, latch* ; etc.

The affix আক « -ā-kǎ », in forms like তড়াক « tǎrākǎ » *with a sudden bound* (< tṛta), পড়াক « pǎrākǎ » *with a crack*, সড়াক « sǎrākǎ » *with a quick glide*, কড়াক « kǎrākǎ » *with a crackling sound*, etc., which are mostly

used with the indeclinable conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে « kåriyå, kōrē » *having done* (see *supra*, p. 655, for a similar formation in আৎ « -åtå »), to indicate quick and abrupt movement or sound, is undoubtedly connected with the « -åkå » affix, the base apparently being a strong form in « -å ».

Bases in « -åkå, -åkå » (the latter preferably in NB.) are used for the denominative in Bengali: *e.g.*, MB. চমকে, চড়কে « cåmåkē, cåŵåkē », NB. চমকায় « cåmåkåy » *is startled*; ছিটকায় « chiṭåkåy » *sprinkles*; etc.

(36) ক « -åkå » (ii) > কা « -åkå », কী « -åkī », কিয়া « -kiyå », কুয়া « -kuå ».

431. This is an adjectival affix, also used pleonastically: it is also found in the strong form in কা « -kå », with its feminine কী, কি « -kī, -ki », and also in its extensions formed by superposing other affixes, ইয়া « -iyå », উয়া « -uå » etc. Examples: ধনুক « dhånukå » *bow* (dhaṇukka, dhanuṣka); ঢোলক « ḍhōlåkå » *(small) drum* (MIA. dholla-); শামুক « śåmukå » (*śambukka=śambu-ka); দোফরকা « dō-phårå-kå » *with two blades* (phala-); dialectal Bengali আমকা, তোমকা « åmåkå, tōmåkå » *of us, of you = our, your*; গদকা « gådåkå » *Indian club, cudgel* (< *ts.* gadå); দমকা « dåmåkå » *a rush of wind, a strong puff of wind*, beside দমক « dåmåkå » *puff, jerk* (Pers. « dam » *breath*); বড়কী « båråkī » *eldest daughter-in-law* (=*wife of the eldest one*); so মেজকী « mējåkī » < « måjhuå+kī », ছোটকী « chōṭåkī », etc.; কেটকো < কাঠকুয়া « kēṭåkō < *kåṭh-åk-uå » *a wooden vessel*; পুটকে « pūṭåkē < *pūṭ-åk-iyå » *a tiny one* (cf. পুটি « pūṭī » *a tiny girl, a small fish*); মুনকে « munåkē » < মণকিয়া « mån-åk-iyå » *a maund in weight, one who can eat food-stuffs weighing a maund*; so সেরকে « sēråkē < *sēr-åk-iyå » *weighing a seer*; সটকে « såṭåkē » < *সটকিয়া « såṭåk-iyå » *plain numeration table upto 100* (from *সটক, সড়ক « *såṭåkå, sådåkå » *plain movement?* seems wrongly to be connected with শত « śåtå » *hundred*, and turned into শতকিয়া « śåtå-k-iyå » as a « sådhu-bhåṣå » equivalent); কড়াকিয়া « kårå-k-iyå » *numeration table by fours and quarters* (কড়া kårå) *upto 100*; গণ্ডাকিয়া « gåṇḍå-k-iyå » *numeration table by fours* (গণ্ডা gåṇḍå) *and eighties, upto 400*; so বুড়কে < বুড়িকিয়া « buṛåkē < buṛi-k-iyå » *numeration table by twenties* (বুড়ি buṛi) *upto 2000*; পণকে < পণকিয়া « påṇåkē < påṇå-k-iyå » *numeration table by eighties* (পণ påṇå) *upto 8,000*; etc.

This affix would seem to be the Skt. pleonastic and adjectival « -ka » (see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1222), introduced into Second and Late MIA. as a *ts.* form, and normally becoming « -kka ». In Magadhan, it seems to have been used for the genitive, as, *e.g.*, in Maithilī « ghōrā-k » *horse's*, in Oṛiyā « puruṣāṇ-kā » *men's*, and in early and dialectal Bengali as well. In the other NIA. languages, like Western Hindī, however, the genitive affix « -kā, kau » etc. seems to have come from « kaa < kṛta » ; but it is not unlikely that there was some influence of this very common and resusciated OIA. affix. An adjective-genitive use of « -kka » is found also in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra: *e.g.*, « bappi-kī bhūmhaḍī » (= pāitṛkī bhūmiḥ). In the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' the « -ka » for the adjective genitive figures largely.

There is a pleonastic use of this « -kᶏ », mainly after verbs, in Bengali and in other Magadhan languages (see *infra*, Verb: 'Pleonastic Affixes'): *e.g.*, হইবেক « hᾱibē-kᶏ » *it will be* ; করুক « kᾱr-u-kᶏ » *let him do* ; ‡খালেক « khālē-kᶏ » *he ate* ; নাহিক « nāhi-kᶏ », MB. নাহিকয় « nāhi-k-ᾱy » *is not*, beside Early Assamese নাহিকন্ত « nāhi-k-ᾱntᾱ » *they are not* ; and Magahī « √hī-k », Maithilī « chi-k » *to be*. These last instances would show that « -kᶏ », like the « -ṛ- » affix (iii) below, was added to the root : probably here was some confusion with « -kᶏ » (i) (< √kṛ), as in ‡থা « thā » (< √sthā) beside থক, থাক « √thᾱk, thāk », Maithilī « √thik » (< √stabh + √kṛ). But « -ka » was used after other words also : *e.g.*, ‡কিন্তুক « kintu-kᶏ » *but* (kintu); etc.

See *infra*, under 'Tatsama Suffixes : « -ka »'.

(37) কর « -kᾱrᶏ ».

432. Found in দোকর, তেকর « dō-kᾱrᶏ, tē-kᾱrᶏ » *two-fold, three-fold*, is the Skt. noun « kara », which is also partly the source of the genitive, and of one of the dative affixes of Bengali, as well as of the common plural affix « -rā ».

(38) গোছ, গোচ « -gōc(h)ᶏ » < গোছের « gōch-ērᶏ ».

433. This is compounded with adjectives and nouns, and is used, like the English *-ish*, to mean 'like, resembling, of the group of.' The

word is the Skt. « guccha » *bundle*; and গোছ(ি) « gōchẹ (gōchā) » occurs as a numerative in Bengali. The use of the genitive form is apparently the older one : লম্বাগোছের মানুষ « lāmbā-gōchērẹ mānuṣẹ » lit. *a man of the ' tall-group '=a tallish man*, which was shortened to লম্বাগোছ মানুষ « lāmbā-gōchẹ mānuṣẹ »; so মাঝারী-গোছের > -গোছ « mājhārī-gōchērẹ, -gōchẹ » *about middling-sized*; ছোঁড়া-গোছের > -গোছ «chōṛā-gōchērẹ > -gōchẹ » *rather like a lad, youngish.*

(39) চ, আচ « -cẹ, -ācẹ ».

434. In a few words like কানাচ « kānācẹ » *belonging to the edge, edge*, কোণাচ « kōṇācẹ » *belonging to a corner, aslant*, ঘামাচী « ghāmācī » *prickly heat*,—the « -c- », or « -āc- » affix seems to be from the OIA. « -tya » forming adjectives (=karṇa-, kōṇa-, gharma- + -tya).

(40) জা « -jā ».

435. From « jāta », found in some familiar forms of surnames : = ' son of.' *E.g.*, ঘোষজা « Ghōṣẹ-jā » *of the Ghosh family*; বোসজা < *বসুজাত « Bōsẹ-jā < Bāsu-jāta » *of the Bose or Basu (Vasu) family*; মিত্তিরজা « Mittirẹ-jā » *of the Mitter (Mitra) family.*

(41) ট « -(ẹ)ṭẹ- » (i), and its extensions.

436. This affix, found in other NIA. speeches, forms quite an important group with its extensions, and indicates either some resemblance, connexion or modification in a general way, or trade or habit. In some cases it has become merely pleonastic, like the « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » suffixes (see below, §§449, 450), which seem to have influenced it in its pleonastic use. It represents a MIA. « *vaṭṭ- », from the OIA. formations « varta, vartika, vartikā; vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā » from « √vṛt ». This affix occurs in Hindōstānī as « -āwaṭ, -āhaṭ », and in other forms of NIA. also.

ট « -ẹṭẹ » < « vartta »: abstract or concrete nouns: দাপট « dāpẹṭẹ » *power, puissance, rule, high-handedness* (darpa-varta); সাপট « sāpẹṭẹ » *being in a fury, indulging in heroic gestures, seizing boldly* (sarpa-varta); ঝাপট, ঝাপট « j(h)āpẹṭẹ » *gripping, splashing, struggling, dashing as with wings*

(*jhampa-varta); আকট, আউট « āŋ(g)àṭ৴ » *entire, not torn (as of a plantain leaf)* (« aŋga-varta » : আকটী « aŋ(g)৴ṭā » *ring of a vessel*, আউটী « āŋṭI » *finger ring* represent « aŋguṣṭha »); মাথট « māthàṭ৴ » *capital levy* (*masta[ka]-varta), etc.; and other words like উচট, হোঁচট « ucàṭ৴, hõcàṭ৴ » *stumble* (? avn-tya + varta) also seem to have this affix. Cf. কেঁওট, ক্যাঁওট « kēōṭ৴ » [kæoṭ] (kēvaṭṭa < kāivarta).

ট « -àṭ৴ » from « vṛtta », forming adjectives and nouns : ধোঁয়াট « dhõàṭ৴ » *smoky, mass of smoke* (dhūma- > dhũā, dhõā + àṭ৴ < vṛtta); ঘোলাট « ghōlàṭ৴ » *muddy, muddiness* (« ghōlā » *muddy, turbid* < ghūrṇa + vṛtta); ভরাট « bharàṭ৴ » *filled-up, well-filled, a filling-up* (bhara- + vṛtta); জমাট « jàmàṭ৴ » *congealed, frozen, compact* (« jàmā » < Perso-Arab. « jamᵉ » + « vṛtta »); etc.

টা « -ṭā » (= « -àṭ৴ » above + « ā »): forms adjectives and nouns, and denominative bases from forms with < « -ṭ- » : চেপটা <*চিপটা « cēpàṭā <*cipàṭā » *flat* («√cip *press, flatten* + « vṛtta »: cf. MIA. « cividaa ». Skt. « cipiṭaka » = চিড়া, চিঁড়া « cirā, cĩrā » *flattened rice*, with the affix « -ḍ->-r-», see p. 689); ঝাপটা « jhāpàṭā » *spray of water, an ornament for the head with tassel of pearls* (cf. « jhāpàṭ৴ » above); নেওটা by Vowel Harmony নেওটো « nēōṭā » > [næoṭo] *affectionate, attached* (*nēhàṭ-ā < ṇeha-vaṭṭa-, snēha-vṛtta-); ঘষটা « ghàṣàṭā » *getting rubbed, or rubbing continuously*, as opposed to ঘষ « √ghàṣ » *to rub* (gharṣa-varta-); শুটকা < *শুখটা « sūṭàkā < *sūkhàṭā » *lean and thin, dried up, shrivelled* (śuṣka + vṛtta); উকটা « ukàṭā » *rummage, eagerly search* (*utka-varta-); কসটা, কচটা « kàsàṭā, kàcàṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); খেমটা « khēmàṭā » *a kind of style in dancing and singing* (? + varta); নেংটা « nēŋàṭā », ‡নেংটো [næŋṭo], লেংটা « lēŋgàṭā » *naked* (*naŋgaẇaṭṭa-, ṇaggavaṭṭa-, nagna-vṛtta-); পাঁসুটা « pãsuṭā » *ashen or grey in colour* (pãśu-vṛtta-); চিমটা « cimàṭā » *tongs, pincers* (MIA. ? *cimma + vṛtta); etc.

টী, টি « -ṭI, -ṭi », generally = the feminine form of the « -ṭ- » affix (< -vaṭṭia = vartikā, vṛttikā). In MB. and NB., the feminine force is absent, and « -ṭI, -ṭi » has become either merely pleonastic, or vaguely diminutive : *e.g.*, ঝাপটী, ঘুপটি « jhāpàṭI, ghupàṭi » *lying in wait to waylay* (? MIA. *ghappa, *ghuppa = ghõppa- + vṛttikā; cf. dialectal Bengali

‡বোপ(ৗ) « ghōp(ā) » *corner, nook*); চিমটী « cimāṭī » (MIA. *cimma + vṛttikā);
গুমটী « gumāṭī » *bastion, sentry-box, tower* (gulma + vartikā); *শুষ্টী >
শুটকী « *śūkhāṭī > śūṭāki » *dried fish* (? śuṣka-vṛttikā); ছিপটী « chipāṭī »
whip (kṣipra-); similarly we have this affix in words like খুনসুটী « khunā-
suṭī » *bickering, picking up a quarrel* ; etc.

টা « -ṭā » and টী, টি « -ṭī, -ti » have given the so-called post-fixed
'Definite Articles,' or 'Enclitic Definitives' of Bengali,—« -ṭā », the original
strong masculine base, implying biggishness or crudeness of the object,
and « -ṭī, -ṭi », originally feminine, implying smallness or daintiness.
Thus, we have একটা « ēkāṭā » *one piece, a big or ungainly article*, একটী
« ēkāṭī » *one piece, a small and nice one* (=*ŏkka-vaṭṭa-, *ŏkka-vaṭṭia <
ēka-vṛtta, -vṛttikā): so দু(ই)টা > দুটো, দু(ই)টী > « du(i)-ṭā > duṭō, -ṭī »;
তিনটা > তিন্টে, তিনটী « tinṭā > tinṭĕ, -ṭī », etc. The affix has gradually
become a distinct definitive in Bengali, being added to names of persons
and things and to adjectives : *e.g.*, গাছটা « gāchāṭā » *that tree, that big tree*,
but গাছটী « gāchṭī » *that tree, that nice little tree*; রামটা « Rāmāṭā » *that
ungainly, awkward, or bad fellow of a Rāma*, but রামটী « Rāmāṭī » *our good
fellow Rāma* ; so ভালটা, ভালটী « bhālā-ṭā, bhālā-ṭī »; etc. টা, টী also occur
dialectally as ডা, ডী « -ḍā, -ḍī ». The source of this টী, টা « -ṭā, -ṭī » has
been suggested as being গোটা, গুটী « gōṭā, guṭī » *piece* : but the latter is a
different word. See *infra* : under 'Numeratives or Enclitic Definitives.'

টিয়া > টে « -ṭiyā > -ṭē » (-ṭ- + -i- + -ā < -vṛtta + -ika- + -āka),
indicating 'habit' or 'nature,' or 'resemblance' : *e.g.*, আমটে < আঁইষটিয়া
« āmāṭē < *ā(w)iṣāṭiyā » *smelling of rank fish and flesh* (āmiṣa-vṛttika +
āka); ঘোলাটে « ghōlāṭē » *muddy-like* (see ঘোলাট « ghōlāṭā », p. 685); ভাড়াটে
< ভাড়াটিয়া « bhāṛāṭē < bhāṛāṭiyā » *tenant, (cab) plying for hire* (bhāṭaka-
vṛtta + -ika + -āka); ধোঁয়াটে « dhõāṭē » *smoking-like* (see ধোঁয়াট « dhõāṭā »,
p. 685); তামাটে « tāmāṭē » *copper-red in colour* (tāmā < tāmra-); রাঙাটে
« rāṅ(g)āṭē » *reddish* (রাঙা rāṅgā *red*); পাঁসুটে « pāsuṭē » *greyish* (see
পাঁসুটা « pāsuṭā », p. 685); রোগাটে « rōgāṭē » *sickly, lean and thin like*
(< রোগা « rōg-ā » *sick*, see p. 659); ঝগড়াটে « jhāgāṛāṭē » *quarrelsome*
(<jhāgāṛā); হিংসুটে < *হিংসুকটিয়া « hiṣāṭē < ts. * hiṅsuka+-ṭiyā »,
beside হিংসুটে « hiṅsuṭē » *envious and spiteful* ; etc., etc.

Connected with this « -ṭ- » affix is ড় « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » (i) below.

(42) ট « -ৰ্টৰ্ » (ii).

437. Iu a few words, which may be called disguised compounds : from Skt. or OIA. « paṭṭa ». Examples : লেঙট, লাঙট « lēṅgāṭ₫, lāṅgāṭ₫ » (*laṅga-paṭṭa, liṅga-paṭṭa), see p. 347 ; মলাট « mālāṭ₫ » *cover of a book*, literally *dust-board* (মল « mālā » + পাট « pāṭ₫ » < « paṭṭa ») ; a feminine > diminutive-pleonastic extension as in কষটী « kāṣāṭī, kāṣāṭī < kāṣāṭī » *assaying stone* (karṣa-paṭṭikā, Hind. kasauṭī) ; etc.

(43) ট « -ṭ- » (iii) > আট « -āṭ₫ », also আটি « -āṭi », উটি « -uṭi », ইটি « -iṭi », টি « -ṭi ».

438. Like some of the other suffixes noted above, this is really a decayed word figuring in a number of disguised compounds. The source of it is « *mṛtta, mṛttikā » *earth*, Beng. মাট, মাটী « māṭ₫, māṭī ». Examples : ধোলাট « dhōlāṭ₫ » *soil washed down by rains* ; ধরাটী « dhaṛāṭī » *earth heaped up for an embankment* (dharā + māṭī < mṛttikā) ; ‡পেটাটি, পেটুটি « pēṭōṭi, pēṭuṭi » *earth and bits of jute mixed, for plastering mud huts* (pāṭ₫ + māṭī > *pāṭ₫wāṭī, *pāṭuāṭī) ; তুষাটি, তুষুটি « tuṣāṭī, tuṣuṭī » *chaff and earth mixed* (tuṣa- + mṛttikā) ; খড়িটি « khaṛiṭi » *chalk and earth* (khaṭikā *chalk*).

(44) ড় « -ṛ- » (i) > -ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī », ড়িয়া > ড়ে « -ṛiyā > -ṛē ».

439. The « -ṛ- » affix in a number of words indicates habit or profession, or some sort of connexion : *e.g.*, বাসাড়ে < বাসাড়িয়া « bāsāṛē > bāsāṛiyā » *dweller in a lodging house or hired apartments* (< বাসা *lodging house*, < vāsa-) ; যোগাড় « jōgāṛ₫ » *arrangement, supply* (< *ts.* yōga) ; যোগাড়ে < যোগাড়িয়া « jōgāṛē < -ṛiyā » *an organiser, a man clever at arranging things* ; তুখড় < *তিখড় « tukhāṛ₫ < * tikhaṛa » *sharp one, clever one* (< tikkha = tīkṣṇa) ; বাকুড়া Bākuṛā » *name of a person* in MB. « baṅka, vaṅka, vakra » : when the place name, = *Bankurah*, the affix would seem to be of different origin : see under « -ṛ- » [ii] below ; আগড় « āgaṛ₫ » *basket-work door of hut* (agra-) ; *কাঁসড়িয়া > কাঁসুড়ে « *phāsāṛiyā > phāsuṛē » *one who strangles and robs*

travellers (ph**ā**s**ḍ** *halter-rope with loop*) ; ঘাসিয়াড়া > ঘেসেড়া « ghāsiāṛā > ghēsēṛā » *grass-cutter* (ghāsḍ, *ghāsī grass*) ; নাউড়ে « nāuṛe < *nāwáriā » *a boat-man* ; MB. ধাউড়, ধাউড়িয়া « dhāuṛḍ, dhāuṛiyā » *a runner* ; খেলোয়াড় « khēlōāṛḍ » *a player, an expert* > *a smart and sharp person* (slang) ; জুয়াড়ী « juārī » *gamester*, see p. 668 ; *সাপড়িয়া < সাপুড়ে « *sāpáriyā > sāpuṛē » *snake-charmer* ; লুঠেরা < *লুঠিয়াড়া « luṭhērā < *luṭhiārā » < « √luṭh » *plunder*, cf. Hindi « luṭērā » *robber* ; ভাঙ্গড় « bhāṅ(g)áṛḍ » *one who indulges in 'bhāṅg'* ; কেওড়া « kēōṛā » *a low caste* (*kēvaṭa-), beside কেওট « kēoṭḍ » (< kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta) ; etc.

The source of this « -ṛ- » would seem to be the OIA. « √vṛt », in a form like « vṛtā » = *work, labour, movement*, found in the Rig-Vēda, which would give a MIA. « *vaṭā> *vaḍā> *vaḍḍ » By extension with « -ā, -iyā, -ī < -ika » etc., we get the ড়, ড়িয়া, ড়ী etc.

(45) ড় « -ṛ- », ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī » (ii).

440.　This occurs in some place-names, and it comes from a Late OIA. and Early MIA. « vāṭa » *enclosure* which is found in Sanskrit as a « guṇa » formation from « vaṭa < vṛ-ta », < « √vṛ » *to cover, to enclose*. ড়ী, ড়ি « -ṛī, -ṛi » as an affix in Bengali would therefore represent « vāṭikā » compounded with words. Examples : আখড়া « ākhaṛā », Hind. « akhārā » *enclosed ground for physical exercise, club* (akṣa-vāṭa-) ; ভাগাড় « bhāgāṛḍ » *place outside village where dead cattle are cast away* (? « bhagna+vāṭa » : connexion with হাড় « hāṛḍ » *bones* is popularly suggested) ; গোয়াড়ী « gōāṛī » *place-name* = *Gowari near Krishnagar in Nadiya* (gōpa-vāṭikā) ; খোঁয়াড় « khõāṛḍ » *pig-sty* (? Persian « xug » *swine*> Bengali « *khōgá, *khō, khõ » +« vāṭa »). The Sanskritised « nāu-vāṭa » *a fleet of boats or ships, a dock*, met with in old Bengal inscriptions, represents an Old Bengali « *nāwa-wāḍa », which was Persianised into « nawwārah » by the Mohammedans : « *nāwa-wāḍa » may be connected with the dialectal word নাউড়ে above (§449).

The word « vāṭa » may equally be the source of ড়া « -ṛā » in place names, although a non-Aryan origin, Kōl or Dravidian, for that affix is not unlikely (see *supra*, p. 66).

The word বাটোৱাড় « bāṭoārḍ » *high-way robber* (bāṭa < vartman) has nothing to do with « ṛ », (i) or (ii), although « -ṛ- » (i) might have been confused with it: it comes from MB. বাটপাড় « bāṭa-pāṛā », in which form it still occurs in NB. (< causative root « pāṭaya- »).

(46) ড় « -ṛ- », ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī » (iii).

441. Pleonastic affix, derived from « -ḍa- », which was widely used in Late MIA.: *e.g.*, « vaccha-ḍa (vatsa), diaha-ḍa (divasa), gōra-ḍ-ī (gāurī), nēha-ḍ-ā (snēha), hiya-ḍ-ā (hṛdaya), dōsa-ḍ-ā (dōṣa), pārakka-ḍ-ā (parakīyā), bhumha-ḍ-ī (bhūmi), tēva-ḍ-u (tadvat), bh(r)anta-ḍ-ī (bhrānti), nidda-ḍ-ī (nidrā), dēsa-ḍa (dēśa), sandēsa-ḍā (sandēśa) », as in the Apabhraṁśa fragments in Hēma-candra; « dukkha-ḍ-ā (duḥkha) », as in the 'Saṁjama-mañjarī' ; etc.   The « -ḍa- » affix seems to have come into special prominence in the *spoken dialects* of Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A. C.   It is also very likely that it was largely used in the spoken language in the earlier stages of MIA., but the remains of First, Transitional and Second MIA. do not use it lavishly ; and in Third MIA. literary remains, where the style is exclusively artificial and is modelled on the Prakrit *kāvyas* (as in the Jaina works like the 'Bhavisatta-Kaha'), it is not so common either.   The Ap. verses in Hēma-candra's grammar form specimens of genuine popular poetry, and hence the « -ḍ- » words are so much in evidence there.   All NIA. speeches show numerous forms with « -ḍa- > -ṛ- » ; and some kinds of NIA., *e.g.*, the Rājasthānī dialects, employ it more lavishly than the rest, affixing it to passive participles quite freely.

The Second and Third MIA. « -ḍa » rests on a First MIA. « -ṭa- », which would normally represent an OIA. « -ṭa- » (or a dental « -ta- », with or without a « r » or « ṛ » to cerebralise it).   (Cf. Pischel, §599.)   In Skt., we have a number of words with a « -ṭa » affix, words which are mostly late, but a few like « marka-ṭa » undoubtedly go back to pre-Buddhic times: *e.g.*, « marka-ṭa (regarded as being Dravidian in origin : cf. Tamil « maram » *tree*) ; kaṇka-ṭa, karka-ṭa (see p. 368) ; karpa-ṭa *rag* (< *√[s]karp) ; parka-ṭī ; karva-ṭa ; kukku-ṭa ; lak-u-ṭa > lag-u-ḍa ;

muk-u-ṭa (?) ; cip-i-ṭa *flattened rice* ; vadhū-ṭī ; kula-ṭā (explained as being from « kula + √aṭ ») ; barba-ṭa » ; etc. This « -ṭa » is not found in Vedic. There is nothing in the non-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Kōl, to warrant any influence from that side. And such a characteristic IA. suffix, so persistent in all the forms of NIA., can reasonably be expected to have an OIA. source. It seems quite possible that this « -ṛa < -ḍa < -ṭa » is only a form of a « -ta », undoubtedly the same as the passive participle affix, which was used as a secondary affix in some noun and adjective formations in Vedic (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1176, § 1245 ; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, § 209) : *e.g.*, « eka-tá, dvi-tá, tri-tá ; muhūr-tá ; ava-tá *well* ; raja-tá ; párva-ta ». Some sense of connexion with or modification of the original idea is implied by this « -ta », which also is not absent in the NIA. « -ṛa ». By spontaneous cerebralisation (see *supra*, pp. 487-488), « -ta- » can very well give « -ṭa » in dialectal OIA. and in Early MIA. Thus we have OIA. « vibhī-ta-ka (beside « vibhīdaka » : < « √bhid » ?) > *vibhī-ṭa-ka* » > MIA. « bahēḍaa- » > NIA. « bahēṛā » ; OIA. « āmr-á-ta-ka > *āmrā-ṭa-ka* » > MIA. « ambāḍaa- » > NIA. আমড়া « āmṛā » ; and OIA. « śr̥ṅg-á-ta-ka-, śr̥ṅg-á-ṭa-ka- » > NIA. « siṅgāṛā ». Throughout the whole history of IA., « -ta> -ṭa > -ḍa> -ṛa » would seem to have been fairly common in the *spoken* language ; and after phonetic decay had put an end to most of the characteristic OIA. affixes in the Second NIA. stage, the « -ḍa » affix, with its strong cerebral sound, seems to have become quite a prominent and a popular one. The large number of names in « -ḍa », Sanskritised to « -ṭa » during the Second and Third MIA. periods (see *ante*, p. 89), would also indicate its popularity in the Indo-Aryan speech from the early centuries of the first millennium A.C.

Hoernle's derivation of this affix from a Skt. « -dr̥śa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 218) is phonologically inadmissible ; there is also the fact that the earlier form of « -ṛa < -ḍa » was « -ṭa ».

Examples of « -ṛa- » from Bengali : OB. (Caryā 38) « nãva-r-ī » (nãva, nãu) ; (Caryās 10, 20) « bãp-u-ṛ-ã » *a Kāpālika* (cf. Śaurasēnī Ap. vappuḍã) ; (Caryā 10) « pãkh-u-ṛ-ī » *petal* (pakṣa = parva) ; MB. (ŚKK.) মুদড়ী « mudāṛī » beside ‡মুদি « mudi » *ring* (mudrā) ; MB. সিঙাড়ী

« diyāṛī » *lamp* (< dīpa); মাকড় « mākāṛ₫ » (markaṭa); কাপড় « kāpāṛ₫ »
(karpaṭa); রাজড়া « rājāṛā » *king, rich men* as in রাজা-রাজড়া « rājā-rājāṛā »
kings and swells; so গাছ-গাছড়া « gāchā-gāchāṛā » *plants and herbs*
(gaccha), কাঠ-কাঠড়া « kāṭhā-kāṭhāṛā » *wood and timber* (kāṣṭha); পাতড়া
« pātāṛā » *leaves and sticks* (< patra); আঁকড়ী « ā̃kāṛī » *loopin writing*
(aṅka); শাশুড়ী < *শাশড়ী « śāśuṛī < *śāśāṛī » *mother-in-law*, beside শাশ
« śāś₫ » in compounds (śvaśrū); চামড়া « cāmāṛā » *hide, skin* (carma); পাখড়া
« pākhāṛā » *scapular-bone* (pakṣa); খাগড়া « khāgāṛā » *reed, marsh plant
with sharp edge* (khaḍga); বাগড়া « bāgāṛā » *obstruction* (sts. < vyāghāta +
-rā); ঝগড়া « jhāgāṛā » *quarrel* (see p. 478); আঁতুড়ী, আঁতড়ী « ā̃t(u)ṛī » *entrails*
(antra); বহুড়ী « bā(h)uṛī » (vadhūṭī, vadhūṭī, vadhūṭikā); ঝিউড়ী < *ঝিঅড়ী
« jhiuṛī < *jhiāṛī » (<duhitṛ); মোহড়া < মুহড়া « mōhāṛā < muhāṛā » *vanguard*
(mukha); কেওড়া « kēōṛā » (kētaka-); চিঁড়া, চিড়া « cīṛā, ciṛā » *flattened rice*
(cipiṭa-); চুমকুড়ী « cumkuṛī » *making the sound of kissing* > *assuring* (*as a
horse*) (cumba-); ফুসকুড়ি « phuskuṛī » *a small boil* beside ফোস্কা « phōskā »
a large boil or sore; মামড়ী « māmāṛī » *crust on the surface, as on a healing sore*
(marman *sensitive or exposed part*); চুপড়ী, চুবড়ী « cupāṛī, cubāṛī » *basket*
(from a *dēśī* root meaning *to cover ?* cf. চুপ « cupā » *quiet, hidden*; চাপ
« √cāp » *press*); চাঙড়া « cāṅ(g)āṛā » *large basket*; হিজড়া « hijāṛā » *herm-
aphrodite* (< Pers. « hīz »); etc.

The « -ṛ » affix also figures in verb-roots: দৌড় « √dāu-ṛ- » *run* (dava-
ḍa, drava- < dru); see *infra*, under 'Verb: Roots.'

In some cases, « -ṛ- » figures as র « -r- » apparently through originally
dialectal pronunciation: *e.g.*, কাঠরা « kāṭhāṛā », see *supra*; গাঠরী beside
গাঠড়ী « gāṭhāṛī, -ṛī » *baggage* (granthi); টুকরা « ṭukāṛā » *a piece*, beside
Hindōstānī « ṭukṛā » (see p. 489); ছোকরা « chōkāṛā » *a boy* (conn. with
« śāba » > ছা « chā » ?); চাঙারী « cāṅ(g)āṛī » *little basket*, beside চাঙড়া
« cāṅ(g)āṛā » above; পেটরা « pēṭāṛā » *box* (*pēṇṭa = pēṭṭa =pēṭa-); বাঁশরী
« bā̃śāṛī » *bamboo flute* (vaṁśa); ছায়রা « chāyrā » *shade* (see p. 342); ভায়রা
« bhāyrā < bhāi » *wife's sister's husband*; etc.

(47)   ত « -t₫ », তী « -tī » (i).

442. Found in a few words, in the abstract sense. From MIA.

« -tta » < OIA. « -tva » : *e.g.*, MB. আইহত > আয়াত > NB. এৱে « āïhåtå > āyyåtå > ōōtå » (avidhavatva), also with তী « -tī » with « -ı < -ikā » ; *sts.* ‡« raizot » (= rājya + tva) in the ‘Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed.’ This affix was later reinforced by the Perso-Arabic affix noted at p. 656.

(48) ত « -tå », তা « -tå », তী « -tī » (ii).

443. From « patra- » as well as « pātra- », a decayed word figuring in some disguised compounds in which it has acquired the force of an affix : *e.g.*, নামতা « nāmåtā » *multiplication table* (nāma-patra-); রাঙতা « rāṅ(g)åtā » *tinsel, copper-foil* (raṅga-patra-); চাকতি « cākåti » *some flat or mashed object cut into a ring* (cakra-patra + -ikā); চুনাতি « cūnāti » *lime-box (for betel)* (cūrṇa-pātra + -ikā); MB. চামাতি « cāmāti » *thong* (carma-patra + -ikā) : cf. also করাত « kåråtå » *saw* (kara-patra).

(49) ত « -tå », ত « -tå », তী « -tī », উতি « -uti » (iii).

444. From « -putra, -putrika, -putrikā » : a decayed word in disguised compounds : *e.g.*, জেঠুত, খুড়ুত, মাসুত, পিসুত « jēṭhut(å), khuṛut(å), māsut(å), pisut(å) » respectively, = *son of father's elder brother, father's younger brother, mother's sister, father's sister*, also with তা « -tå » (see p. 503); MB. (ŚKK) একুইতি « ēkåuiti » (ēka-putrikā); বালতি « bālåti » as in « råṛı bālåtı » *widow, and having small children only* (bāla-putrikā); চাটুতি « cāṭuti » *a surname = Chatterji* (« caṭṭa-putra- » : see p. 409).

(50) নৌ, নি « -nı, -ni », ন « -nå »; ইনি « -i-ni »; আনী, অনি, উনি « -ānı, -åui, -uni ».

445. In OIA. « -nı » and « -ānı » are two feminine suffixes which occur with a number of forms, *e.g.*, « pat-nı » (< pat-i); « paruṣ-ṇı » (paruṣa); « rōhi-ṇı (fem. of « rōhi-ta » : may be from « *rōh-in ») ; asi-k-nı, har-i-k-nı »; and « indr-āṇı, varuṇ-āṇı, rudr-ā-ṇı, bhav-āṇı, upādhyāy-āṇı, mātul-āṇı », etc. (Cf. Whitney, § 1176 d, § 1223 b, c.) Here « -ı » is the proper feminine-indicating affix, and the « -n-, -ān- » apparently belonged to the base of the noun. Practically no form in NIA. has come down with

this « -nī, -ānī » of OIA. (cf. the word गर, गरी « sātṣ́, sātā », Hind. « saut » < MIA. « savattī » < OIA. « sa-patnī »).

The OIA. feminine affix « -ā » was lost (see *supra*, pp. 305 ff.), and « -ī » also has generally not come down to NIA.,—it was weakened to « -ı̆ » in Late MIA., and when not after a vowel, it has dropped off in Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 307 ff.). OIA. « -ikā » gave, through Late MIA. « -iă », the most common, it may be said the most characteristic feminine affix of NIA., namely « -ī, -i » (cf. pp. 307, 672).

But there was the large class of nouns in OIA. with the attributive suffix « -in », giving in the masculine nominative singular « -ī » (« mālī, yōgī » etc.), and feminine nominative singular « -in-ī » (mālinī, yoginī). This supplied to MIA. numerous feminine forms differentiated from the masculine only by « -inī, -iṇī », especially when the nominative came to be used for all the cases in the masculine, the « -in- » of the base being totally lost. Some common isolated words like « raṇṇī », NIA. « rānī » (rājñ-ī), fem. of « rāa, rāja » (rājan, rājā) also helped to establish this « -nī » as a feminine affix. So that in Late MIA., « -iṇī (-nī, -anī, -nī) » also was a well-marked feminine affix, side by side with « -ia < -ikā ». Moreover, « -iṇī (inī) » was partly generalised, and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong; and when added to masculine nouns in « -ă », the « -i- » was dropped, making it « -ă-nī ». NIA. thus inherited this « -inī, -a-nī (-iṇī, -a-ṇī) », although more restricted than « -ī », from Late MIA. In most NIA. of the recent period ('New' NIA.), the final vowel « -ī, -i » has dropped, leaving the affix at « -n (-ṇ) »; and when in a language like Bengali, we have the full form in « -nī, -ni », it is due only to the influence of *ts.* feminine words in « -in-ī, -ānī ».

The « -i-nī, -a-nī » affix in the older periods of NIA. was not so common, and its improper use (that is, in the « -a-nī » form with original OIA. vowel bases) was less frequent; in the older periods we have commonly « -ī ». Gradually the « -n- » form, as more distinctive, came to dispute the field with « -ī », and to oust it from many words, and now it may be said to be equally important with « -ī » in most NIA. speeches; and in some, it is even more important. The loss of the gender sense

in the *adjective* in Bengali is also partly responsible for the curtailment of « -I », and « -nī » is becoming more prominent in distinctive feminine *nouns*.

Examples : cases of « -nī < -in-ī » in OB.: « jöinī » (yōginī) ; « kariṇi », masc. « karinā » (kariṇī), cf. « hariṇī », masc. « harinā » (hariṇa) ; « ghariṇi, MB., NB. ঘরণী ghạrạnī » (gṛhiṇī) ; « śuṇḍini » (« śuṇḍin-ī » ; also « sāuṇḍika > *soṇḍia, *śuṇḍi », fem « śuṇḍi-nī ») ; MB. and NB. examples : NB. গোয়ালিনী, গয়লানী « gōālinī, gạylānī », fem. of গোয়ালা, গয়লা « gōālā, gạylā » *milk-man* (the old feminine from is গোয়ালী « gōāl-ī », which occurs 15 times in ŚKK., whereas the new form গোআলিনী « gōālinī » is found in the same work 12 times) ; MB. (ŚKK.) কালিনী রাতি « kālinī rāti » *black night* ; চোরনী, চুরনী « cōranī > curạnī », ŚKK. চুরণী, চুরিণী « curaṇī, curiṇī » *woman thief* ; NB. চাঁড়ালনী « cằrālạnī » *Caṇḍāla woman* (OB.=চণ্ডালী caṇḍālī) ; NB. *sls.* অভাগিনী « abhāginī », besides the older আভাগী, আবাগী « āb(h)āgī » (< abhāgya) ; MB. টেটনী « tẹṭạnī », *bad woman* beside older ঠাঁটী « ṭhāṭ-ī » (<dhṛṣṭa ?) ; NB. ডোমনী, ডুমনী « ḍōmạ-nī, ḍum-nī » *Ḍōm woman* (=OB. ডোম্বী ḍōmbī) ; NB. পাগলিনী « pāgạlinī » beside older পাগলী « pāgạlī » *mad woman* (the first is a literary word, the second commoner, and is used also affectionately—পাগলিনী would be regarded as being from পাগল *mad, mad one*, and পাগলী from পাগলা *the mad one, madcap*) ; NB. মেছুনী « mēchunī < *māchuā-nī » *fish-wife* ; NB. বেহাইন, বেহান, বেয়ান্ « bēhāin, bē(h)ān » (vāivā-hika>বেহাই bēhāi + -nī) ; NB. বাঙ্গালিনী « bạṇgālini » *Bengali woman*, a new, literary form, beside বাঙ্গালনী « bāṇ(g)āl̇-nī » *woman from East Bengal* (but OB. বঙ্গালী « baṇgālī » *woman from East Bengal*, as in the Caryās, < বঙ্গাল « baṇgāla » *East Bengal people, or land*) ; সোহাগিনী « sōhāginī » *woman beloved by her husband*, beside older সোহাগী « sōhāgī » (< sāubhāgya-) : ননদিনী « nanạdinī », a new formation, literary, beside the proper word ননদ « nanạdạ » (nanandṛ) ; সতিন « sạtin » *co-wife* (sapatnī + -nī), also সতিনী « sạtinī »: cf. Bihārī « sawatiniyā », Hind. « sautin » beside Bengali সৎ, সতা « sạtạ, sạtā » and Hind. « saut » ; নাতিন « nātin », MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিনী « nātinī », also নাতনী « nātnī », *grand-daughter* feminine of নাতী « nātī » (naptṛ-) : here we have NB. loss of final « -ī » of MIA. ; so মিতিন « mitin » *girl friend* (< mitra), ঠাকর(া)ন, ঠাকরুন, ঠান্ < ঠাকুরাণী « ṭhākrān, ṭhākrạn, ṭhākrun, ṭhān < ṭhākur-āṇī » *Madam, Lady* (< « ṭhākura +

-ānī »; the wife of a « ṭhākurḍ » *a cook*, or *a Rajput* would be ঠাকুরনী « ṭhākurḍ-nī », a modern formation); ‡ঘুড়নী > ৩ন্নি (Chittagong) « ghur-nī > gunni » = «*ghoḍa-nī » *mare*, beside older ঘুড়ী < *ঘোড়ী « ghuṛī < *ghōṛī » (= *ghōṭ-ikā); বাঘিনী « bāghinī » *tigress* (< vyāghra); সাপিনী « sāpinī » *female snake* (<sarpa); সিংহিনী « siṅhinī » (< siṅha); etc.

(আ)নী « -ānī » has become the common affix to denote a woman of a particular caste or profession : সেকরানী « sēkḍrānī » *woman of the goldsmith caste* (<« sēkyakāra », see pp. 194-195); ধোবানী « dhōbānī », *woman of the washerman caste*; কায়েৎনী « kāyetḍnī » *a Kāyastha woman*; বদ্যিনী « bḍdyi-nī » *woman of the Vaidya caste*; কুমোরনী « kumōrḍ-nī <kum(h)ārḍ-nī » *woman of the potter caste* (< kumbha-kāra); চামারনী « cāmārḍ-nī » *woman of the leather-worker caste* (< carmakāra); মেথরনী « mēthḍr-nī » *sweeper-woman*, beside মেথরাণী « methḍrāṇī » (< Persian « mihtar » *prince*, by euphemism, commonly spelt like রাণী « rāṇī » with the cerebral « ṇ »); চৌধুরাণী « caudhu-rāṇī » *lady of the Chaudhuri family*; ডাক্তারনী « ḍāktārnī » *Lady Doctor*; মাষ্টারনী « māṣṭar-nī » *school-mistress*.

A great many common forms, however, have retained the old « -ī » and have not taken up the « -nī » : *e.g.*, মামী « māmī » *mother's brother's wife* has not been ousted by MB. (ŚKK.) মাউলানী « māulānī » (mātulānī); কাকী « kākī », খুড়ী « khuṛī » *father's younger brother's wife*; জেঠী « jēṭhī » (=jyēṣṭhikā), জেঠাই « jēṭhāi » (=jyēṣṭhḍryikā) *father's elder brother's wife*; শালী « śālī » *wife's sister*; খুকী « khukī » *girl baby* (<khōkā); রামী « Rāmī » (< Rāma), শ্যামী, শামী « Ś(y)āmī » (<Śyāma), বামী « Bāmī » (Vāmā +-ī), forms of women's names among the lower classes; দুলালী « dulālī » *darling*, etc. In many feminine adjectives, the MB. « -ī » has now been dropped with the weakening of the gender-sense, as in MB. (ŚKK.) বিতপনী « bitḍpanī » (= vitapanā), পাতলী « pātḍlī » *slim* (< patra-la-), বিকলী « bikḍlī » (= vikalā), দারুণী « dāruṇī » (=dāruṇa), কোঅলী « kḍli=kōঅলী » (=kōmalā), আনাথী « ānāthī » (=anāthā), etc. In Late MB. and in NB., when through the influence of Sanskrit, the « -ānī, -inī » affix was regarded as an elegant form, *tbh.* formations like ননদিনী, পাগলিনী, etc., etc., were evolved by the dozen in the literary language, as well as *sts.* ones like নাগিনী, চণ্ডালিনী and চণ্ডালনী, বিহঙ্গিনী, চাতকিনী, কায়স্থিনী, প্রেতিনী (> colloquial

গেতুনী), পণ্ডিতানী, অনাথিনী, হতভাগিনী, রজকিনী, নাপিতানী (colloquial নাপিৎনী, নাপিনী), ভিক্কুনী (< MIA. Pali « bhikkhunī ») শূন্যানী (Śūnya-Purāṇa), etc., and quite a host of others, some of which are not Sanskrit at all (*e.g.,* বন্দিনী « bāndinī » *woman prisoner* from Persian « bandī »); but they are very freely used. (See Lalit-Mōhan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' Calcutta, San 1320, pp. 40 ff.)

The « -nī » affix is not be confused with « -ānī » (13a, 14) discussed before, and also with the « -nī » in some isolated words, like রানী « rānī » (see p. 674), কাহিনী « kāhinī » *tale* (< *kathinikā=kathānikā), etc.

(51) পনা « pānā ».

446. This well-known NIA. affix, indicating state or function, is from OIA. « -tvana- ». From the change of « tv- > -pp- », it would seem to have originated in the South-western IA. region during the First MIA. stage, whence it spread elsewhere (see p. 508, *supra*). Examples; ঢীটপনা « dhīṭ̣a-pānā » (dhṛṣṭa +-tvana-); গিন্নীপনা < গৃহিণীপনা « ginnī-pānā < gṛhiṇī-pānā »; etc.

There is an affix পানা, পনা « -pānā, -pānā » meaning ' like,' ' resembling,' ' similar to,' which seems to be a blend of পনা « -pānā » (in an extended, adjectival use) and the *sts.* word পারা « pārā » *like* < « *parāā < prāya- »: *e.g.,* চাঁদপানা « cā̐d̠-pānā » beside চাঁদ-পারা « cā̐d̠-pārā » *moon-like*; কুলাপানা, কুলাপনা, কুলোপনা « kulā-pānā, kulā-pānā, kulō-pānā » *(flat and broad) like a winnowing-fan* ; লালপানা « lāl̠-pānā » *reddish* ; etc.

(52) মত « -māt̠, -mātā », মন « -mān̠ » < মন্ত « -mantā ».

447. Occurring in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, like এমত « ē-māt̠ » *like this* যেমত « jē-māt̠ » *like that*, etc. The form in « -n̠ » is due to influence of MB. « kēhānā, jēhānā » etc. See *infra*, under the ' Pronoun.' It is used as an independent word as well, *e.g.,* আমার মত « āmār̠ mātā » *like me, of my sort*. A blend মতন « mātān̠ » =« mātā + mān̠ » is also found. It is from MIA. « -manta » (< OIA. « -mant- »), which figures also as a stereotyped form in some adjectives and some names, *e.g.,* শ্রীমৎ « śrī-mántā » *prosperous*, পরমৎ « pāy̠-mántā » *lucky*,

luck-bringing (pada *status, position*), হনুমন্ত(৷) « Hânumànt(ā) » *Hanuman*; etc.

The MIA. affix « -vanta », influenced by the Skt. form of it, also gave the Bengali বন্ত « -bàntā » in words like গুণবন্ত « guṇā-bàntā », ভাগ্যবন্ত « bhāgyā-bàntā », etc.

Persian « -mand », cognate with the Indo-Aryan « -mant- », reinforced these affixes in Late MB., *e.g.*, « ᶜaql-mand, dāniš-mand », etc.

(53) রূ > রু > উর « *-rū > -ru, -urǎ ».

448. Originally implying 'similarity, intensity,' from OIA. « rūpa » *form, shape* > MIA. « -rūva », this affix is generally used pleonastically in NIA. in which it occurs in only a few words: *e.g.*, *গোরু >গোর, « *gō-rū > gō-ru » *ox, cow, cattle,* wrongly spelt গরু in Bengali: cf. Hindī গৈ « gō-rū » (< « gō-rūpa », originally meaning *buffalo*); সাজারু « sājā-ru » *porcupine,* beside the simple form ‡ সেঁজা, সেঁজা « sëjā, hëzā » (śalyaka- + rūpa: p. 476); বাছুর < *বাছুর « bāch-urǎ < *bācha-rū » (cf. Hindōstānī « bach-rū », Marāṭhī « vās-rū »), beside MB. বাছা « bāchā » *calf* (vatsa-rūpa); MB. শশারু « śaśā-ru » *hare* (śaśa-+rūpa); MB. ঘোড়ারু « ghōṛā-ru » *a kind of deer* (ghōṭaka-+rūpa); also MB. তুলারু « tulā-ru » *a kind of deer* (<?); ‡ গাবুর, গাভুর, MB. গাভর « gāb(h)-urǎ < gābhā-ru » (cf. Hindōstānī « gabh-rū ») *young person* (« garbha-rūpa » *children, young persons* as in the 'Divyâvadāna'); MB. (ŚKK.) জিঙ্গালারু « jiṅgālā-ru » the 'Jiṅgini' or 'Jiger' tree ; MB. কাঁউর, কাঁড়ুর « Kā̃-urǎ, Kā̃w-urǎ » <OB. কামরু « Kāmaru =*Kāwa-rū » (as in Caryā 2 : « Kāma-rūpa » i.e. West Assam: see *supra,* p. 299). Cf. also Marāṭhī « pākh-rū » *bird* (pakṣa-rūpa), Bhōjpuriyā « meherā-rū » *wife,* beside « meher » (mahilā-rūpa, mahilā), Skt. « hṛṣṭa-rūpa » *exceedingly glad.*

(54) ল « -lǎ », লা « -lā », লী « -lī ».

449. A common OIA. affix (with a variant « -ra »), « la » is found in the adjectival sense, meaning also 'possessing.' The pleonastic (svârthǎ) value also is very common ; as well as a slightly modifying sense. The affixes « -ila » (see pp. 676-71) and « -ula » (< MIA. « -ulla », Bengali

« -ulɇ », as in MB. নাজউলী « lājɇulī »=« lajjā-śīlā », and ৰাতুল » rātulɇ » *red*
<MIA. « *rattulla »=OIA. « rakta + -ula ») are forms of this affix, with
« -i- » and « -u- » themes. The affix is in some cases found in the form of
« -r- », due probably to Bihārī influence, original Māgadhī « -l- » becoming
« -r- » in Bihārī (see *supra*, pp. 536-538). Examples : আদল « ādɇlɇ »
resemblance (as of one face to another) (OB. ādaa < advaya + -la), beside
আদৰা « adɇrā » ; আধলা « ādhɇlā » *half, half-piece*, beside আধেলা « ādhēlā »
(ardha) ; MB. উতরলী « utɇrɇlī » (fem. in « -ī < -ikā »), NB. উতরোল,
উতরল « utɇrolɇ < utɇrɇlɇ » *anxious* (uttvara-la) ; ছাওয়াল « chāwālɇ » *child*,
ছাওয়ালিয়া > ছালিয়া, ছেলে « chāwāliyā>chāliyā, chēlē » *boy* (śāba-+-la+-iyā) ;
পোলা « pōlā » beside পো(আ) « pō(ā) » *son, child* (pōta-la-) ; MB. ছেলি « chēli »
Bhōjpuriyā « chērī » *she-goat* (chagalikā < chaga) ; গাড়ল, গাড়র « gārɇlɇ,
gārɇrɇ » *sheep* (cf. Late Skt. « gaddalikā < gaddala » *rolling animal, as in
the entire flock*) ; দীঘল « dīghɇlɇ » *long* (dīrgha-la) ; OB. fem. আগলি « āgali »
advanced (Caryā 32 : <agra-la-) ; পাকল « pākɇlɇ » *ripe, well-ripened* (pakva-
la) ; হাড়ল « hāɽɇlɇ » *big, open-mouthed pot* (cf. হাড়ী, হাড়া « hāɽī, hāɽā » *large
pot*) ; পাতলা « pātɇlā » *lean and thin < like a leaf* (patra-la-), MB. fem.
পাতলী « pātɇlī » ; MB. নহলী=নঅলী « nɇ(h)ɇlī », fem. *fresh, new* (*nava-
l-ikā) ; MB. (KKC.) সোহাগলী « sōhāgɇlī » *wife beloved by her husband*
(sāubhāgya+-lī) ; MB. বিজুলী, NB. বিজলী « bijulī > bij(ɇ)lī », also বিজুরী
« bijurī », beside Hindōstānī « bīj, bijlī » (MIA. vijjulia, OIA.
vidyut + -la+-ikā) ; ফাটল « phāṭɇlɇ » *crack (on a wall, on the roof)*
(কাট √phaṭ *split*) ; *সহিলা > সহেলা > সয়লা, সহিলী > সহিনি, সইনি « *sɇhilā
>sɇhēlā>sɇylā, sɇhilī > sɇhilī, sɇili » *friend (among women)* (sakhī + -lā,
-likā) ; MB. মাতল « mātɇlɇ » (matta-la) ; ধকল « dhɇkɇlɇ » *strain* (cf. ধাক্কা
« dhākkā » *push*) ; বাঁধুলী « bā̃dhulī » *a flower* (bandhuka + -likā) ; দাঁদলান
« dā̃dɇlāna » *to be on the aggressive, to be fighting and quarrelling, to
oppress* (dvandva-la-) ; কাঁদল « phā̃dɇlɇ » *circumference* (< কাঁদ « phā̃dɇ », cf.
Late Skt. « phaṇḍa < *phandra » *belly*) ; হাতল « hātɇlɇ » *handle* (hasta-) ;
পয়রা « pɇyrā » *liquid (as of treacle)* (< payas) ; etc., etc. We have this
affix apparently in বাদল, বাদলা « bādɇlɇ, bādɇlā » *cloud, rainy weather* (Late
Skt. vardala-), মাদল « mādɇlɇ » *a deep-toned drum* (mardala), কাতল, কাতলা
« kātɇlɇ, kātɇlā » *carp fish* ; etc.

(55) স « -স৪ », সা « -সা », ছা, চা « -chā, -cā ».

450. This affix, meaning 'likeness, similarity, resemblance,' is derived by Hoernle from OIA. « sadṛśa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 292); but this derivation is not tenable phonologically. As a source of this NIA. affix, I suggest the OIA. affix « -śa », as in a limited number of words in Skt., e.g., « lōma-śa, kapi-śa, karka-śa, yuva-śa, arva-śa, ēta-śa, lōpa-śa, ? giri-śa, ? kala-śa ». This « -śa » affix was both pleonastic and adjectival, with an implication of similarity: e.g., « kapi-śa » tawny, 'monkey-like,' « karka-śa » harsh, grating, 'gravel-like.' (This « -śa » is derived from an Indo-European « -ko [-kŏ] »: cf. Brugmann, 'Vergleichende Grammatik der idg. Sprachen¹', II, Strassburg, 1889, § 83.)

Examples: « -a + -śa > -ăs৪ », feminine « -ăs-ī »: খোলস « khōl-ăs৪ » covering, slough of snake (< খোল৪ cover); মুখস ts. « mukha » + « -s৪ » mask; তাড়স « tāṛă-s৪ » force, influence, sympathy, as in fever due to a pain or wound (< তাড় √tāḍ drive, beat); ঢেঁড়স « dhĕṛă-s৪ » a vegetable, 'lady's fingers,' beside ঢেঁড়ি, ঢেঁড়ি « ḍhĕṛi, dhĕṛi » a kind of ear-ornament; আপস « āpă-s৪ » friends, people of the same group or family (appā < ātman, *ātma-śa); sts. রূপসী « rūpăsī » a beautiful woman (*rūpa-śa- + -ikā).

« -ă-śa + -āka > -ăs-ā > -৪sā »: also altered to the affricates ছা « -chā », চা « -cā », in the feminine, ছী, চী « -sī, -cī »: e.g., পয়সা « păysā » pice (< pāi-sā, Hind. paisā); আলিসা > ওলসা, আলসে « āli-sā > āĭlsā, ālsē » parapet on a terrace (< āli, āĭl embankment); চিপসা, চুপসা « cip৪sā, cup৪sā » lean, pressed (√cip press); বাপসা « bhāp৪sā » foetid, rank, dank (like vapour) with a bad odour (*bāspa-śa-); পানিসা > পানসে « pāni-sā > pānsē » (by Vowel Harmony) watery (pānīya + -śa-); চামসা « cām৪sā » like untanned hide in smell (*carma-śa); চকসা « căk৪sā » clearing of the sky (cf. চকচক « căk-căk » reduplicated form = to be bright); ফরসা « phăr৪sā » light, dawning, beside Chakma dialect « păr = phăr » light (see p. 512); ঝাপসা, ঝাপসা « jhāp৪sā, jhupৄsā » hazy (cf. ঝোপ « jhōp৪ » wood, grove); আবছা « āb৪chā » hazy, < cloudy (cf. †আভ « ābh৪ » = « abhra » thin cloud); লেংচা « lĕng৪-cā » to limp, to be like a lame man (cf. লেংড়া « lĕng৪ṛā » lame man, লেং « lĕng » kick, foot, shin); ভেংচা, ভাংচা « bhĕng-cā, bhāng(g)৪-cā » make faces or wry-

mouth (cf. bhaṅgi); কপচা « kǎpǎcā » *to chatter* (√kḷp, kalp); ঘুমসী, ঘুঙসী « ghumǎ-sī, ghuṅ-sī » *waist-string, ‘ winding thread ’* (< √ghum *to wander about*); আলগোছা « ālǎgōchā » *without touching, from a distance* might be from « *ālǎgǎ-śā » *distinct-like* (alagna + -śa) : cf. however আলগোেছ at p. 551 ; একসা « ēkǎ-sā » *rolled or united into one* seems to have been influenced by, if not actually derived from, the Persian « yak-sān ».

There are extensions of this affix : অসিয়া > চে « -ǎ-s-iyā > -cē », and আসিয়া > আসে « -ā-s-iyā> -āsē » : লালচে « lālǎcē = *lālǎ-siyā » *reddish* ; so কালচে « kālǎcē » *blackish* ; ফাঁকাসিয়া > ফেঁকাসে « phǎ̃kāsiyā> phĕ̃kāsē » (also without nasalisation) *pale, colourless,* cf. Hindōstānī « phakk » *colourless.*

In the words সাতাসে, আটাসে « sātāsē, ātāsē » *a child prematurely born after seven months or after eight months,* the « -āsē » represents মাসিয়া « mās-iyā » < « māsa » *month.* In a few onomatopoetics, however, we have an আস « -ās̤ » and উস « -us̤ » which seem to be connected with this « -s̤ » affix : *e.g.,* ধপাস « dhǎpās̤ », ধড়াস « dhǎṛās̤ » *with a loud thud,* পটাস, কটাস « pǎtās̤, kǎtās̤ » *with a crack,* ধুপুস « dhupus » *with a gentle thud* etc. Cf. « -āt̤ » (p. 655) and « -āk̤ » (pp. 681-682).

(56) সই, সহি « sǎi, sǎhi ».

451. OB. « *sahi », from OIA. « sahita », as in জলসই « jǎlǎ-sǎi » *immersed in water,* বুকসই « bukǎ-sǎi » *reaching up to the breast,* রুলসই « rulǎ-sǎi » (‘ Hutōm-Pĕcār Nakṣā,’ 1862, p. 74) *belabouring with a cudgel* (« rulǎ < English *ruler*) : etc. This is coufused with another সই « -sǎi » from the Perso-Arabic, for which see below.

(57) সর, সরা « -sǎr̤, -sarā ».

452. From OIA. « sara < √sṛ » *moving.* This affix forms ordinals, and a few other adjectives and nouns : *e.g.,* MB. একসর « ēkǎsǎr̤ » *alone, by one self* (wrongly Sanskritised in MB. to একেশ্বর, also একশ্বর « ēkǎśwǎr̤, ēkǎśwǎr̤ ») ; দোসর « dōsǎr̤ » *a second, a supporter, a double, second,* দোসরা « dōsǎrā » *second, second day of the month* ; তেসর, তেসরা « tēsǎr̤, tēsǎrā » *third (day of the month)* ; চৌসর « cǎusǎr̤ » *fourth, square* ; MB. সোসর « sōsǎr̤ » *equal,* lit. *moving along with* (= sama-sara) ; etc. Hoernle

derives this from « sr̥ta » (Gaudian Grammar, §271), but in MIA. this would give either « saṭa >saḍa », or « sata, sita > sa(d)a, si(d)a ».

(58) সোঁআ « -sŏ̃ā ».

453. Found in MB., as in (ŚKK.) কানাসোঁআ « kānā-sŏ̃ā » *reaching the brink* (=karṇa- + -sama-).

(59) হার, হারা « -hārŏ, hāra ».

454. It occurs in a few words like একহারা, দোহারা, তেহারা, চৌহারা « ēkŏhāra, dōhārā, tēhārā, cāuhāra », to mean 'fold.' (দোহারা « dōhārā » also means *stout, robust, 'double-sized'*). The source seems to be the Skt. « hāra » *division, portion* (Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 178). Cf. MB. ষাঠিহার « ṣāṭhi-hāra », *ষাঠিহারা « ṣāṭhihārā » > NB. ষেটেরা « ṣēṭērā » *sixth-day ceremony and worship after child-birth*. The affix occurs in Hindōstānī also, where it is agentive: e.g., « sirjan-hār » *Creator*, « dēnŏ-hārā » *giver*, « pālan-hār » *one who maintains*, etc. The Hind. « hār(ā) » is commonly derived from « kāra- » *doer*: but the aspiration in this case would be difficult to explain. There seems to have been a confusion between « kāra > -āra » and « hāra » in Early NIA.: cf. Bengali জোকার, জাঁকার « jōkārŏ, jãkārŏ » *shout or song of triumph*, beside জোহার « jōhārŏ » *salutation*, Hind. « juhār », found also in Kōl as « juhar » *salutation*; দোহার « dōhārŏ » < « *dhuārā » *singer in a chorus* (< dhruva-kāra).

In দেহারা « dēhārā » < দেহরা « dēhărā » *temple*, we have « ghara, grha »; and দোঁহার « dŏ̃hārŏ » *of two* is from « dŏnha, dŏnna + (k)ara ». Hoernle derives « hārŏ » from Skt. « vidha + ra » (Gaudian Grammar, §412), but this derivation offers phonological difficulties.

455. There are in addition a number of affixes which are in most cases mutilated forms of words forming parts of compounds, and these are found mainly in place names (e.g., আস, সা, সৌ « -āsŏ, -sā, -sĪ » < « -āvāsa, -vāsa- », as in ইন্দাস, « Indāsŏ » = « Indrāvāsa », পারকাটী « Pākŏṭāsī » *a surname* = « Parkaṭāvāsa + -ika »; -দী, দীয়া > দে « -dĪ, -dīyā < -dē » as in ন'দে < নদীয়া « Nōdē <Nădīyā », from « dvipa- »; etc.);

but as these are not found in derived verbal or nominal forms of the language, and have long lost all force of affixes, they are not considered here. (See Y. C. Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., pp. 188-199). Affixes like ভর, ভরা « -bhârɖ, -bhârā » (e.g., পেট-ভরা « pệṭ̄-bhârā belly-full, দিন-ভর « din-bhârɖ » all day long), করা « -kârā » (as in শত-করা « śâtɖ-kârā » by the hundred, per cent, where « kârā = Bengali passive participle of কর « √kâr », corresponding to « kṛta »: Hindōstānī has « kaḍa- » as in « sai-kaṛā, sai-kaṛŏ », where « kaḍa » curiously enough preserves the old Māgadhī equivalent of « kṛta » which is lost to Bengali) are but compounded words, and are self-explaining ; and they need no further discussion.

[II] Tatsama Suffixes.

456. From the large and ever-increasing *tatsama* element in Late MIA. and in NIA., a number of common Sanskrit affixes were familiarised, and gradually these have been adopted into the language, their naturalisation being indicated by the formation of hybrids with *tbh.* or foreign roots or words. There seems, moreover, always to have been present in the minds of speakers of Late MIA. and Early NIA. a sense of some vague connexion between the « -ā, -ă » of nouns and adjectives and Skt. « -ākā, -ăkā », and between the « -a-, -ia- » of the passive participle with « -ta, -ita »: a connexion which the scholars have always noted and indicated.

In Second and Late MIA., as a single unvoiced stop would not be allowed intervocally (at least in orthography), the « -k- » or « -t- » of the *ts.* affixes would be written « -kk-, -tt- », and free use of this device would be made for purposes of metre or rime. This practice was continued to the Early NIA. stage: the ' Prākṛta-Paiṅgala ' has spellings like « rūakka (rūpaka), Mēnakkā (Mēnakā), Sāraṅgikkā (Sāraṅgikā), ghitta (ghṛta), śatti (śyati) », and in Old Hindi, Old Rājasthanī, etc. we find instances where this tradition is carried on, like « matti (mati), Sarasatti (Sarasvatī), Manmaththa (Manmatha), sukkha (sukha), hayaggaya (haya-gaja), jagga (jagat), uraggana (uḍa-gaṇa), saddāi (sadā) » etc., and even in foreign borrowings like « surattāna (sultān),

Arabbī (Perso-Arabic « 'arabī »), Turakkī (Turkī) », etc. There are, however, also cases of doubling of other consonants than stops and aspirates in Late MIA. and Early NIA. In OB. of the Caryās we find also a few cases (see below, under « -ta, -ita »).

(1) ইমা « -imā ».

457. From OIA. « -iman », with the force of the English *-ness*: found also in MIA., *e.g.* « muṇisima (=manuṣyatva), gahirima (gabhīratva), vaḍḍhimā (vṛddhi-bhāva) », etc. OB. (Caryā 34) « pārima » (=pāra); MB., NB. বঙ্কিমা « báṅkima » (vakra-tva), লালিমা « lālima » *redness*, রাতিমা « rātimā » *redness* (raktiman), beside কালিমা « kālimā » *blackness*, নীলিমা « nīlimā » *bluish tinge*, চাঁদিমা « cādimā » *moon-light, moon-sheen*. This affix is found in other NĪA. languages, but it is literary rather than popular. In Bengali, « -imā » has also a slightly diminutive force.

(2) ঈয় « -íyà » [io, io].

458. This is affixed to foreign and other names, forming adjectives: রুষীয় « Ruṣíyà » *Russian*, আরবীয় « Árabíyà » *Arabian*, মিসরীয় « Misáríyà » *Egyptian*, খ্রীষ্টীয় « Khriṣṭíyà » *belonging to Chirst, Christian*, ইটালীয় Iṭálíyà » *Italian*, ডেনীয় « Ḍēníyà » *Danish*, হেগেলীয় « Hēgēlíyà » *Hegelian*, etc.

(3) ক « -kà ».

459. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the pleonastic « -ka » of Bengali comes from MIA. « -kka » (see p. 683), or is an OB. or MB. employ of the *ts.* affix. The Skt. « -ka » undoubtedly sustained in Bengali this MIA. borrowing from it, and helped to extend its use. When it is in connexion with *ts.* words, the « -ka » might be regarded as the *ts.* affix: *e.g.*, রাজনৈতিক « rājánītikà » beside -নৈতিক « -náitikà » *political*; আদিক « -ádi-ka- » >দিগ « -digà » in the oblique plural base of nouns; Skt. words with « -ka, -ika », like « bāla-ka, pañca-ka, sahāya-ka, mās-ika, pākṣ-ika, dain-ika, dōla-ka, sthāpa-ka, māpa-ka, jñāpa-ka, pāitṛ-ka, vāiṣay-ika, lāuk-ika, sāgni-ka, tīrth-ika, māukh-ika », etc., etc. form a whole host in Bengali,

and since many of these words are freely used in the colloquial, « -ka,
-ika (with modification of root vowel) » have become quite familiar as
adjectival affixes.

In a few words like চেটুক « pēṭ-ukɔ̄ » *glutton*, মিশুক « miś-ukɔ̄ »
sociable, লাজুক « lāj-ukɔ̄ » *shy*, মিথ্যুক « mithy-ukɔ̄ » *liar*, we have probably
the Skt. affix « -uka »; cf. also হিংশুক « hiṅs-ukɔ̄ » *envious*.

See also below, under ' Verb : Pleonastic Affixes.'

(4) ত, ইত « -t(ɔ̄), -it(ɔ̄) ».

460. The passive participle affix of OIA. (Skt.), it is in very common
use. It was apparently re-introduced in the Late MIA. period, in which
it was written « -tta, -itta ». This affix is frequently used with *tbh.* and *sts.*,
as well as foreign roots and words, showing its complete naturalisation.
Examples : OB. (Caryā 8) ভরিতী « bharitī » *filled*, fem. in « -ita »+« -ī »;
(Caryā 9) নিবিত « nibitɔ̄ » (nirvṛta, MIA. *nivvitta-); so (Carya 1৫) পরি-
নিবিত্তা « parinibittā »; (Caryā 30) উইত্তা « uittā » (MIA. *uitta- for « uia »
=« udita »); MB., NB. থকিত « thɔ̄kit(ɔ̄) » *astonished* (thakka<*stabh-kṛta
+-ita), খলিত « khɔ̄litɔ̄ » *slipped* (√skhal), লখিত « lɔ̄khitɔ̄ » *seen, noticed*
(√lakṣ), জানিত « jānitɔ̄ » *known* (see p. 654), করিত « kɔ̄r-it(ɔ̄) » *as in* করিত-
কর্ম্মা kɔ̄ritɔ̄-kɔ̄rmā » *experienced* (=kṛta-karmā), জন্মিত, জন্মিত « jɔ̄nmit(ɔ̄),
jɔ̄mmit(ɔ̄) » *begotten*, উজলিত « ujɔ̄litɔ̄ » *brightened* (< ujjvala), অবিয়ত
« ɔ̄biyɔ̄tɔ̄ » *unmarried* (« ɔ̄- + biya <vivāha + -tɔ̄ »): cf. Hindī « byāh-it »
married); এলায়িত « ēlāyitɔ̄ » *dishevelled* (where « ēlā » < আলা, আউলা « āllā,
āulā »=« ākula- », see p. 383,+« -itɔ̄ »); etc. ; নিকাহিতা স্ত্রী « nikāh-itā strī »
woman or wife married in the nikāh *form* (< Perso-Arabic « nikāh »);
বাপ্তাইজিত « bāptāij-itɔ̄ » *baptised*; and even আইনানুসারে রেজেষ্ট্রিত « āinānusāre
rējēṣṭritɔ̄ » *registered in accordance with law* (Perso-Arabic « ˀain »: রেজিষ্ট্রীকৃত
« rējēṣṭrīkṛtɔ̄ » is more common, however). A number of wrong forms in
« -i-tɔ̄ », created by Bengali writers, have become well-established in the
language, like খনিত « khɔ̄nitɔ̄ » (=khāta), ইচ্ছিত « icchitɔ̄ » (=iṣṭa), দংশিত
« dɔ̄ṅśitɔ̄ » (daṣṭa), অনুবাদিত « ɔ̄nubāditɔ̄ » (anūdita), সিঞ্চিত « siñcitɔ̄ »
(« sikta », causative « sēcita »), নমিত « nɔ̄mitɔ̄ » (nata), আহরিত « āhɔ̄ritɔ̄ »
(āhṛta, āhārita), একত্রিত « ēkɔ̄tritɔ̄ » (= ēkatra), নিঃশেষিত « niḥśēṣitɔ̄ »

(<niḥśēṣa), etc., etc.   The « sē̆ṭ » and « an-iṭ » bases of the Sanskrit grammarians have been entirely ignored.   (See *supra*, p. 201).

(5) তব্য « -tåbyå » [-tobbo].

461.   The Skt. « -tavya » is combined in the colloquial rather than in the literary speech with a few *tbh.* roots, through an extension of its employ in *ts.* forms : বলতব্য « bålå-tåbyå », কহতব্য « kåhå-tåbyå » (√bål, kåh=brū, kathaya-), সহতব্য, সহিতব্য « såhå-tåbyå, såh-i-tåbyå » for « sōdhavya » ; rarely with other roots, as *e.g.*, like খাতব্য « khātåbyå » (khāditavya), imitating « dātavya ».

(6) তা « -tā ».

462.   The affix of abstraction, used mainly with *ts.* and *sts.* words, often wrongly : *e.g.*, সখ্যতা « såkhyå-tā » *friendship*, আধিক্যতা « ādhikyå-tā », colloquially among women আদিখ্যেতা « ādikhyêtā » *excess, effusive or gushing affection*, জাতীয়তা « jātīya-tā » *nationalism*, রোমান্টিকতা « rōmānṭikå-tā » *Romanticism*, মানবিকতা « mānåbikå-tā » *human character*, ভদ্রতা « bhådrå-tā », সৌজন্যতা « såujånyå-tā » beside সৌজন্য « såujånyå » *courtesy*, etc.

(7) ব « -twå » [-tto].

463.   Quite common in Bengali with *tbh.* and even foreign words : *e.g.*, নতুনত্ব, নোতুনত্ব « nåtunå-twå, nōtunå-twå » *newness* (<nåutunå : p. 345); হিন্দুত্ব « hindu-twå » *Hinduism, Hindu ideas and practices* (Persian « hindū »); বামুনত্ব « bāmunå-twå » *Brahmanism, Brahmanishness*; মুসলমানত্ব « musålmānå-twå » *Mohammedan notions and ways*; ছোটত্ব « chōṭå-twå » *smallness*, বড়ত্ব « bårå-twå » *bigness*; একঘেয়েত্ব « ēkåghēyê-twå » *monotony* (<. « ēkå-ghā-iyå » *with the same beat*); কর্তাত্ব, কত্তাত্ব « kårtā-twå, kåttā-twå » *domineering manner* (« kårtā », *sts.* « kåttā » =' *boss* '+« -twå »), which, through influence of words ending in consonant+« -yå » changing the final syllable into « -i » (like সত্যি « såtyi » [ʃotti], পথ্যি « påthyi » [potthi], অবিশ্যি « åbiśyi » [obiʃʃi]=« satya, pathya, avaśya », see p. 406), is frequently found as কত্তাত্যি [kottatti] in the Standard Colloquial.

(8) পারা « -pārā ».

464. A *sts.* form, form Skt. « prāyaḥ » > « *parāa », meaning 'like,' 'almost as': see under পনা « -pānā », p. 696. In Oṛiyā, this appears as « pārā ». Example : পাগল-পারা « pāgālā-pārā » *like a mad person*, also পাগলের পারা « pāgālērā-pārā »; « pārā » is thus used as a separate word, as it is also in Oṛiyā.

(9) ময় « -māyă ».

465. In the sense of 'full of,' 'spread about in or with': জলময় « jālā-māyă » *covered with water*, পথময় « pāthā-māyă » *throughout the street*, কাদাময় « kādā-māyă » *all covered with mud*, দেশময় « dēśā-māyă » *all over the land*, ইউরোপময় « Iurōpă-māyă » *all over Europe*, etc.

(10) সহ « -săhă ».

466. The Skt. particle is loosely compounded with nouns to indicate inclusion : কাপড়-সহ « kāpārā-săhă » *with the garments on*, বাছুর-সহ গোরু « bāchurā-săhă gōru » *a cow together with the calf*, ঢাকীসহ বিসর্জন « ḍhākī-săhă bisārjănă » *casting the image (of Durgā or other goddess or god, after the annual worship) into water, with the drummers and all=making a thorough end of an affair*; also ঢাকীশুদ্ধ « ḍhākī-śuddhă », see below; etc.

(11) শুদ্ধ « -śuddhă », শুদ্ধা « -śuddhā ».

467. Also used in the inclusive sense: আমি-শুদ্ধ « āmi-śuddhă » *including me*, সব-শুদ্ধ(া) « săbă-śuddhă, -ā » *including all*, সাজশুদ্ধ ঘোড়া « sājă-śuddhă ghōṛā » *horse with harness and all*, etc. This usage apparently originated from the sense of *entire, complete* which the Skt. word has. The word is also spelt with a dental স « s- », and a *sts.* or *tbh.* from শুধু or শুধু « sudhu, śudhu » also occurs, meaning 'only.' In Hindōstānī we have the same word in « suddhā », also « sūdhī »; in Sindhī it occurs as « sūdhă » *along with*. Hoernle derives it from a MIA. « *saūddba, *sawaddba », from Skt. « sam-ā-dhā » (Gaudian Grammar, p. 226), but does this not look likely.

See also under 'Post-positions,' *infra*, under 'Noun.'

[III] Foreign Suffixes: Persian.

468. Persian suffixes, and some words which have almost become like suffixes in Bengali, are given below.

(1) আন, ওয়ান « -ān, -wān » *possessing* (< « -wān, -bān »): গাড়ীআন্, গাড়ী-ওয়ান্, গাড়ওয়ান, গাড়বান « gāṛīān, gāṛīwān, gāṛwān, gāṛbān » *cab-man*; বাগান < বাগোয়ান « bāgān < bāgwān » *garden* (= bāgwān); the word কোচুয়ান « kōcuān » beside কোচমান « kōc-mān » *coachman* seems to the English word, with influence of the Persian « -wān », found in দরওয়ান « darwān » *gate-keeper* (darwān, darbān).

(2) আনা « -ānā » *pertaining to, having the nature of* (= -ānah): with an extension আনী, আনি « -ān-ī, -ān-i » (= -ānah+-ī), indicating abstraction: *e.g.*, বড়-ঘরানা « bāṛā-ghar-ānā » *pertaining to rich or high families*; হিন্দুয়ানী « hindu-ān-ī », হিঁদুআনী « hĭdu-ān-ī » *Hindu ways*; বাবুয়ানা « bābu-ānā », বাবুয়ানী « bābu-ān-ī » *the ways of a gentleman, luxury and dressiness*; সাহেবিয়ানা « sāhēbi-ānā » *Europeans ways, extravagance and haughty ways*, etc., etc. See p. 592 for the intrusive « -i- », giving rise to the form « -iānā ».

(3) খানা « khānā » *place, abode* (= xānah): সুঁড়ীখানা « sūṛī-khānā » *vintner's shop*; মুদীখানা « mudī-khānā » *grocer's shop, oilman's store*; ডাক্তারখানা « ḍāktār-khānā » *dispensary*; ছাপাখানা « chāpā-khānā » *printing establishment*; বৈঠকখানা « baiṭhākā-khānā » *drawing-room*; etc.

(4) খোর « khōr » *eater* (= xōr): গুলিখোর « guli-khōr » *opium-smoker*; আপিম-খোর « āpim-khōr » *opium-eater*; ঘুষ-খোর « ghuṣā-khōr » *bribe-taker*; etc.

(5) গর « gār » *maker* (= gar), frequently altered to an Indian কর « -kārā »: কারিগর « kārigār » *artisan, craftsman* (Skt. « kāru » *maker* + Pers. « gar ») beside কারিকর « kārikār »; বাজীগর, -কর « bājī-gār, -kārā » *magician, acrobat*.

(6) গিরি « giri » *business, craft, trade; manners, ways* (= Pers. « gar-ī »; also « gīr » *taking, holding, seizing* > *taker, holder* + nominal affix « -ī »): মুটিয়া-গিরি « muṭiyā-giri » *the calling of a porter*; মুচিগিরি « muci-giri » *a shoe-maker's calling*; বাবুগিরি « bābu-giri » *the ways of a gentleman = soft living*; কেরাণীগিরি « kērāṇī-giri » *the profession of a clerk*; etc.

(7) চী, চি « -cī, -ci », a diminutive affix, a modification of the Persian « -cah » > চা « cā » with feminine or diminutive « -ī »: ধুনাচী « dhūnācī » *small incense-burner*; পাতঞ্চি « pātañci » *a carpet or mat*, from words like দেগচী, ডেকচী « dēgcī, ḍēkcī » *a caldron* < « dēgcah »; বাগিচা « bāgicā » *small garden* < « bāgicah »; চামচা, চামুচে « cāmcā, -cē » *spoon*, etc.

(8) তর « -tarȧ » *like* (< Perso-Arabic « tarȧh » *plan, mode, manner*): এমনতর « ēmȧnȧ-tȧrȧ » *such* (beside এমন-ধারা « ēmȧnȧ-dhārā »); কেমনতর « kēmȧnȧ-tȧrȧ » *in a peculiar way*; যেমনতর « jēmȧnȧ-tȧrȧ » *like that*; etc. After some *ts.* words it has an intensive force, as in গুরুতর « guru-tȧrȧ » *in a very excessive way*, ঘোরতর « ghōrȧ-tȧrȧ » *in a very terrible manner*, বহুতর « bȧhu-tȧrȧ » *manifold*, etc., where it seems this suffix of foreign origin has been confused with the Skt. comparative affix « -tara ». The affix is found mainly in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, and this use seems to be modelled on Hindōstānī (Urdū) forms like « is-tarȧh, jis-tarȧh, kis-tarȧh », etc.

(9) দান, দানী « -dān, -dān-ī » *receptacle*: নস্যদান « nȧsyȧ-dān » *snuff-box*, পিকদানী « pikȧ-dānī » *spittoon*, on the model of কলমদান « kȧlȧm-dān » *pen-stand* (qalam-dān), আতরদান « ātȧr-dān » *scent-bottle* (ˀitr-dān), etc.

(10) দার « -dār « *holder, one in charge of*: বাজনদার, extended to বাজন-দারিয়া > বাজুনদেরে « bājȧnȧ-dār, bājȧnȧ-dār-iā > bājundērē » *musician*; চৌকীদার « cȧukī-dār » *watchman* > চৌকীদারী « cȧukīdār-ī » *work of a watchman*: চরনদার « cȧrȧnȧ-dār » *passenger* (√cȧr *ride*); ফাঁড়ীদার « phārī-dār » *person in charge of a police station*; ছড়িদার « chȧri-dār » *rod-bearer*; সমঝদার « sȧmȧjhȧ-dārȧ » *possessing discrimination*; অংশীদার « ȧṅśī-dār » *for* অংশ-দার « ȧṅśȧ-dār » *shareholder in a firm*; etc.

(11) নবিশ « -nȧbiś » *writer* (=navīs): নকলনবিশ « nȧkȧl-nȧbiś » *copyist* (naql-navīs). In the word শিক্ষানবিশ « śikṣā-nȧbiś » *apprentice (especially in some learned trade)*, we have the influence of the English word *novice*. নবিশি « nȧbiś-i » is the abstract form of the above.

(12) বন্দ « -bandȧ » > বন্দি « bȧndi » *shut, enclosed* (=Pers. « band »): চিঠাবন্দি « ciṭhā-bȧndi » *entered in a ledger*, পেটরাবন্দ, -বন্দি « pēṭȧrā-bȧndȧ, -bȧndi » *shut inside a chest*, বাক্সবন্দ, বন্দি « bāksȧ-bȧndȧ, -bȧndi » *locked in a box*.

(13) বাজ « -bāj » *one accustomed to do a thing* (< bāz), an abstract formation from which is বাজী « bāj-I »: র'ড়বাজ « rằɽɖ-bāj » *one who associates with courtesans* (slang); ধড়ীবাজ « dhằɽI-bāj » *acute fellow, swindler*; ধোঁকা-বাজ « dhõkā-bāj » *a swindler*; গলা-বাজী « gằlā-bājI » *speech-making*; etc.

(14) সহি, সই « -sằhi, -sằi » *proper, attached to* (Perso-Arabic « sằhIh »): as an affix, this has been confused with the similar *tbh.* affix (p. 700); *e.g.*, মানান্-সহি, -সই « mānānɖ-sằ(h)i » *agreeable, suitable*; প্রমাণ-সহি « prằmānɖ-sằhi » *of full size*; চলনসই « cằlằnɖ-sằi » *serviceable*; মাপসই « māpɖ-sằi » *(article) to measure*; টেঁকসই « ʈẽkɖ-sằi » *durable*; etc.

Some Persian words, being cognate with Sanskrit ones, are so very similar to the latter that their Indian or Indianised forms are employed: *e.g.*, Persian « -istān » in names of countries occurs in Bengali in the Sanskrit form « sthāna »: *e.g.*, হিন্দুস্থান « Hindu-sthānɖ », আফ্গানিস্থান « Āphɖgāni-sthānɖ », তুর্কীস্থান « Turkī-sthānɖ »; Persian « -mand » often becomes মন্ত « mằntằ », *e.g.*, দৌলতমন্ত « dằulằt-mằntằ » beside শ্রীমন্ত « śrī-mằntằ », and Persian « nāmah » is hardly felt to be foreign in the Bengali নামা « -nāmā ».

Other Persian affixes or words like « -yandah, -andāz, pōš » appear only in Persian words borrowed in the language, and as they are not used with native words, they cannot be said to have as yet become naturalised.

[B] PREFIXES

[I] PREFIXES OF NATIVE ORIGIN: TADBHAVA AND TATSAMA.

469. Bengali has a few prefixes which are living ones, employed in forming words. The following are the *tbh.* and *ts.* prefixes found in use.

(1) অ, আ « ằ-, ā- », অনা « ằnā- »: Privative, Pejorative.

OIA. initial « ằ- » normally became « ā- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 314), but the influence of Skt. restored the « ằ- » [=ɔ] in most cases. This prefix অ [ɔ] is not mutated to [o] even when the following syllable has [i] or [u] (see p. 396). Examples: আলুনি « ā-luni < *ā-lōn-I » *not*

salted (as of curry) (a-lavaṇ-ika); আকাচা « ā-kācā » *not washed (as a dhōtī)*; অবনতি « ā-banṭ-i » *disagreement* (বন √ban *to make up*); আকাঁড়া « ā-kāṛā » *not cleaned (as of rice)* (a-kaḍḍhia, *a-kaṇḍia = a-kṛṣṭa); MB. sts. আবুদ্ধিয়া « ā-buddhiyā » *without intelligence*; অসুধ « āsudhǎ », *mourning, ceremonial uncleanliness*, often written ওসুধ « ōsudhǎ » (a-śuddha); MB. (ŚKK.) আদেখ « ā-dĕkhǎ » *not seen*, বাদিবস « ā-dibǎsǎ » *bad day*, আবেলা « ā-bēlā » (NB. অবেলা « ā-bēlā ») *bad time*; আধোয়া « ā-dhōǎ » *not washed*; অকেজো « ā-kējō < *ā-kāj-uǎ » *good-for-nothing*; MB. আকারণে « ākāraṇē » *without any reason*; আজান(ি), অজানা « ā-jān(ǎ), ā-jānā » *unknown*; অঘর « ā-ghǎrǎ » *bad family*; আঘাট « ā-ghāṭǎ » *a bad 'ghāṭ'*; অবিয়ত « ā-biyǎ-tǎ », see p. 704; etc.

We have also hybrids like অহিন্দু « ā-hindu » *non-Hindu, un-Hindu*, অখুশী « ā-khuśī » *displeased* (Persian « xūśī »), অহিসাবী *unmethodical* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb » *accounts*).

OIA. « ǎn- », before vowels, is the source of the Bengali অনা « ǎnā », through the occurrence of forms like « an-āgata, an-āvṛṣṭi » etc.: *stss.* অনামুখ « anā-mukhǎ » *evil-face*, অনাছিষ্টি, অনাসৃষ্টি « anā-chiṣṭi, anā-sṛṣṭi » *extraordinary (in a pejorative sense).*

(2) অ, আ « ā-, ā- » : Intensive > Pleonastic.

470. It is found in some MB. and dialectal NB. words. See *supra*, p. 378. Possibly it is a semantic development of the negative অ, আ above. The OIA. particle (later prefix) « ā » could not continue its force in NIA., as it was assimilated through phonetic decay in MIA. Examples: অমন্দ « ā-mandǎ » *bad*; অবৃথা, আবৃথা « ā-bṛthā, ā-bṛthā », « obretha » in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed' (see p. 234) = « vṛthā »; অঘোর নিদ্রা « ā-ghōrǎ nidrā » = « ghōra nidrā » *deep sleep*; অরঙা, আরঙা « ā-raṅgā, ā-raṅgā » *coloured*; অকুমারী, আকুমারী « ā-kumārī, ā-kumārī » *virgin*, « ocumari » in the 'Orthbhed.'

Connected with the above would seem to be an আ « ā- » prefix, indicating 'similarity' or 'resemblance': *e.g.*, আকাঠ, -ট « ā-kāṭ(h)ǎ » *like a log > idiotic*; আখ(া)ম্বা « ā-khāmbǎ, -khǎmbā » *like a pillar* (slang);

আতাৱা « ā-bhājā » *slightly fried* < *not properly fried* (here = the privative or pejorative « ā- » ?).

(3) কু « ku- ».

471. Pejorative, from OIA. « ku- ». This prefix also is used as a noun in Bengali, meaning 'something bad.' Examples : কুকাজ « ku-kājǎ » *bad deed*, কুচাল « ku-cālǎ » *bad ways*. There are also hybrids—কুনজর « ku-nǎjǎr » *bad sight* > *eye of displeasure* (*or of sensuality*) (Perso-Arabic « nazr »), কুকেচ্ছা « ku-kecchā » *scandal* (Perso-Arabic « qissah »), etc. (The OIA. « duṣ-, dur- » *bad* has not been naturalised in the same way.)

(4) দর « dǎrǎ- ».

472. A diminutive preffix, meaning *half, a little*, from MIA. « dara » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 222) from OIA. « √dṛ » *to break*: e.g., দরকাঁচা « dǎrǎ-kǎcā » *half-unripe*, also ‡ দরকচা, দরকোঁচা « dǎrǎ-kǎcā, dǎrǎ-kōcā », *not properly matured* ; দরপাকা « dǎrǎ-pākǎ » *half-ripe*. It is a rare and practically an obsolete affix.

(5) নি « ni- », sts. নির্ « nir- ».

473. Privative affix, from OIA. « niḥ, nir ». Through Skt. influence this affix also occurs as নির্ « nir ». Examples : নিভুল « ni-bhulǎ » *faultless, without a mistake* beside নির্ভুল, 'নিব্ভুল' « nir-bhulǎ, nibbhulǎ » ; নিখুঁত « ni-khūtǎ » *without a blemish* ; নিগাঁই, নিগাঁঞি « ni-gǎi, nir-gǎñi » *without any village home* ; নিখাঁতি, নিখাঁউতি « ni-khā-(u)nti », feminine from « *ni-khā-wǎntǎ » *one who does not eat* ; নিনাই, নিনায়, নিনাও « ni-nāi, ni-nāy, ni-nāo » *one without a boat* ; sts. ‡ নিউদ্দিশ « ni-uddiśǎ » beside নিরুদ্দেশ, নিরুদ্দিশ « nir-uddēśǎ, nir-uddiśǎ » (= nir-uddēśa) ; ‡ নিখাঁইক « ni-khāikǎ » *one who does not eat* ; MB. (ŚKK.) নিমাথি, নিমাথিনী « ni-māthi, ni-māthinī » *woman without protector* (ni + māthā < mastaka- + ikā, etc.) ; নিলাজ « ni-lājǎ » *shameless* ; নিদয় « ni-dǎyǎ », নিকরণ « ni-kǎruṇa » *pitiless* ; etc., etc.

It is found also in verbs and other forms, like নিবা « nibā » *to extinguish* (nir-vā), where its force as a prefix is now lost.

(6) বি « bi- », rarely বে « bē- ».

474. Privative and pejorative = OIA. « vi- »: *e.g.*, বিযোড় « bi-jōṛə » *without a match, odd*; MB. বিবুধি « bi-budhi » (=dur-buddhi); বিকরুণ « bi-kəruṇə » (=niṣ-karuṇa); বিহড়ু « bihəṛə » *to turn wrong* (=vi-ghaṭa-); *sts.* বেজন্মা « bē-jəmmā » beside বিজন্মা « bi-jənmā » *bastard* (=vi-janman); etc. Cf. OB. (Caryā 32) « khāla-bikhalə »=« khāta-+vikhāta ».

(7) স « sa- ».

475. Skt. « sa- », *along with,* is used in Bengali in an intensive or ameliorative sense: *e.g.*, সঠিক « sə-ṭhikə » beside ঠিক « ṭhikə » *true, correct*; সকাল « sə-kālə » *early, morning* (as opposed to বিকাল « bi-kālə » *afternoon, evening*); so সবের « sə-bērə » *morning, early,* as opposed to অবের « ə-bērə » (< vēlā); *stss.* সাবকাশ « sābəkāśə » (=avakāśa), সক্ষম « sə-kṣəmə » (= kṣama); etc. From the Persian « nābāliġ »> নাবালক « nābəlakə » *minor,* a form সাবালক « sā-bālakə » *major,* as if with this prefix, has been formed.

The old sociative or instrumental use of « sə- » has been partly revived in Bengali, and we have even a hybrid form like সবুট « sə-buṭ » *with boots on* (< English *boot,* as in সবুট পদাঘাত « sə-buṭ pədāghātə » *a kick with the boot on*), সজোরে « sə-jōrē » *with force* (Persian « zōr »), on the model of *ts.* forms like « sa-vastra, sa-bala, sa-daya », etc.

(8) সু « su- ».

476. Ameliorative affix, used also as a noun = *something good,* (like « ku »). Examples: সুছাঁদ « su-chām̐də » *of good-shape*; সুজন « su-jənə » *good man*; সুমন « su-mənə » *good-minded* (predicative adjective), *good mind* (su-manas); সুদিন « su-dinə » *good day*; সুনাম « su-nāmə » *good repute*; সুডোল « su-ḍōlə » *of good shape*; etc. Hybrids— সুনজর « su-nəjərə » *good glance, kindly glance* (Perso-Arabic « naẓr »), সুখবর « su-khəbər » *good news* (xabr), etc.

(9) হা « hā- ».

477. Explained as the interjection হা « hā » *alas,* which is a very likely source. It might have, however, originated from a MIA. « haa »

(=hata). Used with a few words to indicate absence of something, and a consequent yearning for it : *e.g.*, হাপুতি « hā-puti » *a woman who mourns or longs for children*; হাভাতিয়া > হাবাতে « hā-bhātiyā > hābātē » *a beggar for bread* (lit. *rice*); হাঘরিয়া > হাঘ'রে « hā-ghāriyā > hāghōrē » *homeless vagrant*; হাপুস as in হাপুস নয়নে কাঁদা « hā-pusē nayānē kādā » *weep with flooded eyes*, where হাপুস may be from *হাউস « hā-ฬusē » from « hā, ha(t)a » + « √vṛṣ » *rain*; etc.

Some independent words like ভর « bhārē », as in ভর-সাঁঝ or -সন্ধ্যা « bhārē-sāñjhē, -sāndhyā » *in the middle of the evening*, আধ « ādhē » (ardha) as in আধ-ফোটা « ādhē-phōṭā » *half-open (flower)*, etc., occur in compounds, and these strictly speaking are not prefixes.

[II] Foreign Prefixes : Persian.

478. (1) গর « gār- », from Perso-Arabic « gair » *without*; গরমিল « gār-mil » *disagreement*; cf. গরহাজির « gār-hājir » *absent* (gair-hāzir).

(2) দর « dār- » *under, within*; দরপত্তনী « dār-pāttānī » *sub-tenancy*.

(3) না « nā- » *not*: *e.g.*, না-পায়িমানে < না +পায্যমাণে « nā-pājjimānē < nā + pāryamāṇē » *when one is not able*, on the model of নাহক « nā-hak » *without reason, without right* (nā-haqq), নাবালক « nābālāk » *minor* (nā-bālig), etc. In forms like না-টক না-মিষ্টি « nā-ṭākē nā-miṣṭi » *neither sour nor sweet*, we have, however, the native Bengali negative particle rather than the Persian affix.

(4) ফি « phi- », from Perso-Arabic « fī », used in Bengali to mean *each*: ফি-লোক « phi-lōkē », ফি-জন « phi-jānē » *(for) each man*, ফি-হাত « phi-hātē » *at each hand, at each step*, etc.

(5) বদ « bād- » *evil* (Persian « bad »): বদ-রীত « bād-rīt » *bad ways*, বদ-রাগী « bād-rāgī » *one who flies into a passion*, বদ-গন্ধ « bād-gāndhē » *bad odour*, etc.

(6) বে « bē- » *without*: also used pejoratively. This affix is assimilated to the cognate Skt. « vi- » > বি « bi- ». Examples : বেহাত « bē-hātē » *out of reach*; বেচাল « bē-cālē » *evil ways, waywardness*; বেরসিক « bē-rāsikē » *one who is impervious to witticism*; বে-হেড « bē-hēḍ » (slang) *off one's head, losing control over oneself* (« hēḍ » < English *head*); বে-টাইম, -টাইন

« bĕ-ṭāim, -ṭāin » *in improper time* (< English *time*); etc.　The word বেয়াড়া « bēāṛā », of course, represents the native « vikaṭa- ».

(7) হর « har- » *each*, from Persian « har »: হরবোলা « hàrâ-bōlā » *ventriloquist*; হর-দিন « hàr-dinâ » *daily*; etc.

There are other Persian words like « bar-, sar-, kam- », but these have not as yet acquired the force of an affix, at least so far as native words or roots are concerned.

<center>ENGLISH.</center>

479.　The English words *head, full,* and *half* are used in a number of compound forms with Bengali words, and have almost become affixes : *e.g.,* হেড-পণ্ডিত « hēḍ-pàṇḍitâ » from the Anglo-Indian *Head Pundit*; so হেড-বাবু « hēḍ-bābu » *chief Indian clerk in an office*; হেড-মুহুরী « hēḍ-muhurī » (Pers. « muharrir », see p. 610); হেড-গোমস্তা « hēḍ-gōmàstā » (Pers. « gumāstah »); হেড-মোলবী « hēḍ-màulàbī » *Head Moulvi*; ফুলবাবু « phul-bābu » *a fop, a 'Full Babu'*; ফুল-আখড়াই and হাফ-, হাপ-আখড়াই « phul-ākhàṛāi, hāp(h)-ākhàṛāi » *two styles of poetical and singing contest much in vogue in mid-19th century Bengal* (*full, half* + « ākhàṛāi » *gathering* < « ākhàṛā = akhāṛā » *club*).　The prefix *sub-* (as সব, সাব « sàb-, sāb- ») is quite well-known through the occurrence of words like *sub-division, sub-deputy, sub-assistant, sub-overseer, sub-inspector, sub-registrar,* etc., etc., which are familiar to Bengali speakers everywhere, but it has not yet been used with an Indian word.

CHAPTER II

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

[A] Stems.

480. Bengali like most NIA. languages may be said to have started *de novo* in its morphology, having preserved but very little of the declinational system of OIA.; and the little that it has preserved consists of a few inflexions which have been generalised. MIA. considerably curtailed the elaborate declension of the noun of OIA. The various vowel and consonant stems of OIA. (as in Vedic), considerably over a dozen, were reduced to a bare six (« -ǎ, -ǐ, -ǔ; -ā, -ī, -ū » stems) in Early MIA., when « ṛ » became « -ǎ, -ǐ, -ǔ », and final consonants dropped off; and there were just a few relics of the other stems. They were further simplified in Late MIA., when the final long vowels were shortened (see *supra*, p. 301), and there was a general tendency to bring all declensions under the « -ǎ » type. Stems in « -i, -u » were gradually approximated to the « -ǎ » declension; « -i, -u » nouns were often extended to « -ia, -ua » by adding of « -ǎ < -kǎ, -kā »; and new affixes in « -a » replaced older ones in « -i-, -u », like « -ira » in literary Apabhraṅśa of Gujarat removing affixes like « -in, -ālu » (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, ' Wilson Lectures,' pp. 111-114; Jacobi, ' Bhavisatta-kaha,' pp. 30* ff.; C. D. Dalal and P. D. Guṇē, ' Bhavisayatta-kahā,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction, pp. 17 ff.). Final « -i, -u » even tended to disappear from the stem, giving place to « -ǎ »: so that Early NIA. could inherit from Late MIA. (and from MIA. changing to NIA.) many stems in « -ǎ » like « rāsǎ (= rāśi); munǎ (= muni); dhunǎ (= dhvani); gurǎ (= guru); sāhǎ (= sādhu); bāhǎ, bǎhǎ (= bāhu); sūdhǎ (= śuddhi); dēvǎ, dē (dēvī < dēvī) », etc. The OIA. stems were in this way reduced to the bare « -ǎ, -ǐ, -ǔ » stems in Early NIA., with « -ǐ, -ǔ » taking up the affixes of the « -ǎ » stem and at times even being suppressed in favour of the « -ǎ ». This is what happened in all OIA. words inherited through MIA. Late MIA. « -ǎǎ, -āǎ, -iǎ (-ǐǎ),

-uă (-ūă) » became the long vocalic stems « (-ă), -ā, -ī, -ū » of Early NIA.,
and these long stems are preserved in most MIA. In Bengali, however,
these final long vowels became weakened : « -ā » of course remained as
আ « -ā » in writing (as the original short « ă » sound had become a vowel
of a different quality, অ = [o]), but it was not, and is not pronounced fully
long ; and « -ī, -ū » became « -i, -u », indifferently written long or short.

In MB., we have frequent examples of this levelling of the « -i, -u »
stems to « -ă ». The nominative, through the influence of Sanskrit, may
preserve or may even have restored the original vowel ; but the stem, form-
ing the basis of the other cases, is plainly an « -ă » stem. Even *ts.* words
follow this tendency. Thus, we have commonly ধুলি « dhuli » beside ধুল
« dhūlă, dhūlă » *dust*, nominative and accusative, but in locative it is ধুলে
« dhūlē » (=dhūla + -ē) ; দিঠি « diṭhi » *sight*, nominative, but locative দিঠে
« diṭhē » (=diṭha + -ē) ; বেলি « bēli < *bēlī » *time of the day*, (=*vēlikă)
(beside বেল « bēlā », as well as বেলা « bēlā » with « -ā » from Skt.), locative
বেলে « bēl-ē » ; *ts.* nominative বুদ্ধি « buddhi », locative বুদ্ধে « buddhē »,
genitive বুদ্ধের « buddhĕră » ; *ts.* অপমৃত্যু « ăpa-mṛtyu », locative and instru-
mental অপমৃতে‌া « ăpă-mṛty-ē » (as in the ' Caitanya-bhāgavata ' of Vṛndā-
vana-dāsa) ; so in the ' Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' we find « xotro » = শক্র
« śătru », but locative « xotre » = শত্রে « śătrē » ; etc. Such modifications
of « i, -u » to « -ă » in the oblique are fairly common in MB. In MB.,
epenthesis no doubt gave to original « -i, -u » nouns (*tbh.* or *sts.* and *ts.*)
the appearance of being « -ă » nouns in the inflected forms : *e.g.*, চ�, চঞ্খু
« căkkhu; cakhu » *eye* > চউখ, চৈখ « căŭkh, căĭkh », genitive চেকর « căk-
khĕră », চউখের, চৈখের, চোখের « căŭkhĕră, căĭkhĕră, cōkhĕră » ; সাধু « sădhu »,
genitive সাধের « sādhĕră », instrumental সাধে, সেধে « sădhē, sēdhē », etc.,
which would suggest as stems *চৈখ *căĭkhă », *সাধ « *sādhă » ; so বাঠী
« Şăṭhī » *the Goddess of children* (ṣaṣṭhī, ṣaṣṭhikă) gives বাইঠের, বেঠের, বাঠের
« şăĭthĕră, şĕthĕră, şăṭhĕră » as if from *বাঠ « săĭthă » : and quite a
number of similar cases.

481. The inflexions of the seven (or eight, including the vocative)
cases of OIA. tended to disappear in NIA., but some occur as survivals.
Although we have in NIA. here an old instrumental or there an old

locative affix preserved, the two characteristic forms from point of view of most NIA. are (i) the nominative, and (ii) the oblique. The former roughly represents the old nominative, and the latter, frequently the sole representative of other case inflexions of OIA., rests on the original genitive or dative, locative or instrumental inflexion, to which the new case-forming post-positions are added. The juxta-position of these two stems, nominative and oblique, is the regular rule in Western and Central NIA., in Marāṭhī, in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, in Western Hindī, in Panjābī, in Lahndī, in Sindhī, and in Western and Central Pahāṛī. It is much confused in Eastern Pahāṛī. In Eastern Hindī, it has fallen into disuse in the singular noun; and it is absent in the Eastern languages, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese. The declension of the noun has thus become considerably simplified in the last group.

Distinction between masculine and feminine forms is absent in Bengali and other Magadhan languages. The same inflexions serve for both masculines and neuters as well as feminines. Thus the instrumental « -ĕ, -ĕ̃ » is found in feminine nouns like « ghaḍiĕ̃, āliĕ̃, kāliĕ̃ » in the Old Bengali of the Caryās; and the old feminine inflexions (although at times found in a form like « samāhia » [=samādhyā], which is a sporadic survival in the literary language) are entirely lost.

482. Bengali nouns thus have come to have one declension only, irrespective of stem and gender. There are in the NB. Standard Colloquial just a few phonetic modifications in the inflexions, and these are noted below. We have in Bengali—

(1) Consonantal stems = mainly « -ă (-ȧ) » bases of Early MB. and OB., and Late MIA., and partly also OIA. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū » bases (see pp. 301, 305, 307, 308, 310); and *ts.* words with quiescent « -ă »; and also foreign words ending in a consonant.

So long as the final vowel was pronounced, the genitive affix was « -rȧ < -ȧrȧ » (kārȧ), as *e.g.*, MB. হাতর, রামর « hātȧrȧ, Rāmȧrȧ », as well as « -ĕrȧ <-kĕra » (kārya), as in হাতের, রামের « hātĕrȧ, Rāmĕrȧ »; but NB., which has dropped the final vowel, now does not use « -ȧrȧ > র -rȧ̆ », but only « -ĕrȧ > এর -ĕrȧ̆ ».

(2) Vowel stems, simple and diphthongal :

[i] « -ă » or « -o, -ō » stems, in *tbh.* forms, representing an earlier « -awa » ; and in *ts.* and *sts.* forms, the Sanskrit « -ă » (see *supra*, pp. 302, 304, 347) ;

[ii] « -ā » stems, in *tbh.* nouns representing « -ăă, -ăă, -āā˙» of MIA. (see *ante*, pp. 302, 307) ; in *ts.* nouns, representing Skt. « -ā » ; and in foreign nouns ending in vowels [-ă, -ə], etc., normally changing to « -ā » in Bengali (see *supra*, under ' Phonology of the Foreign Element ') ;

[iii] « -ĭ, -I » stems, representing, in *tbh.* words, the MB. « -i » after a vowel or after « -h- » (=OIA. « -ĭ, -I » : see pp. 308-309), or the OB. « -I » <« -ikă, -ikā » of OIA. (see pp. 302, 303, 852) ; in *ts.* stems, the Skt. « -i, -I, -in » are properly represented by « -i, -I » ; and in foreign words, « -i, -I » remain as « -i, -I » (see *supra*, ' Foreign Element ') ;

[iv] « -ŭ, -ū » stems, the history of which is parallel to that of the « -i, -I » stems : they represent in *tbh.* words the MB. « -u » after a vowel or after « -h- » (=OIA. « -ŭ, -ū » : see p. 310), or the OB. « -ū » < OIA. « -ukă, -ūpă, -ukā, -upā » (see pp. 310, 311, 852) ; in *ts.* words, Skt. « -ŭ, -ū » remain « -ŭ, -ū », pronounced [u] in Bengali, as well as foreign « -ŭ, -ū » ;

[v] a few « -ē » nouns ; and

[vi] « -ō » nouns ; both in *tbh.* forms representing the contracted « -ă » bases of Late MIA. (cf. pp. 311, 852, 353).

Foreign words with « -ē, -ō » bases are also found.

In addition, there are [vii] diphthong stems, in *tbh.*, *ts.* as well as foreign words (see *supra*, pp. 415 ff., under ' Bengali Diphthongs.')

NB. *tbh.* vowel stems in « -ă, -ā, -ē, -ō » as a rule take the র « -rə » affix for the genitive, and not এর « -ērə » : *e.g.*, ভালর, পনেরর, ঘোড়ার, কালোর, বাদোর, দেব (=the surname, < « dēva ») « bhālă-rə, pănĕră-rə, ghōṛā-rə, kălō-rə, ālō-rə, dē-rə » ; but monosyllabic words in « -ā » can take both « -rə » and « -ērə » : *e.g.*, মায়ের, ঝায়ের, ঘায়ের « mă-ĕrə, jhI-ērə, ghă-ērə » (*of a blow or sore*) beside মার, ঝার, ঘার « mă-rə, jhI-rə, ghă-rə ». OB. and MB., of course, used both « -ără=-rə, -ēră= -ērə », the « -rə » form being found compounded with Late MIA. bases in « -ă ». In OB. and

MB. (unlike NB.) « -ērå » seems to have been preferred with *tbh.* as well as *ts.* forms in « - i, - I, - u, - ū » : *e.g.,* Caryā 19 « ḍōmbīēra »=NB. ডুম্নীর « ḍumånirå » *of a Dōm woman* ; মুনিরের beside মুনির « muni-ērå, muni-rå » *of a sage* ; বহুরের beside বহুর « bāhu-ērå, bāhu-rå » *of many* ; etc. Except in the case of diphthongs ending in « -i, -u », and in the diphthongs « -eo, -åo » with which euphony in NB. demands that « -ērå » is to be used, all NB. « -i, -I, -u, -ū, -ē, -ō » words take « -rå ». *Tatsama* or foreign words in « -å », however, can use either « -ērå » or « -rå ».

The instrumental-locative in Old and Early Middle Bengali was « -ē, -ĕ », in the case of all nouns ending in « -å » or in any other vowel. NB. continues the « -ē » in what were originally « -å » nouns (now nouns with a consonant ending through loss of the « -å ») ; and in the case of nouns originally ending in other vowels, it uses the post-positional affix তে « -tē » rather than the organic one « -ē » for the instrumental and locative cases, to avoid the hiatus, always after « -i, -u, -ō » vowels, and optionally after « -å » [1] : *e.g.,* লোকে « lōk-ē<lōkå » *on, by or with a man* ; but ঘোড়ায়, ঘোড়াতে « ghōṛā-ē > ghōṛāy, ghoṛā-tē » *on or with a horse* ; মায়ে ঝীয়ে « māĕ jhīĕ » *mother and daughter both* (instrumental and nominative), beside মাতে ঝীতে and মায়েতে ঝীয়েতে « mā-tē jhī-tē, mā-ē-tē jhī-ē-tē ») ; Early Bengali বাবুয়ে « bābu-ē », NB. বাবুতে « bābu-tē » *on or by a gentleman* ; Early Bengali মুনিয়ে « muni-ē », NB. মুনিতে « muni-tē » *on or by a sage,* etc. Assamese, and numerous dialectal forms of Bengali as well, stick to the instrumental, and avoid this further confusion between the locative and the instrumental by importing the « -tē » which has now come in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial.

The above are the slight alterations which are noticed in the use of some of the inflexions with the Bengali noun stems, and being recent, and essentially phonological, they cannot be said to mark out any distinction in the stem of the noun in Bengali.

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[1] One may compare the importation of [t] in the popular French of Paris to avoid the hiatus (cf. Henri Bauche, ' Le Langage populaire,' Paris, 1920, p. 58). See *infra,* under Cases—Nominative, Instrumental, Locative.

[B] Gender.

483. It has been noted above that the tendency in Apabhraṅśa was to generalise the inflexions of the masculine « -ă » stem. This considerably weakened the grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, and this distinction has been entirely dropped in Bengali, in its *tbh.* element. Adjectives qualifying feminine nouns (grammatical or natural) are sometimes furnished with an « -ā » or « -ikā » (*tatsama*) or an « -ī, i » or « -nī, -ni » (*tatsama* or *tadbhava*) affix, *e.g.*, পরমা সুন্দরী « pàràmā sundàrī », তরুণী স্ত্রী « tàruṇī strī », বৎসহারা গাভী « bàtsà-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf,* ‡ ভাগ্যিমানী মেয়ে « bhāgyimānī mēyē » *a woman happy in her husband's love* (a from used by women in the Standard Colloquial, « =bhāgyavatī strī ») ; but these feminine forms are confined to *ts.* and *sts.* words, and are entirely against the spirit of the language. (Cf. Lalit Mohan Banerji, ' Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' pp. 27 ff., for examples of wrong use of the Skt. feminine affixes in Bengali). In the Western Magadhan dialects, predicates referring to nouns or pronouns in the feminine gender have the feminine affix « -ī, -i », but in the declension there is no distinction, such as we find for instance in Western Hindī and Marāṭhī.

Grammatical gender may be said to be preserved in all NIA. except Magadhan. In most of them, however, the neuter has merged in the masculine : in some, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Sinhalese, the neuter is preserved. Thus in Western Hindī, « pōthī, bāṭ » are feminine, as they represent the earlier « potthiā, vattā = pustikā, vārtā », and verbal predicates referring to them (in the past participle or future) as well as genitive and other adjectival forms qualifying them must be put in the feminine. This is thus a survival of MIA. conditions ; and there is no survival of this kind now in the Eastern Magadhan speeches, Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, although it exists in the older phases of the above speeches, and is still found to some extent in the Central and Western Magadhan speeches. We have in OB., and to some extent also in Early MB., a state of things almost identical with that obtaining in Western Hindī or in Apabhraṅśa. In the Caryās, there are numerous cases showing that nouns in « -ī, -i < -ikā » and in « -ā = *ts.* -ā » preserved their grammatical gender, and were in the

feminine : *e.g.*, « diṭi (=diḍhI < *dṛḍhikā) ṭāṅgī » *strong axe* in Caryā 5 ;
« sōnē bharitI nāẃI » *boat filled with gold* (Caryā 8) ; « mēlili kāċchi » *the
hawser was loosened* (Caryā 8) ; « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy little hut*, « tōhōra
antarē mōṡ ghalili hāḍēri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast
away by me* (Caryā 10) ; « tōhōri bhābhariālI » *thy coquetry*, « ḍombi-ta āgalI
nāhi cchiṇāli » *before the Ḍōm woman there is no (greater) wanton* (Caryā 18) ;
« maï dibi piricchā » *a question (or statement) is to be rendered by me* (29) ;
« ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » *the desire was destroyed* (37) ; « lāgēli āgi » *the fire
caught* (47 : āgi = āgI <aggia = agnikā) ; « nia gharịṇI caṇḍālī lēlI » *as (thy)
own wife, a Caṇḍāla woman has been taken (by thee)* (49) ; « phiṭilI Śabarālī »
the Śabara's nature was destroyed (50) ; etc.   These would indicate that the
sense of grammatical gender was quite strong in the language.   Inanimate
nouns, abstract, material or concrete, like « kaṅkhā, piricchā, nāẃI, āgi, māli,
ṭāṅgI » etc., are feminine only because of their affixes,—as much as names
of persons of the female sex like « cchiṇāli » and « caṇḍālI » ; and they as a
matter of course take feminine forms of the genitive-adjective (tōhōr-i,
hāḍ-ēr-i) or attributive adjective (āgal-I, diḍh-i), or verbal predicate of parti-
cipial and adjectival origin (dib-i, gēl-i).   But in Early MB., this is changed,
and names of inanimate objects cease to have any grammatical gender,
inspite of the affix.   Grammatical tradition yields to reason.   In Early MB.
(ŚKK.) there are cases like গেলী or চলিলী রাহী « gēlI, cālilI RāhI » *Rādhā
went*, তার পিসী নিয়োজিলী « tārā pisI ṇiyōjilI » *her aunt was appointed*,
রোষিলী রাধিকা « rōṣilI Rādhikā » *R. angered*, etc., where predicates take the
fem. affix « -I, -i » when they qualify feminine nouns, names of sentient
beings.   In other MB. and NB., occasional cases of similar use crop up : *e.g.*,
VSP., p. 166, ব্রাহ্মণের নারী « brāhmāṇ-ēr-i nārI » *a Brāhman's wife*; and there
are also in MB. stray relics of grammatical gender, like ŚKK. (p. 381)
চুড়ী « curI » *bracelet* being qualified by the feminine adjective জড়ী « jāṛI »
encrusted with gems (jaḍita + -ikā), and বরণে উজলী কনক বউলী « bāraṇē
ujālI kānākā-bāülI » *a floret of gold shining in its lustre* (KKC., p. 64).

'This early abandoning of grammatical gender in the eastern speeches
has been regarded as a heritage from the non-Aryan languages current in
the East, and has been connected with conditions in Tibeto-Burman, which

does not possess grammatical gender (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 180). The dropping of the neuter affix « -am » for the masculine « -ē < -aḥ » characterises the eastern Aryan speech at least as early as the time of Aśōka, and in literary Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period (« phalē < phalaṁ », like « dēvē < dēvaḥ »). The differentiation of the grammatical feminine from the grammatical masculine, or masculine-neuter, as we can see from the relics of OB. and eMB., continued in full force to the 12th century, and was even existent in the 14th. Postulating a specific Tibeto-Burman influence in doing away with the grammatical distinction of the feminine from the masculine-neuter in Late Middle Bengali and other Eastern Magadhan speeches therefore appears rather problematical. Although Assamese and East Bengali are within the sphere of Tibeto-Burman influence, West Bengali and Oṛiyā are removed from it. The Kōl speeches were to a large extent current in Bengal and in Northern India, and Kōl does not differentiate between masculine, neuter and feminine nouns by means of affixes. It is quite likely that in the tendency towards the elimination of the gender affixes in grammar there was the influence of Kōl speakers adopting the Aryan speech in North-eastern India from very early times. It is equally likely that the simplification was a normal development in the Aryan speech of the East, apart from questions of outside influence. On the other hand, differentiation of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns by means of affixes is characteristic of Dravidian : Marāṭhī and Gujarātī thus in this respect agree with Dravidian, while at the same time they preserve an OIA. conservatism. There are relics of the neuter in Western Hindi also.

Magadhan speeches including Bengali preserved the common NIA. differentiation between animate and inanimate nouns in the accusative case. This peculiarity is undoubtedly derived through contact with Dravidian (see p. 172; Caldwell, 'Comparative Gram. of the Dravidian Languages [3],' p. 271).

[C] Number.

484. The dual of OIA. fell into disuse by the First MIA. period. The distinction between the singular and the plural has been maintained

intact up to Late MIA., and it continues down to the present day in a number of NIA. speeches. It is through phonetic decay (loss of final vowels) that the old plural inflexions could not be preserved everywhere in NIA. The Western languages, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, Sindhī, Lahndī, Panjābī and Western Hindī, have to a greater or lesser extent retained the plural affixes, nominative or otherwise, inherited from MIA. and OIA. Thus in Marāṭhī, in masculine nouns originally ending in « -ă », the nominative plural has lost its affix through phonetic decay and has become identical with the singular (« dēvăḥ, dēvăḥ > MIA dēvō, dēvā > dēvu, dēvă » > NIA. Marāṭhī « dēv », both sg. and pl.), but the feminine and neuter nouns preserve their affixes in the plural nominative, although in an attenuated form (e.g., « iṣṭā, iṣṭāḥ > MIA. iṭṭhā, iṭṭhāo » > Marāṭhī sg. « Iṭ », pl. « Īṭā »; « mālā, mālāḥ > MIA. mālā, mālāo » > Marāṭhī « māḷ, māḷā »; so Marāṭhī sg. « rāt », pl. « rātī »; neuter singular « sūtram > sūt », plural « sūtrāṇi > sūtẽ »; Sindhī nom. sg. « ḍ'ēhⁿ = dēśaḥ », nom. pl. « ḍ'ēhᵃ = dēśāḥ »; nom. sg. « piu = pitā », nom. pl. « piurᵃ = pitaraḥ »; Western Hindī sg. « bāt < vārtā », pl. « bāt-ẽ », where « -ẽ » is explained as being from the neuter pl. affix « -āni », transferred to feminine nouns; etc.). The nominative affix is entirely lost in most other NIA. languages, and plural oblique cases in some instances are extended to the nominative (e.g., Western Hindī « ghōṛē = ghōṛahi = *ghōṭēbhiḥ », instrumental > nominative plural). Instrumental plural and genitive plural are the two forms which survived in NIA., and these two were used for the nominative plural. (The accusative, dative, and ablative plural forms were lost in Late NIA., although Literary Apabhraṅśa used the locative plural.) Typical NIA. started, therefore, with three forms to indicate the plural number: the original nominative plural, which had weakened considerably and was fast disappearing in most places; the instrumental plural in « -hi, -hī < -bhiḥ »; and the genitive plural in « -ṇa, -na ».

485. In most NIA. languages there is no confusion between the nominative and the genitive plurals, the latter being kept distinct as the oblique form : e.g., W. Hindī « camār » (=carma-kārăḥ, carma-kārāḥ) sg. and pl., but oblique plural, never nominative, is « camārõ, ‡camārã »

(=carma-kāraṇām).   The instrumental supplies the nominative plural affix
« -ē » of W. Hindī, as noted above ; but the genitive plural never invades
the domain of the nominative plural.   This distinction is preserved in
Marāṭhī, Sindhī and other Western speeches, and also in the Eastern
speeches ; although in the latter, the old genitive>oblique is found in some
cases to encroach into the domain of the nominative; *e.g.*, Eastern Hindi
nom. sg. « ghōṛā », nom. pl. « ghōṛawan=ghōṭakānām », beside « ghōṛawē
=ghōḍa(w)ahi =*ghōṭakēbhiḥ » ; Maithilī « lōkani » pl. genitive originally,
is commonly used as plural affix ; however, it may be said that the plural
oblique is used for the oblique only.   Thus in Oṛiyā, we have « puruṣā »,
plural « puruṣē < *puruṣahi=puruṣēbhiḥ » but « puruṣān-kā(rā) » where
the form « puruṣān- < puruṣāṇām » retains its genitive function.

Evidence of Western Hindī and the Eastern languages would show
that in Northern India, from the Panjab and the Midland eastwards, the
instrumental assumed the place of the lost nominative, at least in masculine
« -ā » nouns, from the Early NIA. or Late Apabhraṅśa stage.   But in
Bengali, this instrumental « -ahi, *-ai, -ē » no longer figures as an affix,
although it is found in its immediate neighbour and relation Oṛiyā, as
well as in forms of the Bihārī speeches.   It is just possible that in a NB.
expression like লোকে বলে « lōk-ē bǎlē » *people say* we have in Bengali
the plural « -ē < -ahi ».   Cf. also expressions like চল সবে « cǎlǎ sǎb-ē »
come all; সবে মিলি ভারত সন্তান « sǎb-ē mili Bhārǎtǎ-sǎntānǎ » *all united Sons
of India*; দশে মিলি করি কাজ, হারি জিতি নাহি লাজ « dǎs-ē mili kǎri kajǎ, hāri
jiti nāhi lājǎ » *ten people united we do the deed, we lose or we win there is no
shame*; ŚKK., p. 192, সবে কহিব আইহনের মাএ « sǎb-ē kǎhibǎ Āihǎnērǎ māē »
we shall all tell Ā.'s mother.   But this form can also be explained as a sg.
instrumental-nominative « -ē < -ḗ < -ēna ».   Cases of instrumental nomi-
native like the above can thus be regarded as representing both « -ēna > -ḗ
> -ē, -ǎ » in the singular and « -ēbhiḥ > -ahi > -ai > -ē » in the plural.
In the ŚKK. there occur two cases সবই, সবঐ « sǎbǎi, sǎbǎI » (pp. 66, 336),
which may represent the « *-a(h)i » stage, rather than the emphatic particle
« hi » (saba+hi) ; for in MB. the latter is commonly preserved as « hi ».
Relics of the instrumental plural are found in the pronoun (see *infra*) ; but

in general, it can be said that the plural instrumental affix of OIA. is lost to Bengali and Assamese.

486. The genitive plural affix « -ānām > -n̆ă, -nă » is better preserved in Bengali. It is found (though as a rare form) in nouns in dialectal MB. and NB., and also occurs in the pronouns ; but in the noun, its proper genitive force is now lost. It is used mainly as a secondary affix added to the nouns of multitude which are used to form the plural : *e.g.*, Standard Bengali গুলিন, গুলান « -gul-i-nă, -gul-ā-nă » beside গুলি, গুলা « -gul-i, -gul-ā », plural affix (< Skt. kula-); dialectal (East Vaṇga) Bengali আইন < আনি « -āin < -āni » as in সকলাইন, হকলাইন « săkkăl-āin, hă- » *all*, হোলাইন « hōl-āin <*pōlāni » *sons*; Western Bengali (LSI., V, I, pp. 89, 100) মিতান-রা-কে « mit-ān-rā-kē » *to friends*, সাংগানগার « sāṇg-ān-gā-ră » *of friends*, etc. We have also in MB. সভান « săbhā-nă » *all*, gen. সভানের « săbhān-ēră ». The genitive force is preserved in the pronoun : *e.g.*, ‡তান « tānă » *his* (honorific), but even in the pronoun, the genitive in « -n̆ă » has supplied the (honorific) nominative, as তিনি « tin-i ». The forms « -n-i » and « -ān-i > -āin » have their « -i » apparently from the old instrumental plural « -hi » which in this way modified the genitive before being itself lost. Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā as well as Western Hindī also show this « -n-i » for the plural. We have another modification of « -na » in Bengali, viz. « *-nha > -hā, -~hă » as in pronominal forms like যেহ, তেঁহ, ইঁহ « jēhă, tēhă, ihă » *who, he, this* (honorific), দোঁহ « dōhă » as in দোঁহে « dōhē » *two* (nominative), দোঁহার « dōhāră » *of two*, which may be compared with the Eastern Hindī « -nha, -nhi » as in Tulasī-dāsa. The « -ha, -hi » is difficult to explain : but it can well be due to contamination with the instrumental plural « -hi », or the singular locative « -hi » which became the accusative (oblique) in Bengali (see under ' Locative ' below).

The « -na, -n-i, -nha > -hā, -~hă » form is practically obsolete in Bengali as a plural affix for the noun, agglutinated words of multitude having taken its place. In the respectful form of the verb, which represents an original plural, we have ন « -nă » : করেন, গেলেন, দিবেন, বলিতেছেন « kărēnă, gēlēnă, dibēnă, bălitēchēnă » *gives or give, went, will give, is or are telling* : this « -nă » represents the OIA. « -anti », but phonologically it

cannot. be the Bengali development of « -anti », we would expect « -át » or
« -ǎt » or « -it » (*supra*, p. 502) ; it is certainly the genitive plural « -na »
extended from the noun to the verb to indicate the plural or the honorific.
In certain forms of MB. (as for example in the ' Padmā-Purāṇa ' of Bañśī-
dāsa), this verbal affix occurs as ৰাহি, ৰাৰিক « -ǎi, -ǎñi », e.g., দিলাৰিক
« dilāñi », ৰৰিলাৰি « kārilāi » : here it is unmistakably a modification of the
nominal « -nǎ > -ni » as added to the verb.

The genitive « -ṇa, -na » certainly existed in OB., but no sure example
is found in the Caryās. (Cf. Caryā 18, « kājaṇa kāraṇa » = « kāryāṇām
kāraṇam » ?). So far as NB. is concerned, it occurs only sporadically, in
some stereotyped plural forms, like « gulā-nǎ, guli-nǎ », and it figures in
a few forms like নানান্ « nānā-nǎ » *many, several* (nānā). Words like ভোটান
« Bhōṭānǎ » *Bhotan country* <' Bhōṭ' or *Tibetan people*, কোলৰান « Kōlhānǎ »
tract inhabited by the Kōls (see *supra*, p. 2) are instances of this « -nǎ <
-ānǎm »; phonetically a form like ভোটান « Bhōṭānǎ » cannot represent a
Skt. « Bhōṭānta » *Bhōṭa frontier*, as it has been suggested by some.

487. In the word সৰাহি « sǎbāi » *all* (MB. সকাহি, সৰৰাৰিক « sǎmbāi,
-āñi », as in the ŚKK.) beside an emphatic সৰৰাহি « sǎbbāi » (see *supra*,
p. 448),· we have possibly a unique relic of the OIA. nominative plural
affix : « sarvē hi > sabbǎ hi (generalised « -ā ») > sab(b)āï ». The force
of the « -hi > -i » is no longer present. The form সৰে « sǎbē » noted
above (p. 724), may be a contracted form of it, rather than « *sabahi ».

In the ŚKK. (p. 176) we have the following : ৰাৰৰাক ৰে না ৰাৰে । ভাৰ
পাণী না ৰএ পীৰৰে । « mārantā-kǎ jē nā mārē, tārǎ pāṇī nā lǎē pitǎrē »
*the fathers do not accept the water (offered in the Śrāddha) of him who does
not strike an aggressor.* Here of course পীৰৰে is merely a *sts.* form from
the Skt. « pitaraḥ », familiar in many a *śloka* current among the people.

`,`   **488.** Original nominative plural affix was lost to OB. Original
plural instrumental certainly was used for the nominative, but it also
became obsolete in OB. itself. Original genitive plural had only a very
restricted use for the plural of all cases down to Early MB. To indicate
the plural, which had come to be indistinguishable from the singular, some
new devices came in. Of these, the most noteworthy was the affixing of

some noun of multitude to the noun. This method of indicating the plural by composition is already found in OB. as in the Caryās. Where the noun was qualified by a plural numeral, there was no necessity of compounding with a noun of multitude: *e.g.*, « pañca vi ḍāla » *(with) five branches indeed* (Caryā 1); « bēṇi pakhā » *two wings or sides* (pakṣa-: Caryā 4); « cau-saṭṭhi pākhuḍī » *sixty-four petals* (Caryā 10); « pāñca janā » *five men* (Caryā 12: « janā=jana+ā », see pp. 658-659; it is not the MIA. plural nominative « -ā »: cf. NB. একজনা « ēkǎ janā » *one man*, সে জনা « sē jānā » *that man*, and পাঁচ জনা « pāñcǎ jānā »); « pañca tathāgata » (Caryā 13); « pāñca kēḍuāla » *five oars*, « dui māga » *two ways* (Caryā 14); « batisa tāntī » *thirty-two strings* (Caryā 17); « tini bhuana » *the three worlds* (Caryā 18); « tia dhāu » *three natures* (dhātu) (Caryā 28); etc. But in the other cases, where it was felt necessary for the plural idea to be speci-fied, we have compounding or periphrasis: *e.g.*, « maṇḍala-saēla bhājai » *all the* maṇḍalas *are broken* (Caryā 16); « kuliṇa-jana » *people of good family*, « bidujaṇa-lōa » = « vidvajjana-lōka » (Caryā 18).

« Saēla=sakala, jaṇa=jana, lōa=lōka » seem to have been established as plural-forming words in OB. In MB. we find গণ « gǎṇǎ », সকল « sǎkǎla », সব, সহ, সম « sǎbā, sǎbā, sǎmbā » (see p. 319), আদি(ক) « ādi(ka) » and কুল « -kulā », among others. The last is the source of the common pan-Bengali affix for the plural, গুল « -gulā » (-kula-ka > MB. -kulā, -gulā), extended to গুলা « gul-ā »<(« -*kulāka »: by Vowel-Harmony গুলো « gulō »), গুলান « gulā-nā », ‡গুলাইন « gulāin < *gulā-n-i » with the « -na » from the old genitive (see p. 725), and গুলি « -guli » (to denote pettiness, lovableness or prettiness of the object whose plural it indicates is really the feminine: < « -*kulikā »: see pp. 672, 673, 686), and we have further an extension গুলিন « -gul-i-nā ». In addition, we have extensions of « -gulā » with the pleonastic ক « -kā » (গুলাক « -gul-ā-kā », গুলিক « -gul-i-kā ») which are found mostly in West Rāḍha. This * sts.* form with the « -k- » in an intervocal position softened to « -g- », seems to have been quite common from Early MB. times; but literary Bengali preserves the *ts.* « kula > kulǎ » as well, as in অলিকুল « ali-kulǎ » *bees*, কামিনীকুল « kāminī-kulǎ » *ladies*, ধেনুকুল « dhēnu-kulǎ » *cows*, পাখীকুল « pākhī-kulǎ » *birds*. In dialectal

Bengali, « -gulā, -gulᾱ, -gulān » become এনা « -gunō » (Calcutta and surrounding tracts), গিলা, গ্ল « -gilā, -glᾱ » (North Bengali), and উন্, গিন্ « -un, -gin » (Chittagong).

489. There is in NB. the affix দিগ « -digᾱ », genitive দিগের « -digērɵ » which is used with names of animate, preferably sentient and intelligent beings, in the plural forms of the *oblique* cases. The affix is never used for the nominative. দিগ, দিগের « -digᾱ, -digērɵ » are « sādhu-bhāṣā » forms ; in the specimens of prose in the Late MB. and Early NB. periods, a form দিগর « digᾱrɵ » also occurs side by side with দিগ « -digᾱ ». The equivalents of দিগ, দিগের « -diga, -digērɵ » are common in West Bengali, specially in the Standard Colloquial, and are দি, দিগ্ and দের « -di, -dig-, -dērɵ ». The affix seems to have been of Central Rādha origin : it is not found in East and North Bengali dialects, where its occurrence at the present day can without difficulty be explained as being due to the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as well as of the Standard Colloquial. The use of this affix, both with organic inflexions and with post-positions, is indicated below, with the word মানুষ « mānuṣɵ » *man.*

> *Accusative and Dative* : Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগকে « mānuṣɵ-digᾱ-kē »,
> মানুষদিগের « mānuṣɵ-dig-ēr-ē », archaic মানুষের দিগরে « mānuṣ-
> -ērɵ digᾱr-ē », মানুষেরদিগরকে « mānuṣērɵ-digᾱrɵ-kē » ;
> Standard Colloquial মানুষদিকে « mānuṣɵ-di-kē », মানুষদিগে
> « mānuṣɵ-dig-ē », মানুষ'দগকে « mānuṣɵ-dig(ᾱ)-ke », also
> « mānuṣɵ-dikkē », beside the genitive মানুষদের, মানুষেদের
> « mānuṣɵ-dērɵ, mānuṣēdērɵ », and the genitive *plus*
> the dative or accusative post-position কে—মানুষ(ে)দেরকে
> « mānuṣ(ē)-dērɵ-kē » ;

> *Instrumental* : Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগ-দ্বারা, -কর্তৃক « mānuṣɵ-digᾱ-dwārᾱ,
> -kārtṛkɵ » মানুষ, মানুষের দিগর (দিগের) দ্বারা « mānuṣ(ērɵ)
> -digᾱrɵ (-digērɵ) dwārᾱ », etc. ; Standard Colloquial মানুষদের
> দিয়ে < দিয়া, -দ্বারা « mānuṣɵ-dērɵ-diyē < diyā, -dwārᾱ », etc. ;

> *Ablative* : Like instrumental, with হইতে, হ'তে « hᾱitē, hōtē », থাকিয়া,
> থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » etc., in the place of instrumental post-
> positions.

Genitive : Sādhu-bhāṣā মাহুষদিগের, মাহুষেরদিগের « mānuṣ(ēr‡) -digēr‡ », মাহুষদিগর « mānuṣ‡-digār‡ », archaic and rare মাহুষের দিগেরের « mānuṣēr‡ digārēr‡ »; Standard Colloquial মাহুষেদের, মাহুষদের « mānuṣ-ēdēr‡, mānuṣ‡-dēr‡ », মাহুষেরদেদ « mānuṣēr‡-dēr‡, mānuṣeddēr‡ » ;

Locative : Sādhu-bhāṣā মাহুষদিগতে, -দিগেতে « mānuṣ‡-digā-tē, -digē-tē », archaic মাহুষের দিগরে, মাহুষের দিগেতেতে « mānuṣēr‡ digār-ē, -digār-ētē »; Standard Colloquial মাহুষেদেরতে « mānuṣ‡-dēr‡-tē », মাহুষদিগেতে « mānuṣ‡-digētē » (rather uncommon for the locative : the Standard Colloquial would prefer the form মাহুষ-গুলিতে, গুলাতে « mānuṣ‡-guli-tē, -gulā-tē » etc.)

The affix is thus in three forms, -দি -দ « -di-, -d- », দিগ « -dig(ā)- » and দিগর « -digār‡ ». The last form apparently has a র « -r‡ » which is not the genitive affix. It is frequent in letters and documents and in prose generally from the 18th century onwards, but it became obsolete by the middle of the 19th century. This দিগর « -digār‡ » is only an artificial form built on the proper genitive দিগের or দিগর « -dig-ēr‡, -dig-ār‡ ». It came to be established through a confusion with the Persian « dīgar » *another, more, and the rest*, etc. Persian « dīgar » occurs frequently in the highly Persianised Bengali of the law courts : a form like মাহুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣēr‡ digār‡-kē » *to men* arose probably in the early 18th century in the law courts ; and when a prose style came into being in Bengali about that period, it had to be based as a matter of course on the only prose that was current, viz., in legal and epistolary documents. The curious form দিগর « digār‡ », which is thus merely the native দিগ-র, দিগের « -dig-ār‡, -dig-ēr‡ » mistaken for the Persian word, in this way came to be accepted in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » in its formative and early periods. The confusion between the native affix দিগ « -digā » and the Persian « dīgar » is plain : we have তাহাদিগকে, তাহাদিগের « tāhā-digā-kē, tāhā-dig-ēr‡ » *to them* ; and a Persianised expression তাহার দিগরকে « tāhār‡ digār‡-kē » = *to the others of his (group)* > *to them* could easily be evolved when the form « -dig-ār‡ » was handy in the language. With the decay of Persian influence upon Bengali, the form দিগর « digār‡ » has become obsolete.

The persistent use in many Late MB. and Early NB. prose documents of the form দিগর « digār৹ » as a separate plural forming post-position, like সব, সকল « sāb৹, sākāl৹ » and the rest, has thrown some Bengali scholars off their guard, and has been responsible for the assumption that দিগর « digar৹ » and -দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের, « -digā, -dig-ēr৹, -di, -dēr৹ » etc. are derived from the Persian word.

There is no affix corresponding to -দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের « -digā, -di, -dig-ēr৹, -dēr৹ » in any other NIA. language. It does not occur in OB. There has been some speculation about the origin of this group of affixes. (Cf. Beames, 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, London, 1875, p. 200, Bengali Grammar, Oxford, 1894, p. 20; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1877, Bombay, 1914, pp. 238-239; A. F. R. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 190-191; Chintāmaṇi Gāṅguli, Bengali Grammar, Bengali year 1288, p. 40; Rabindranath Tagore, 'Śabda-tattwa,' pp. 85-90.) But there is nothing in MB. to warrant an affiliation to an obsolete genitive affix « -dā » (Hoernle), to a plural form « *-nhi-kēra > *-ndigēra > -digēr৹ » (Rabindranath Tagore), or a derivation from a Skt. « diś, dik » *direction* (Beames and Bhāṇḍārkar), or from a Skt. « dīrgha » (Gāṅguli).

The proper source of -দিগ, -দি « -digā, -di » is undoubtedly the *ts.* word « ādi » which came into wide use in Eastern Rādha from the Second MB. period. Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen suggested « ādi, ādi-ka », so commonly found in MB. literature from the 16th century onwards (and certainly earlier still) as having developed into the NB. affix. (Cf. 'Vaṅga-bhāṣā Ō Sāhitya⁴,' pp. 33, 34, 235, 332). It would be noted that in MB., আদি « ādi » and its extension আদিক « ādi-ka » are used for the nominative as well. The words are used in MB. mainly after proper names, but they are found with other nouns, masculine as well as neuter. The sense is not exactly of the plural, but of 'and the like,' 'and the rest.' Thus, in the 'Narōttama-Vilāsa' of Narahari Cakravarti (c. 1614-1625), we have—

ঐছে কত কহি অধ্যাপকে দিঅ দেখা ।
প্রাতঃকালে স্নানাদিক করি সজ্জ হৈলা ॥

বিনা যানে রাজা অধ্যাপকাদি সনে।

গেলেন খেতরি শীঘ্র গৌরাঙ্গ প্রাঙ্গণে ॥......

মহাবিজ্ঞ রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দাদি তথি।

কৈল সমাদর সবে হৈলা হৃষ্ট অতি ॥ (VSP., II, pp. 1244-1245)

« âichē kâtâ kahi, âdhyâpâkē sthirâ kâilâ |
prâtâḥ-kâlē snânâdikâ kâri sâjjâ hâilâ ||
binâ yânē râjâ âdhyâpâkâdi sânē |
gēlēnâ Khētâri śīghrâ Gâurângâ-prângâṇē ||......
mâhâ-bijñâ Râmâ-cândrâ Gōbindâdi tâthi |
kâilâ sâmādârâ, sâbē hâilâ hṛṣṭâ âti ||

In this way saying a great deal, he made the scholars quiet;
In the morning-time, having finished his bath and other duties, he was dressed;
Without a vehicle the king, with the scholars and the rest,
Went quickly to Khetari, to the courtyard of Gaurânga;
The very wise Rāma-candra, and Govinda and the rest there
Did honour, and all were very glad.

In some cases, we find the phrase আদি করি সবে « âdi kâri sâbē » *all with so-and-so at the head=so-and-so and others,* rather than the simple আদি or আদিক « âdi, âdi-kâ ». This « âdi-kâri » must have had something to do with the evolution of দিগর « digârâ » discussed above.

As yet the more common plural-affix is গণ « gânâ », at least in literature; but the « âdi, âdi-ka » > « -dâ, -digâ », for the plural oblique seems to have been well-established by the end of the 15th century: তোমাদের « tōmādērâ » *your,* for instance, is found in Kṛttivāsa's ' Rāmāyaṇa, Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa ' (pp. 29, 30, VSPd. edition, MS. of c. 1602 A. C.) as well as in 'Uttara-kāṇḍa' (*e.g.,* p. 194 ; MS. of c. 1580 A.D. ; the MSS. are late, and it cannot be ascertained whether « -dērâ » was actually in use in Kṛttivāsa's time, 15th century, but in all probability it was).

MB. *ts.* « âdi » would naturally become « âidâ, âīd » by epenthesis: মানুষাদি « mânuṣâdi » would become মানুষাদ « *mânuṣâīd », genitive মানুষাদের « *mânuṣâīdērâ », whence NB. মানুষেদের « mânuṣēdērâ », which is still common, and then by dropping of the « -ē », মানুষদের « mânuṣâ-dērâ ».

We even now invariably say রামদের « Rāmēdērɨ » *of Rāma and his people* = « *Rāmāɪdērɨ < Rāmādi, Rāmāɪd + -ērɨ » ; and রামদের « *Rām-dērɨ » is not heard at all : the old full form is preserved in this case, where we have a proper name, and the sense too is the old one of a group rather than of the plural. The « ā- » of « ādi, āɪd » came to be linked with the preceding word, and gradually « -di, -d- » alone had the force of an affix. Then it came to be used with nouns ending in vowels like « -i, -u » : *e.g.*, পাখীদের « pākhī-d-ērɨ » *of birds*, গোরুদের « gōru-d-ērɨ » *of cows*. The intermediate stages are not preserved in M.B. literature, as the literary language scorned to have colloquial forms as yet not fully established. The form দি « -di » without epenthesis, is found, but it is rather rare in the Standard Colloquial (see under accusative above, p. 728). আদিক « ādi-kɨ » became আদিগ « ādigɨ » by voicing, as in the case of গুলা < কুল- « -gulā < kula- ». The « ā » was assimilated with the ending of the preceding word, and there was not much scope for epenthesis here (to a possible « * āɪdgɨ ») : and the « -kɨ » form seems to have been rather a learned and artificial one than colloquial—the result of an attempt to give a respectable look with the all-useful « -ka » to a vernacular form in « -di, -ādi ». দিগ « digɨ » also came to be generalised, like দি, দ «-di, -dɨ » with words in « -i-, -u » vowels. The genitive form of দিগ is দিগের « digērɨ = digɨ + -ērɨ » ; and দিগর « digārɨ = digɨ + -ārɨ » also is found. It would not be correct to derive দিগের form আদি-কের « ādi-kēra », regarding the case as one of retention of the older MIA. form of the common Bengali genitive affix « -ērɨ » ; the occurrence in M.B. of আদিক « ādi-kɨ » is against such a derivation. Rai Bahadur Y. C. Vidyānidhi, while accepting « ādi » as the source of the Bengali affix, suggests that « ādi + kāra » > দিগার « *digārɨ » was the original form of দিগের « digārɨ » (Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 196), which has the « -ā- » changed to « -ē- » through Vowel Harmony (see pp. 400 *supra*) ; but the need to postulate a M.B. « *digārɨ » is equally unnecessary.

490. The *tbh.* word সব « sabɨ », strengthened in M.B. by the *sts.* সভ < সভা « sabhɨ < sabhā », the *tbh.* or *ts.* words কুল- > গুলা « kulā- > gula- », জন « jánɨ » and গণ « gánɨ », and the *ts.* or *sts.* আদি, আদিক > দ, দিগ « ādi, ādi-ka > -d-, -digɨ », have thus furnished to Bengali a set of new

agglutinated plural affixes. There are other *ts.* words of multitude loosely agglutinated to indicate the plural in the « sādhu-bhāṣā »—*e.g.*, « samasta, sakala, samūha, varga, lōka, caya, nicaya » etc. The Perso-Arabic « maḥal » is also similarly used, though in a restricted way, *e.g.*, বন্ধু মহল « bāndhu-māhālā » *society of friends = friends,* রাজনৈতিক মহলে « rājnaitikā-māhāl-ē » *among politicians,* etc.

The case affixes and post-positions are placed after the noun of multitude agglutinated, and this system has its parallel in the agglutinative system of Dravidian, *e.g.*, মানুষ-গুলা-কে « mānuṣā-gulā-kē » *to men,* cf. Tamil « maṇiḍaṉ-gaḷ-ukku ». Here of course we have only a fortuitous resemblance, there being no genetic connexion whatever between the very late Indo-Aryan « -gulā, -kē » and the Dravidian « -gaḷ, -ukku ».

Of the above nouns of number, সব « sābā », সকল « sākālā » sometimes সমস্ত « samāstā », and অনেক « ānēkā » (MB. আনেক « ānēkā ») which indicate merely number and not grouping, are loosely compounded with nouns as attributives to express the plural. This is found from the oldest period of Bengali: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala-samāhia » *with (all) samādhis*; ŚKK., p. 1, সব দেবে মেলি সভা পাতিল আকাশে « sābā-dēbā mēli sabhā pātilā ākāśē » *the Gods having met held a gathering in the sky;* ibid., p. 1, ব্রহ্মা সব দেব লয়া গেলান্তি সাগরে « Brāhmā sābā-dēbā lāyā gēlānti sāgārē » *B. taking the Gods went to the sea.* In NB., the noun qualified can optionally take a second word at the end, or the affix « -ērā, -rā » (see *infra*).

Other forms of periphrasis are found from the Early MB. period : the pronominal adjective যত, যত « jātā » *as much* is used attributively, singly or with সব « sābā », গণ « gāṇā » etc.: *e.g.*, Early MB. (ŚKK. p. 19), যত নানা ফুল পান কর্পূর সব পেলাইল পাএ « jātā nānā phulā, pānā kārāpurā, sābā pēlāilā pāē » *all the various flowers, betel-leaves, and camphor she scattered with her foot.* ibid., p. 237, কান্হাঞিক দেখি যত গোপা-গোপীগণে। হরষে হইলা তবে সজল নয়নে ॥ « Kānhāñikā dēkhi jātā gōpā-gōpī-gāṇē, hārāṣē hāyilā tābē sājālā nāyānē » *Seeing Kṛṣṇa, all the herdsmen and herdswomen through joy then had moistened eyes.* The loss of a genuine plural-forming affix had placed the language in this difficulty.

Plural nouns qualified by demonstratives solve the difficulty by adding the noun of multitude to the pronoun : *e.g.*, সে-সব কাজ « sē-såbå kåjå » *those works*, এই-সমস্ত কথা « ēi-såmåstå kåthā » *these talks*, etc. This usage is found in the ŚKK. : *e.g.*, p. 18, এতেকে এ সব কাজের প্রকার জানহ বিশেষে « ētēkē ē-såbå kåjērå pråkårå jånåhå ṣēṣē biṣēṣē » *in this way know thoroughly and in detail the method of these works*; p. 33, এ সব গোপবধূজন লঞা কথাঁ না যাসি বড়াঁই « ē-såbå gōpå-bådhū-jånå låñå kåthåঁ nå jāsi båṛåঁyi » *taking all these wives of the herdsmen, where indeed dost go, old mother!* p. 56, এ সব চরিতে « ē-såbå cåritē » *with these deeds*; etc., etc.

491. The commonest NB. affix for the plural is রা or এরা « -rā, -ērå » which is now organic or inflexional in its nature, although in origin it is post-position. রা, এরা « -rā, -ērå » are only extensions of the genitive bases in র, এর « -rå, -ērå » by means of the আ « -å » affix. Originally, there was a noun of multitude after the strengthened genitive in « -å ». This stage is still found in the Maithilī « hamarā-sabh, tōharā-sabh » *we, ye*; and in Bengali, the noun of multitude can be optionally used, and as a matter of fact is still frequently used in the colloquial as well as in the literary language (of both prose and poetry) ; *e.g.*, আমরা সব « åmårā-såbå » *we*, তোরা সব « torā-såbå » or তোমরা সব « tōmårā-såbå » *ye*, বামুনেরা সব « bāmunērå -såbå » *Brāhmans*, রাজারা সব « rājārå-såbå » *kings*, পাখীরা সব « påkhīrå -såbå » *birds*, etc. It is like « mama gaṇaḥ » or « māmakāḥ sarvē » for « vayam ». In NB., however, the noun of multitude is ordinarily felt to be superfluous. The genitive form with its « -å » of definitiveness (see *ante*, pp. 658-659) could be easily distinguished from the ordinary genitive of connexion which does not have the « -å ».

The use of the strong genitive with the noun of multitude came into being with the pronouns of the first and second person, when the old plurals আমি, আমহে, আমি « åmhi, åmhē, åmi » and তুমি, তুহে, তুমি « tumbi, tumhē tumi » first became honorific singular and then ordinary singular. New plurals were found out; either by mere juxta-position, as nominative আমি সব, আমি সব « åm(h)i-såbå », তুমি সব, তুমি সব « tum(h)i-såbå », oblique আমা (আমা) সব «åm(h)å-såbå », তোমা (তোমা) সব « tōm(h)å-såbå », the case affixes

and post-position being added to সব « sǎbǎ » ; or by means of the strong
genitive, *e.g.*, আঙ্কারা, আমারা, আমরা সব «āmhǎ-r-ǎ, āmā-r-ǎ, āmǎ-r-ǎ sǎb(h)ǎ»
we, তোম্হারা, তোমারা, তোমরা সব « tōmhǎ-r-ǎ, tōmā-r-ǎ, tōmǎ-r-ǎ sǎb(h)ǎ » *you*.
Both the types are found in MB. literature. With the demonstrative
and other non-personal pronouns, however, « sǎbǎ » is employed in NB.
only to indicate inanimate objects, and to indicate animate objects সব
« sǎbǎ » must be used with the রা « -rǎ » form : *e.g.*, এ-সব « ē-sǎbǎ »
these things, সে-সব « sē-sǎbǎ » *those things*, and এরা « ē-rǎ », এরা-সব « ē-rǎ-
sǎbǎ » *these people*, তারা « tā-rǎ » *they, those people* (but এ-সব লোক « ē-sǎbǎ
lōkǎ » *these men*, সে-সব ছেলে « sē-sǎbǎ chēlē » *those boys*). The method by
simple juxta-position of « sǎbǎ » to the base has not yet become obsolete
in NB. The simple strong genitive, without adding the noun of
multitude, already came into being in the 14th century. But it was still
not very popular, and was confined to the first and second personal pronouns
apparently. In the ŚKK., there are only 3 instances of it :

p. 202, আজি হৈতে আঙ্কারা হৈলাহো এক মতী ।

« āji hǎitē ǎmhārā hǎilǎhō (= hǎīlǎŏ) ēka-mǎtī »
From to-day we have become of one accord.

p. 232, পুছিল তোঙ্কারা কেহে তরাসিল মনে ॥

« puchilǎ tōmhārā kēnhē tǎrāsilǎ mǎnē »
Why did ye ask with a mind afraid ?

p. 263, আঙ্কারা মরিব শুণিলে কাংস ।

«ǎmhārā mǎribǎ śuṇilē Kǎṃsǎ»
If Kaṁsa were to hear, we shall die.

The « -rǎ » plurals for the pronouns seem to have been well-established
in the 15th century : তোমরা, তারা, ইহারা, মোরা, আমরা « tōmǎrǎ, tǎrǎ, ihǎrǎ,
mōrǎ, ǎmǎrǎ » etc. are quite frequent in the 1580 and 1602 MSS. of the
Uttara and Ayōdhyā-Kāṇḍas of Kṛttivāsa's ' Rāmāyaṇa.' It was during
this century also, apparently, that the « -rǎ, -ērǎ » affixes were extended
to nouns. Thus in Vijaya-gupta's ' Padmā-purāṇa ' (last quarter of the
15th century : edition by Pyārī-Mōhan Dās-Gupta, Calcutta, 1318, from
late MSS., modernised to a great extent), we find ছেলেরা « chēlē-rǎ » (for

« chāīlā-rā ») *children* (p. 12), কাজীরা « kājīrā » *the Qāzīs* (p. 55), বাপুরা « bāpurā » *good men, fathers* (a term of address: p. 149), কামারেরা « kāmārērā » *black-smiths* (p. 169), শিবেরা বাপে ঝী « Śibērā bāpē jhī » *they together, Śiva the father and (Padmā or Manasā) the daughter*, lit. *the Śivas, father and daughter* (p. 219), etc., beside তা(হা)রা « tā(hā)rā », মোরা « mōrā » (pp. 53, 54), তোরা « tōrā » (p. 71), etc., etc.   In MB. from the 16th century the use of « -rā, -ērā » is steadily on the increase, although it looks as if it was not favoured by literary Bengali of the Late MB. period. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 19th century similarly preferred compoundings with « gaṇa, sāmūhā, sākālā » etc.; but « -rā, -ērā » are at the present day commonly used both in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial and it is found in all the dialects. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial « -rā, -ērā » are used only for the nominative, but in many forms of dialectal (colloquial) Bengali, we have the « -rā, -ērā » bases employed for the genitive as well by adding the usual « -rā »: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial nominative তারা « tārā » *they*, genitive তাদের « tādērā » *their* (=« sādhu-bhāṣā » তাহারা « tāhārā » and তাহাদিগের « tāhādigērā »), but East Bengali তারা « tārā », genitive তারার « tārā-rā »: the last is therefore a double genitive form. Similarly, there is Western Bengali (Dhalbhum) আমরাকে « āmrā-kē » *us, to us* = Standard Colloquial আমাদের « āmādērā »; so Malpaharia চাকররাকে « cākarā-rā-kē » *to servants*, মিতানরাকে « mitān-rā-kē » *to friends* (LSI., V, I, p. 100), etc.

The use of a form of the genitive for the nominative plural is not an isolated fact in Bengali. Apart from the genitive plural in « -rā, -ērā », we have in Bengali itself, in the Western dialects, plural forms by extension from the obsolete genitive in « -kā »: *e.g.*, Western Bengali (Dhalbhum, LSI., V, I, p. 79) ইগা « i-gā < * i-kā » *these*; (Malpaharia, Santal Parganas, LSI., V, I, p. 100) বেহিয়াগা « bēhiyā-gā » *courtesans*, ইহাগা « ihā-gā » *these*, সাঙ্গানগার « sāṅgān-gā-rā » *of friends*; (Manbhum, LSI., ibid., p. 97) হাতগা « hāt-gā » *hands*; S.W. Bengali (LSI., ibid., p. 110) ইগা « i-gā » *these*; etc. Among the sisters and cousins of Bengali we have similar instances, *e.g.*, Magahī « hamar-nī » *we* <« hamar » *of us*+genitival affix « -nī »; Bhōjpuriyā « hamanī-kā, hamaran » *we*, « unha-kā » *they*,

« kēkanī, kekanī-kā » *who* ? (pl.); in the Baghēlkhaṇḍī form of E. Hindī, we have similarly « hamārē, tihārē » *we, ye* (cf. Kellogg, ' Hindī Grammar ²' p. 193). In Eastern Pahāṛī (Khas-kurā or Nēpālī), the plural affix is « -hēru, -haru » and « -ēru », with which are connected the dialectal Rājasthānī (Mālvī) plural affix « -hōr, -hōrō, -hōnō » and the Early Kanaujī (W. Hindī) plural affix « -hwār » (cf. LSI., IX, IV, p. 23; IX, II, p. 55). The source of the above would seem to be the old genitive and adjectival post-position of MIA., namely « -kara, -kēra »,—the source equally of the Bengali « -rǎ, -ērǎ » : the « h-, hō-, hē- » being possibly the « -h- » of the old oblique (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 191, 192).

The evolution of the « -r-ā, -ēr-ā » affix for the plural is comparatively a late thing in Bengali, and its derivation from « kara, kēra<kārya » is clear; and it cannot be in its origin a Dravidian borrowing, nor should it be compared with the Dravidian plural « -ǎr, -ār », found in Tamil as well as in the Dravidian speeches adjoining Bengali, viz., Oraon and Maler.

492. In dialectal Bengali there is an affix for the plural, মীনা « mīnā » (West Bengali, Manbhum Dist.), or মন « mǎnǎ » (South-Western Bengali of Midnapur). This is undoubtedly the same as the affix « -māna- » which is found in Oṛiyā as a common plural affix (in the nominative « mānē ») : *e.g.,* « puruṣā », pl. nom. « puruṣ-ē, puruṣā-mānē », genitive pl. « puruṣāṇ-kā(rā), puruṣa-mānāṇ-kā(rā) ». In the Early Oṛiyā of the 15th century inscriptions (see *supra*, p. 107), the form occurs as both « māṇa » (with a cerebral « ṇ ») and « māna ». The source of this form is the OIA. « mānava », compounded to indicate the plural, like « jana, lōka ». The *tbh.* form in Oṛiyā gave « *māṇā=*māṇā » (« ava, aʍa> ā » : see p. 346) : but when it became an affix, it was possibly confused with a *ts.* « māna » *measure,* and this has led to the spelling with a dental « -n- » which obtains now: « *mānavahi, mānāhi » gave « mānē, mānē ». In OB., the word is found with the « -ā » affix, *e.g.,* in Caryā 46 : « mōha-vimukkā jaï mānā, tabē tuṭaï avaṇā-gamanā » *when a man is freed from ignorance, then (his) coming and going (=* saṁsāra) *is broken.* The word is found in the Haijong dialect of East Bengali (Maimansing) as মান « mānǎ » *man,* and possibly it occurs in other dialects. In Bhōjpuriyā, we have « manaī », a common word for *man in general,* which

represents either a « *mānavika » or the old Māgadhī nominative singular
« mānavē>*mānawi » : and « man » for the plural is found in the Nāgpuriyā
dialect of Bhōjpuriyā, as well as in the contiguous· Chattisgaṛhī form of
Eastern Hindī. We have thus a tract of IA., embracing the Oṛiyā, West
Bengali (in part), South-eastern Bhōjpuriyā and Chattisgaṛhī speeches, in
which « mānava » has come to be a plural indicating word : and considering
that « mānē » is in full force in Oṛiyā, it may be presumed that this employ
originated in the old West Rāḍha form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, which was
the source of Oṛiyā, and thence it spread to the contiguous dialects. ·

    493. Early Assamese uses the · words « gaṇa, saba (samha, sama),
sakala » etc. to indicate the plural, just like Bengali. The use of these
affixes has become obsolete now. New Assamese employs instead the
words « -bilāk, (-blāk), -bōṛ » and « -hāt ». All these are rare in
Middle Assamese. « -bilāk » is of obscure origin. North Bengali has a
dialectal form for the Common Bengali « -gulā, -gulāk », namely, « -gilā,
-gilāk, -glā », and a connexion between « -gilāk » and « -bilāk » has
been suggested ; but apart from the phonetic difficulty of the change of
« -gi- » to « -bi- », there is a wide difference in the employment of this word
— « -gulā » in Bengali is contemptuous, but « -bilāk » in Assamese is
honorific. In Early Assamese, again, « -gulā(ka) » is not found at all.
The Skt. work « vilōka » has been suggested as the source of « -bilāk »
(Devānanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Vicār,' Dibrugarh, 1912,
p. 35). The use of the *ts.* « lōka » as an honorific plural affix in Assamese
lends support to this derivation (*e.g.*, « tai » *thou,* « tumi » *you,* honorific
« tumi-lōk »; so « mantrī-lōk » *ministers*), but the change of « ō » to « ā »
is not justifiable, and this precludes the above derivation.

    « -bōṛ » may be from an IA. « bahula » or « bahala » *many,* rather
than from « bhūri » (as suggested by Devānanda Bharāli, *op. cit.*) Or
can it be that « -bōṛ » and « -bilāk » are connected with each other, and
are to be referred to a non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman) source ? There is the
common Boḍo plural affix « frā, for, fūr » which comes up in this connexion :
Boḍo formed an important (if not the largest) non-Aryan element in
Western Assam where the Assamese dialect was characterised.

Assamese « -hātä » represents « *ahanta », present participle of « √ah = as », corresponding to Bengali হৈতে, হইতে « hāitē », apparently used as a genitive-ablative post-position in the Eastern Magadhan dialects, and later stereotyped into the plural affix in Assamese.

494. By reduplicating the adjective, we have the sense of the plural distributive in Bengali, as in other NIA. languages: *e.g.*, বড় বড় ঘোড়া « bāṛä bāṛä ghōṛä » *horses, each a big one* ; OB. (Caryā 28) « ūcä ūcä pābata (sts.) » *hills, each a high one* ; MB. (ŚKK., p. 388) বড় বড় গাছের « bāṛä bāṛä gāchērä » *of trees, each a big one.*

[D] Case Inflexions: Inherited from MIA., and Newly Created.

495. Following the method of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Bengali noun is declared to have seven cases (eight, including the vocative), which are formed by adding both inflexions and postpositions. The following are the case affixes which are added to the noun in New Bengali, like organic inflexions, as distinct from the detachable post-positional words:

Nominative: এ, য় « -ē, -yä » ;

Instrumental: এ, য় « -e, -yä » ;

Locative: এ, য় « -e, -yä » ; তে, তে « -tä, -t-ē », এ-তে « -ä-t-ē », extended also to the Instrumental and the Nominative.

Oblique-Locative: এ, য় « -e, -yä », occurring as the Accusative and Dative, and also in the Instrumental with the post-positional verb করিয়া « kāriyā » or ক'রে « kōrē » ;

Genitive: র, এর « -rä, -ērä » : in the plural, ‡ গা, গো « -gä, -gō » ;

Dative: কে, কে, একে « -k-ē, -r-ē, -ēr-ē ».

496. Of the above, the Genitive, Dative, and Locative affixes « -rä, -ērä, -gä, -gō ; -k-e, -r-ē, -ēr-ē ; -ta, -t-ē » are of recent, Late MIA. origin, having developed, not from OIA. case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA. stage. The other affix, the affix এ « -ē », occurring also as য় « yä » after the « -ä » and « -ō » vowels in New Bengali, which is found in the Nominative and Instrumental, and in the

Oblique-Locative and Accusative, is the sole representative in Bengali of the OIA. case affixes, into which several OIA. cases have merged.

NOMINATIVE.

497. Bengali and Assamese nominative affix has the characteristic affix « -ē ». It has become rather obsolete in West Bengali, but it is still a living form in East Bengali and in Assamese. Instances are exceedingly common in the OB. of the Caryās and in MB. of all periods. In other Magadhan Languages, « -ē » as the nominative affix (singular) is obsolete now, but the older literatures of Oṛiyā and Maithilī show that it was formerly as much a living form as in Bengali and Assamese. See *infra* for examples.

In the old Prācya or eastern speech of the First MIA. Period, the OIA. nominative masculine and neuter affixes « -aḥ, -am » both became « -ē ». The specimens of the Eastern dialect that we have all show this « -ē »—Asōkan Eastern speech, Old Māgadhī as in the Śutanukā inscription (see p. 59), ' Māgadhī ' and ' Ardha-māgadhī ' as in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (p. 59), Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, and Māgadhī of the Sanskrit drama. In Late MIA., i.e., during the Apabhraṅśa Stage, this « -ē » in all likelihood became « *-i », as we find from the evidence of some of the Prakrit grammarians. Thus Mārkaṇḍeya (17th century) in his ' Prākṛta-sarvasva ' notes for Māgadhī that « sāu puṁsy ēd-itāu : puṁsi sāu parē 'kāra ēd-itāu syāt » : i.e., *in* -su, *or nominative singular, masculine (and neuter), the final « -ă » becomes « -ē » and « -i »*: e.g., « śili muṇḍidē=śiraḥ muṇḍitam » (Vizianagram ed., p. 102); and further, he says that in the Śābarī dialect, a form a Māgadhī, « -ă- » in the nominative singular becomes both « -ē » and « -i », and this is a rule which is common to both masculine and neuter nouns: « mānuśō, mānuśi ; vaṇē, vaṇi » beside « mānuśō, vaṇaṁ », for Skt. « mānuṣaḥ, vanam » (p. 108: « ataḥ sāv ēd-itāu ca, puṁ-napuṁsaka-sādhāraṇō' yaṁ vidhiḥ »). Paralleling the weakening of the OIA. locative « -ē » to « -i » in Late NIA. of both the East and the West, and that of Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī and other Western MIA. « -aḥ > -ō » to « -u »

in the Apabhraṅśas of the West (see pp. 311-312), the Māgadhī « -ē » can reasonably be expected to have also become « -i », as the grammarian has noticed it. A form like « putra > puttē » would therefore result in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa as « * putti », in Māgadhī NIA. (including OB.) as « * pūti ». This « -i » form for the nominative (by extension, serving as the base for the other cases also) seems to have actually survived in a few words: *e.g.*, OB. vocative « Kānhi » (Caryā 7 : < Kāṇhē, Kṛṣṇa); N.B. ‡ পুতি « puti » beside পুত « putā » *son*; চাটুতি « Cāṭuti » (see pp. 409, 692); ঠাই « ṭhāi » *place* < « *ṭhāῖi, ṭhāmē = sthāman » (but cf. W. Hindī « ṭhāῖw< *ṭhāῖu »); নেই « nēi » *indulgence* < « *nēhi = ṇēhē = snēhaḥ » (but cf. MB. দে « dē » < « dēha »; « dēhi » is found in Early Oṛiyā); and a few similar forms in MB., NB. A form like « putra-kaḥ » with pleonastic « -ka » would give Māgadhī Pkt. « putta(g)ē » which would become in Māg. Ap. « *puttaï », and the Old Bengali transformation of it would be « pūtē »= MB. and NB. পুত « putē ». And probably in this way the « -ē » is mostly to be derived from a Māgadhī « -aē » = Skt. « -a-kaḥ ». Thus, OB. : « jē ajarāmara hōï diṭa-kāndha » (= « diḍha-kāndhē », to rime with « sāndhē » in preceding line) *so that he becomes ageless and deathless, and strong in his shoulders* (Caryā 3 : < *diḍha-kandhaï < diḍha-kandhaē = dṛḍha-skandhakaḥ); « Bhādē bhaṇaï » *says Bhāda* (Caryā 35 : < Bhaddaē = Bhādrakaḥ) : « kumbhīrē khāï » *the crocodile eats* (Caryā 2 : < kumbhīlaē = kumbhīrakaḥ); MB. (ŚKK.) কংসের কারণে হএ পৃথির বিনাশে « Kaṅsēra kāraṇē haē pṛthirā bināśē » *through the reason of K. the destruction of the world takes place* (p. 2); বাঢ়এ মদনে « bāṛhaē mādānē » *love increases* (p. 30); না ছাঢ়ে নান্দের পোএ « nā chāṛē Nāndēra pōē » *Nanda's son does not leave* (p. 38); 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhedh '— « xadhue eq crux bhanaia boner moidhe raqhilo » = সাধুএ এক ক্রুশ বানাইয়া বনের মধে রাখিল *the saint made a crucifix and kept it within the forest*; « xtrie zigguiaxa corilo »= স্ত্রীএ জিজ্ঞাসা করিল *the woman asked*; etc., etc.;—such instances from MB. and NB. are extremely common. A noun without any verb, in the usual nominal phrase-building of NIA., is frequently found with this « -ē » in Bengali.

Examples from Oṛiyā: « ...Uttāmā-kumārē...upujilā » *Prince Uttama was born* ('Dhruva-caritra,' p. 4); « bicārā nāśā kāribārē, ētā nōhāi subicārē »

you think of killing, this is not justice (Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Bhāgavata,' the Story of the Birth of Kaṅsa, Contai ed:, p. 19); « ēmāntā bhāli jānē jānē, buddhi āṇṭilā mānē mānē » *so viewing, each individually formed the plan in his mind* (*ibid*, p. 7); « bājrā pāṟilā jēṅhē śirē, bādānē nōhilā uttārē » (text ═uttārā) *as if a thunder-bolt fell on the head, there was no reply in the mouth* (*ibid*, Rāsa-līḷā, p. 7); « sujānā jāṅāṅkārā hitē, kāhaï biprā Jāgānnāthē » *for the good of virtuous men, the Brāhman Jagannātha narrates* (*ibid*., p. 10); « ēkā gōpīē āgāsāri jāï, khōjāï puṣpā-bāri » *one herdswoman goes advancing and seeks flowers and water* (*ibid*., p. 12); etc. This « -ē » for the singular nominative has already become rather rare in Early Oṟiyā.

Examples from Maithili: « jani Manamathē mana bēdhala bānē » *as if Love pierced* (*her*) *mind with an arrow* (Vidyāpati, VSPd. ed., p. 39); « kāpala parama rasālē » (*he*) *trembled, filled with love* (*ibid*, p. 40): « sapanē-hu na purala manaka sādhē, nayana dēkhala Hari, ēta aparādhē » *even in a dream the heart's desire was not fulfilled*; (*she*) *saw Hari with* (*her*) *eyes, (was that) such a crime?* (*ibid*, p. 51); « cintāē bikala hṛdaya nabi thīrē, bādana nihāri nayana baha nīrē » *the heart agitated with thinking is not steady; seeing his face, tears flow from the eyes* (*ibid*, p. 52); etc., etc.

An « -i » affix inherited from the Māgadhī « -ē » disappeared in the OB. period, possibly through confusion with the locative « -i < -ē », and « -akaḥ > -aē > *-aï > -ē » was fully established. In establishing this « -ē » as the characteristic nominative affix, there was the influence of the « -ā̃, -ē » affix of the instrumental. The nominative was replaced by the instrumental in the passive construction which occurred in OB. in the past tense of the transitive verb, following the MIA. conditions: *e.g.*, OB. « * Kānhē (for * Kānhi) pōthī paḍhaï » *Krishna reads a book* would become in the past tense « * Kānhā̃ pōthī paḍhilī ». The difference between the nominative and instrumental affixes in OB. (Kānhē < Kaṇhaē = Kṛṣṇakaḥ, Kānhā̃ = Kaṇhē[ṇa]ṁ = Kṛṣṇēna) was one of nasalisation only, and the cases could be easily confused, and then affixes interchanged. And as a matter of fact, « -ē, -ē̃ » interchange, and are used one for the other from the OB. period. The tendency also was to drop the affixes « -i, -ē » for the nominative when the construction was active: thus, beside

« kumbhirē khāï » (Caryā 2) and « Bhādē bhaṇaï » (Caryā 35), we have the simple « -a » base : *e.g.*, « Saraha bhaṇaï » (Caryā 32).   But this tendency may be said to have been resisted by the « -ē, -ē » of the instrumental nominative of the past transitive : *e.g.*, OB. « cōrē nila » *a thief took away* (Caryā 2) ; Kukkurī-pāē gāïḍa » *Kukkurī-pāda sang* (*ibid*) ; « Kānhē gāi » (= Kṛṣṇēna gītam : Caryā 18) ; « Bājulē dila » *Bājula gave* (35) ; « Ājadēvē saala bihariu » *everything Ārya-dēva has taken away* (48) ; MB. গাইল চণ্ডীদাসে « gāïlā Cāṇḍīdāsē » *C. sang*, etc.   The nasalisation of the instrumental « -ē » was entirely dropped during the 15th century, and this made the fusion of the two cases complete.

In the gradual merging of the two cases, it is not unlikely that there was some influence of masses of Bengalised Tibeto-Burmans in North and East Bengal, who adopted the Aryan speech of Bengal during the formative period of Bengali.   In Tibetan, for instance, the ' verb must be regarded as denoting, not an action, or suffering, or condition of any subject, but merely a c o m i n g   t o   p a s s, or in other words, they are impersonal verbs, like *taedet, miseret* etc. in Latin, or *it suits* etc. in English.   Therefore they are destitute of what is called... the active and passive voice, as well as of the discrimination of persons...   From the same reason the acting subject of a transitive verb must regularly appear in the I n s t r u m e n t a l case, as the case of the subject of a neutral verb, —which, in European languages, is the Nominative—ought to be regarded, from a Tibetan point of view, as Accusative expressing the object of an impersonal verb, just as ‚poenitet me‘ is translated by ‚I repent‘...   The subject of a transitive verb, in Tibetan, assumes regularly the form of the instrumental, of a neutral verb that of the nominative which is the same as the accusative. ' (H. A. Jäschke, ' Tibetan Grammar²,' London, 1883, p. 40).

The possibility of the « -ē » of the nominative also preserving the Māgadhī Ap. instrumental plural « -ahi » (> nominative, as in Oṛiyā) has been noticed before (p. 724).   The instrumental in MB., through overlapping of function with the locative and through confusion with the « -ē » of the locative, assumed the postpositional affix « -ta, -t-ē » which is proper to the latter : *e.g.*, MB. (ŚKK.) হাথেতা « hāthētā » *in or with the*

hand, NB. হাতেতে « hātētē ». This as a matter of course was taken up by the nominative in the Second and Late NB. periods, after nouns ending in a vowel (i.e. the vowels « -ā, -i, -u, -ō », after « -à » had dropped off) : *e.g.*, ঘোড়াতে ঘাস খায় « ghōṛā-tē ghāsǎ khāyǎ » *the horse eats grass*, earlier ঘোড়া=ঘোড়া এ « ghōṛā-yǎ=ghōṛā-ē » and ঘোড়া « ghōṛā », which are still used ; so গোরুতে « gōru-tē » or গোরু « gōru » (the earlier গোরুএ « gōru-ē » is no longer found in the Standard Colloquial : see *supra*, p. 719).

Old Bengali shows a number of instances of nominatives in « -u » and « -ō » : these are literary impositions from Western or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa ; and although they crop up in the artificial Braja-buli dialect, they are not found in the Bengali speech proper, either in MB. or in NB. (see *supra*, pp. 115-116 ; 103-104).

INSTRUMENTAL.

498. The instrumental « -ē, -ē » occurs in numerous instances in the Caryās : *e.g.*, « ḍarē » *in fear* (2), « bēgē » (5 : vēgēna), « māṅsē » (6 : māṅsēna), « akilēsē » (9 : =aklēśēna), « nāvē » (10 : = nāvēna), « bōhē » (12, 35,=bōdhēna), « suraa-pasaṅgē, jōïṇi-jālē » (19 : =surata-prasaṅgēna, yōginī-jālēna), etc., etc. This « -ē » is used also for the plural number : *e.g.*, « tiṇiǎ paṭǎ » *with* or *in three beings* (16) ; and it has been generalised for feminine nouns as well, *e.g.*, « sāṇē » (Caryā 2 : saṁjñā+-ēna) « michē » (22 :=mithyayā), « hēlē līlē » (18 := hēlayā līlayā), « bhāntiē » (41 := bhrāntyā) ; etc., etc. (see *supra*, p. 717).

The « -ē » represents the OIA. « -ēna », instrumental singular : « -ēna » is found in MIA. as « -ēṇa, -ēṇaṁ, -ēṁ » ; in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali it still retains the nasalisation— « -ē » ; *e.g.*, হাতে মারে « hātē mārē » *strikes with the hand*, eMB. হাথেঁ মারে « hāthē mārē », OB. « hāthē māraï », MIA. « hatthēṁ mārēi » = OIA. « hastēna mārayati ».

The change of « -ēna » to « -ē » has been through the nasalisation of the vowel by the « -n- ». The nasalised form already occurs in Apabhraṅśa. A parallel case is the change of « -ānām » of the genitive plural

to the forms « -ǎ, -ŏ » in NIA. (See p. 873.) The full « -n » also is preserved, for both « -ēna » and « -anǎm », in NIA.: *e.g.*, in Awadhī (Lakhimpurī dialect) « ḍarēn » *through fear*; and « -n(a), -n-i < ānǎm » is quite common.

The instrumental « -ē » is the sole relic of a true inflexion of OIA. which has survived in Bengali without contamination.

Instrumental « -ǎ, -ē » is preserved in Bihārī, *e.g.*, Maithilī « nēnǎ » *by a child*. It is found as « -ē » commonly enough in Early Oṛiyā. Traces of it occur in the Western Languages: *e.g.*, Hindī « dhīrē calō » *walk slowly*. For Marāṭhī, cf. Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' § 193, and R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, ' Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 204-205.

The locative and instrumental were confused through the possession of the common affix « -ǎ, -ē », and in some cases a form could be equally either locative or instrumental. This resulted in the employment of the post-positional locative affix « -ta » in the instrumental as well, which has been noticed above. The Caryās show one or two instances: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « sukha-dukhētǎ » *through joy and misery*; Caryā 15, « biǎrētē » *by discrimination* (vicāra-). In MB. and NB. « -ta, -t-ē, -ē-tē » become established for the instrumental, and for words ending in vowels (esp. « -i, -u, -ō »), « -tē » has become the characteristic instrumental affix (see *ante*, p. 719).

In Caryā 14 « bāha tu cchandā » *row thou with pleasure*, and in Caryā 45 « bǎḍhaï sō taru śubhāśubha-pāṇī » *that tree grows through the water of good and evil*, we have exceptional cases of the simple base being used for the instrumental.

LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE.

499. It represents in all probability an old locative suffix, an OIA. « *-a-dhi », not found in Sanskrit, but attested from MIA. (Pali) « -dhi » and from the Greek « -thi ». It has been also surmised that there was in OIA. an affix in two forms, « *-bhi, *-bhim » (which is represented in Homeric Greek by « phi, -phin », and is found in Latin in « ti-bi »: it occurs also in Armenian). Its use, as can be seen from the Greek and

other Indo-European languages, was in the sense of ' by, along with,' in the Locative · and Ablative, as well as Instrumental, and rarely in the Genitive and Dative : and it was not of a definite number. This « *-bhi, *-bhim » would become « -hi, -hiṁ » in MIA., and it seems this suffix is partly also the base of the MIA. ablative and locative affixes : the nasalised « -hiṁ » would certainly seem to go back to it. (Cf. Wackernagel, ' Altindische Grammatik,' I, p. xx ; Herman Hirt, ' Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formen-lehre,' Heidelberg, 1912, § 304.) Thus, घरे « ghàrē » *in the house,* eMB. घरें, घरैं « ghàrē, ghàrẽ » = Late MIA. « gharahi, gharahiṁ » < OIA. « *gṛha-dhi(m), *gṛha-bhi(m) ».

It is very likely, however, that we have in addition the OIA. locative singular affix « -asmin » here, = « *-assiṁ, -assiṁ, -amhi, -ammi » in Early MIA., which has merged into the Late MIA. « -ahi, -ahiṁ ». There is some difficulty of deriving « ahĭ, -ahi » from the Eastern form « *-assi, *-assi » as well as the Western « -amhi, -ammi ». The genuine Māgadhī form in the oldest period was « *-assi », and « -amhi » was a Western one (cf. Truman Michelson, JAOS., 1909, pp. 77 ff.) ; but later Prakrit grammarians note « -ammi » for both Māgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī. The form « -ahi » is found in Early Maithilī in the locative, and « -e, -ẽ, -aĭ, -ahi, -ahĭ » occur in Old Bengali. Oṛiyā uses now « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative, but « -ē » is quite common for the locative in Early Oṛiyā.

Old Bengali has also « -i » < « -ē » of OIA. for the locative : this « -e > -i » later dropped off in MB. (see *supra*, p. 312).

Instances of the inflected locative from the Caryās : « cĭē » *in the mind* (1) ; « divasaï » (2) ; « eku hiahĭ » *in one heart* (2 : printed text = « ekuḍi ahĭ », but « -ḍi ahĭ » must be for « hiahĭ », as the commentary has « hṛdayē ») ; « ghaḍiē, bākalaï » (« balkalē » : Caryā 3 : printed text = « bākalaa ») ; « gharē » (2, 11) ; « khanahĭ » (4 : « kṣaṇē », or « kṣaṇam ») ; « mājhē » (5, 14, 18, 30) ; « hiahi » (6) ; « niaḍi » (5), « ṇiaḍi » (7) = « nikaṭē » ; « acārē, caraṇē » (11) ; « pahilē » (12 : = prathamē) ; « maṅgē (= mārgē), kulē » (14) ; « caṛilē » *on having mounted* (5) « jīvantē, mailē ; jāma-maraṇē » (22) ; « kaṇṭhē » (28) ; « sãjhē » *in the evening* (38) ; « āiē » *at the beginning* (41 : < ādi) ; etc., etc.

There is in Bengali from the earliest times an accusative or dative form in « -ē, -ẽ » : *e.g.*, OB. « sahajē thira kari » *making the sahaja steady* (Caryā 2) ; « ṣahajē kahēi » *describes the* sahaja (Caryā 27); « bindhaha parama-nibānē » *pierce the supreme Nirvāṇa* (Caryā 28) ; « balada biāēla gaviā bājhē » *an ox made a barren cow to bear* (Caryā 33); « Bhādē bhaṇaĭ, abhāgē laīlā » *Says Bhāda, I have taken bad-luck* (Caryā 35); « sākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāē » *I shall make Jālandharī-pāda my witness* (Caryā 36 : see p. 121 *supra*); « sadguru-baanē dhara patavāla » *grasp the word of the good master as an oar* (Caryā 38) ; etc.   MB. (ŚKK., p. 46), যে মোরে সরস বচনে « dēhā mōrē sarasa bācanē » *give me a pleasant reply*; *ibid*, p. 100, কান্দিয়া জাণাযিবঁ কাংসে। পাছে কাহ্লাঞি মোকে না দিহে দোষে ॥ « kāndiā jāṇāyibō Kāṃsē, pāchē Kānhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōṣē » *I shall cry and inform Kaṁsa, afterwards Kṛṣṇa will not (be able to) put blame on me*; (Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa') মানুষ হঞা জিনিলে তুমি হেন রাবণে « mānuṣa hañā jinilē tumi hēna Rābāṇē » *being a man, you could defeat such (a foe as) Rāvaṇa*; (KKC.) দোষ নাহি দেখ্যা কেন কর অপমানে « dōṣa nāhi dēkhyā kēna kārā āpamānē » *why do you do me insult, seeing no fault ?*; *ibid*, ষোল উপচার দিযা ছাগল-মহিষে « ṣōla upācārā diyā chāgālā-mahiṣē » *making the sixteen offerings (and sacrifices of) goats and buffaloes*; NB. অন্ধজনে দযা কর « āndhā-janē dāyā kārā » *have pity on a blind person*; etc., etc. We have also an « -ē » in instrumental forms with করে or করিযা « kōrē, kāriyā », like হাতে ক'রে « hātē kōrē » *with the hand* (never হাত ক'রে « hātā kōrē »), ঝোড়ায ক'রে « jhōṛāy kōrē (< jhōṛā-ē) » *in a basket*, etc.

This « -ē, -ẽ » affix recalls the oblique (accusative, dative, instrumental and locative cases) in « -(a)hi, -(a)hĩ » which is found in Early Awadhī and W. Hindī : *e.g.*, Awadhī (Tulasīdāsa), « taba Rāmahĩ bilōki Baidēhī » *then Vaidēhī, seeing Rāma*; « nṛpahi bacana priya, nahĩ priya prānā » *to the king his word is dear, not dear his life*; « nāĩ munihĩ siru, sahita samājā » *having bowed his head to the sage, together with his companions*; « aisē prabhuhĩ bilōkaũ jāi » *I shall go and see such a lord*; « pūchata prabhuhĩ » *they are asking the lord*; etc.

W. Hindī ('Chatra-prakāśa,' ed., Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, p. 88): « utari Narmadā dēsahĩ āyē » *crossing the Narmadā, they came to the country*; p. 91,

« jahā̃ sēvakahĩ nidrā lāgai, sāhiba tahā̃ saṇgahĩ jāgai » *where sleeps takes the servant, the Lord even there watches in his company*; etc. The affix is exceedingly common with the pronouns, in the form « -hi », and the present-day Western Hindī oblique « -ại, -ē » is derived from the earlier « -a-hi ». From their nature and employ, it would seem that we have in Bengali « -ē » and the Eastern and Western Hindī « -ahi, -ahĩ, -ại, -ē » a common inflected form. The use of it has now become comparatively rare in NB., but it was exceedingly common in MB. It is the case of the gradual restricted use in Bengali (as in other eastern dialects) of an oblique form as differentiated from the nominative. We find the same thing in Early Oṛiyā and in Early Maithilī: what may be called the « -ē » oblique is no longer in use now, but it figures in the older literature in these speeches: as *e.g.*, in Oṛiyā, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra': « muniṇki prāṇami kāhē mādhurā bācānē » *after saluting the sages says sweet words* (Contai edition: p. 17); « muhĩ jāï bāsibāku dhāili āñcāḷē » *I went and caught the skirt to sit down* (*ibid*, p. 19); « Uttāmā putrē sāṇgē lēi » *having taken (his) son Uttama with him*, « Sunīti putrē kōlē dhāri » *S. having held her son in her lap* (p. 61); « sē kānyā Dhrubē dēlā bibhā » *gave that daughter to Dhruva in marriage* (p. 63); « Guhyākā-gāṇē dāyā bāhi, kāhānti Dhrubā-mukhā cāhi » *feeling pity for the Guhyakas, he says looking at D.'s face* (p. 69); « ēmāntē Kubērā-bācānē Dhrubā bicāri tōṣā-mānē » *in this way D., having pondered on K.'s words, glad of heart* (p. 73); etc.; in Maithilī: Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition): « Rāhu dūri basa, niyarō na āvathi, taĩ nahi karathi garāsē » *R. dwells afar, does not come near, that is why he does not gobble up* (p. 12); « kāmini karaē sanānē » = « kāminī karōti snānam » (p. 23); « āōra pēkhala.... mōtima-hārē » *further I saw the chain of pearls* (p. 28); « lōbhē garāsali lājē » *desire ate up (destroyed) shame* (p. 38); « sunaha, sundari ! Bidyāpati-bacana-sārē » *hear, O fair one, the precious words of Vidyāpati* (p. 38); « lakhala lalita tasu gātē rē » *O, I saw his handsome body* (p. 39); « tējala guru-jana-lājē » *I have given up shame of superiors* (p. 43); etc.

This oblique « -ē » of Early Bengali and of other Magadhan dialects, < « -ai, -aĩ, -ahi, ahĩ », seems to be identical with the locative. The trans-

ference from the locative to the dative, accusative and instrumental sense is perfectly clear and intelligible. It has been suggested that this NIA. oblique « -ahi, -ahī » is derived from the OIA. genitive « -sya » (Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, p. 210; Beames, II, p. 221; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 243-244); and again, that the instrumental plural of OIA., « -bhih » > Late MIA. « -hiṁ » has been extended to the singular, and as « -hī, -hi » has become the oblique singular (cf. Baburam Saksena, ' Declension of the Noun in the Ramayan of Tulsidas,' IAnt., 1923, Vol. LII, p. 74; cf. also L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' § 59, IAnt., 1914, p. 183; see *ante*, pp. 161-162). But the change of « -sya » to « -hi » presents a phonetic problem which is unexplained, considering that « -sya » remains as « -s- » in a number of forms, *e.g.* Hindī « kis, jis, tis=kasya, yasya, tasya », Bengali কিস- « kis- »=« kasya » (see *supra*, p. 549; Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' p. 182). The extension of an old plural to the singular, again, would be extremely curious, and certainly it is a very unsatisfactory explanation. The locative singular in « -a-hi, -a-hī » (< *-dhi; *-bhi, *-bhim; -smin) offers the most likely solution of this very characteristic case inflexion of NIA.

In the Bengali dative case forms « -(e)r-ē, -k-ē » we have the same locative affix « -ē », added to the post-positional affixes; and the locative « -t-ē » is case of double locative form (=post-positional locative affix « -ta »+« -ē »). So also the Oriyā « -ṭhā-r-ē », W. Hindī « -m-ē͂ ». (Cf. Grierson and Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 617).

500. There are cases of use of the simple base for the locative in OB. and in MB.: *e.g.*, « sāsu gharē ghāli, kōñcā tāla (=tāli) » *putting the breath inside the room, and the key in the lock* (Caryā 4); « bēḍhila hāka paḍaï cau-dīsa » *the surrounding tumult falls in the four quarters* (Caryā 6); « kulē͂ kula » *from shore to shore* (Caryās 14, 15); ŚKK. গোহারী করিবো রাজা কংসের দুআর « gōbāri kåribō rājā kånsērå duārå » *a cry for justice shall I raise at the gate of king Kansa* (p. 328). This is mainly for purposes of rime, and does not indicate any real loss of the vowel, but cf. NB. দোর দোর ভিক্ষা মাঙা « dōrå dōrå bhikså māŋgā » *to beg from door to door* (see pp. 311-312).

There is no trace of the locative plural affix « -su, -ṣu » of OIA. in Bengali and its sister-speeches : it seems to have fallen into disuse from the Late MIA. stage.   Saurasēnī Ap. uses the instrumental plural « -ahī, -ēhī » for the locative plural : it may be that such was also the case in Māgadhī Ap. in which « -ahī, -ēhī » could easily become confused with the singular locative.

501.   The above are the real inflexions of the Bengali declension. The other affixes were independent words compounded with the noun, and then inflected ; but in the genitive, there is in all likelihood an adjectival « -ka ».

The locative « -ta » is found in OB. in numerous instances in the Caryās : e.g., « saṅkama-ta » on the bridge (5) ; « mānga-ta, bāṭa-ta » (8 : mārga-, vartman) ; « piṭa-ta » on the vessel (14) ; « gaaṇa-ta » in the sky, « gīva-ta » on the neck (28) ; « ṭāla-ta » ? on high, « hāḍī-ta = *hāṇḍī-ta » in the pot (33).   This « -ta » would seem to be the word « -antaḥ » within : it was compounded with the noun-base : « mā(ŋ)gata < *maggaanta = mārga + antaḥ ». The loss of the « -n- » here is unexpected for OB.   The present participle in « -anta » still preserves the « -n- », and a post position like « antar-ē » for, is as yet not reduced to তরে « -tārē » (as in NB.) in the language of the Caryās.   The fact of the word being agglutinated with the noun-base may have been responsible for its losing its individuality, and any intermediate stage with the nasalised vowel, like « *mā(ŋ)ga-w̃-ãta, *mā(ŋ)-gãta » must be pre-Bengali.   The « -ta » post-position characterises the Bengali-Assamese group only among Magadhan speeches.   This post-position would nevertheless seem to have been a Magadhan (MIA.) inheritance in Bengali.   At the present day, it occurs as « -tẹ » in Assamese and in dialectal Bengali (North, East, South-east).   Standard Bengali employs « -tē » (which is a locative form « -ta + -ē », i.e., from « *antahi = antaḥ + dhi »), and also « -ē-t-ē » (= locative in « -ahi » + « antaḥ » + « -ahi »).   The word « antaḥ » for the locative is found in Marāṭhī as a recent NIA. formation (see Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' § 197).   R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's derivation of Bengali « -tē » from the MIA. « tahī » = locative of pronominal base « ta- » (Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 248), cannot be entertained, considering the existence of « -ta, -tẹ » side by side with « -t-ē ».

The extension of « -tā, -t-ē » to the instrumental and nominative has been noted before. It has also been used with an ablative force from Early MB. times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 264, মায বাপত বড় অকজন নাহীঁ « māā-bāpātā bāṛā guru-janā nāhī » *there are no greater respected ones than mother and father*; p. 308, আমাত আধিক তোর কে করিবে হিত « āmhātā ādhikā tōrā kē kāribē hitā » *who will do more good to you than I?* ; p. 326, আমাতে চাহসি বাঁশী « āmhātē cāhāsi bāśī » *askest for the flute from me*; Krittivāsa, রাজাতে বিদায মাঙে « rājātē bidāyā māṅgē » *takes farewell from the king* (cf. R. S. Trivēdī, 'Śabda-kathā,' pp. 102-104).

The Skt. word « madhya » was used as a post-position for the locative in the Apabhraṅśas of Northern India, in the *sts.* form « *maddha, *madha, *mādha > maha, māha ». This is the source of the NIA. locative post-fix « -mē, -mā, -mā », etc. Dialectal Bengali (Haijong) মি « -mi » is in all likelihood derived from this (LSI., V, I, pp. 214 ff.) : *e.g.*, দেশমি « dēśā-mi ». This post-fix is otherwise unknown to Bengali, and to Assamese and Oṛiyā as well.

GENITIVE.

502. The OIA. genitive affixes in the singular have not survived in Bengali, as in most other NIA. speeches. The solitary « -a-sya » of « -ā » nouns was carried down to Late MIA., as a generalised affix for all nouns, and even this fell into desuetude. This « -a-sya » became « -assa » in Māgadhī, as we can see from the evidence of the Brāhmī seals found in Magadha (see *supra*, p. 59, foot-note) and from the Prakrit grammarians. Side by side with « -assa », Prakrit literature registers a form « -aha » for this form of MIA. : and this « -aha » forms a unsolved problem. A change of « -assa » to « -aha » is difficult to explain : the change of « -ss-, -ss-, -s-, -s- » to « -h- » in MIA. continues to be obscure (see *supra*, pp. 549, 550, 555). It seems « -aha » or some analogous form (-ahō?) is found as early as Second MIA. in Māgadhī, as in the dramas of Aśva-ghoṣa. (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' pp. 34-36); and the fact remains that Māgadhī Pkt. has « -aha », Śaurasēnī Ap. has « -aha, -ahŏ, -ahō », beside « -assu, -asu »; and that Old Bengali shows

« -ā̆ » (and in a few pronouns, « -āha, -ha ») for the genitive (examples are given below). Can it be that the real development of Early MIA. « -assa, -aśśa » was a form « -ā̆, -ă » in Late MIA., through stages like « *-assə, *-aśśə > *-ăsə, *-ăśə, *-āsə, *-āśə > *-ăs, -ăś, *-ās, *-āś > *-ă, *-ā », and then the locative affix « -ha < -dha » (as in Skt. « i-ha » = MIA. « i-dha », cf. Avestan « iδa », etc.) extended to the genitive sense, or an emphatic particle « -ha, -hō < -hu = khu, khalu », was added to it? The transcription in Greek letters of MIA. Brāhmī and Kharōṣṭhī legends in the coins of the Indo-Scythian prince Nahapāna of Malwa of the 1st cen. A. C., so far as it can be restored, would seem to suggest that the pronunciation « *-as » was current at the time, in Western India at least: the transcription seems to have been

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= rannio (raññō) Ksaharatas (Kṣaharātassa) Nahapanas (Nahapānassa) (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. cxii), where it would seem as if « -āsə » or « ăsə », or « -ās, -ăs » was heard.

Be it as it may, in OB. we find « -ā, -āha » as the genitive affix— « -āha » being found with pronouns: thus, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇī » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known,* « Bhusuku bhaṇaï, mūḍhā hiahi na païsaī » *B. says, it does not enter into the heart of a fool* (Caryā 6); « jā ēthu jāma-maraṇē bisaŋkā »=« yasya atra janma-maraṇē viśaŋkā » (Caryā 22); « jabē muṣā-ēra cā(ra) tuṭaï »=« yadā *mūṣakasya-kāryaḥ cāraḥ truṭyati » (21); « jāh-ēra bāna-cihna-rūva na jāṇī »=« *yasya-kāryakaṁ varṇa-cihna-rūpaṁ na jñāyatē » (29). In MB. the oblique form of the pronouns has « -āha » side by side with « -ā »: *e.g.,* তাহ, তাহা, তা « tāha, tāh-ā, tā- »=« tasya ». The « -āha, -ā » is thus preserved in the pronoun in Late MB. and in NB., but in the noun it is entirely lost from after the OB. period, except in the verbal noun in « -ibă »—*e.g.,* genitive দিবার, করিবার, যাইবার « dibā-rᶓ, kăribā-rᶓ, jāïbā-rᶓ », dative ‡দিবাকে, কর্বাকে, যাবাকে « dibā-kē, kărbā-kē, jābā-kē.

503. From the Transitional MIA. Period we find the use of a number of words, either along with the genitive pleonastically, or compounded with the base to indicate the genitive idea. We have « -santa(+ -ka) » (present participle of « √as » *to be*) meaning 'belonging to,' in the Nasik inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century A.C., *e.g.*, « amha-sa(n)taka, pitu-sa(n)taka » *our, of the father* (Senart, 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions,' Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 73, 78); and the other words which came in during the Second MIA. Period are « kṛta > kada, kaa; kārya > kajja, *kāira > kēra, kēla; kāra; kara; kṛtya > kicca; *dita (= Skt. datta) > dida, dia; karṇa > kaṇṇa », etc. These words have become transformed into the genitive and other affixes of NIA. (see pp. 163, 164 *supra*).   MIA. literature, however, does not notice all of them, but only a few, although certainly they all occurred in the spoken dialects in different parts of the country.   The most popular post-positional or compounded word of genitival import occurring in MIA. literature is « kēra- (kēla-) », which is found all over Northern India in later times.   The source of this word is « kārya », and it cannot be « kṛta » (which would give « kaṭa, kaḍa », or « kada, kaa, kida, kia » in MIA.); « kārya » came to be used (apparently as a *semi-tatsama* form with epenthesis) in Transitional or Second MIA., as « *kāira », before it became « kēra », in Māgadhī « kēla » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' §176). This « kēra- » is found East in Bengal, and West in Rajputana; « kēra- » also occurs in the speech of the European Gipsies who went with their language from North-Western India during the Second MIA. period.   A vernacular or *tbh.* form would be « kayya » or « kajja », and the Sindhī affix of the genitive, « -jō, -jī », is certainly from this « kajja ». (Grierson: cf. A. F. R. Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 616). Māgadhī Prakrit, like the Prakrits of other parts, took up « kēra (kēla) », side by side with some of the other words.   As in other dialects, the form was either used after the genitive, as an adjective qualifying the noun governed, or it was compounded with the noun-base into an adjective; but in either case, the whole sooner or later came to be regarded as one word, which brought about the voicing and dropping of the « -k- » in Eastern Magadhan quite early.

In Bengali forms like মানুষের « mānuṣērḍ », ঘোড়ার « ghōrārḍ », making up with the inflexion a single word, as opposed to the Hindī « mānus-kā, ghōṛē-kā » forming a group apparently of an oblique base and a separable post-position, Grierson sees an inherent tendency in Bengali, as an 'Outer' language, towards a synthetic declension, which presents a contrast to Western Hindī as the 'Midland' speech favouring a separate post-position (see *supra*, pp. 161-164; LSI., IX, II, p. 328). But there is nothing in the Prakrit of the dramas, using « kēra(ka), kēla(ka) », to suggest that a particular dialect, Māgadhī, or Śaurasēnī, specially preferred compounding or mere juxta-posing after the inflected genitive. The pronouns, however, generally seem to retain the old inflected genitive which was strengthened by « -kēra (-kēla) », and nouns could have mere compounding. Thus we have, *e.g.*, in the 'Mṛcchakaṭika,' Śaurasēnī « ajjassa kērao » beside « vessā-jana-kērakō » and « paḍivēsi-gahavaï-dāraa-kēriāē », and Māgadhī « ajja-Cāludattāha kēlakē » beside « vappa-kēlakē »: but always « mama, tava, tassa (taśśa), kassa (kaśśa), attanō » + « kera(ka), kēla(ka) ». The pronominal forms in NIA., like Bengali তার, তাহার « tā-rḍ, tāhā-rḍ » (= tasya + kara), মোর « mōrḍ » (= mama + kara), and Hindī « tis-kā » and « mērau, mērā », etc. show that the old usage for pronouns still continues. Besides, 'Outer' speeches do not always show a synthesis: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « jánāŋ-kā̀(rà) » (= janānām kara-), which is as much post-positional as W. Hindī « ghōṛō-kā »; and European Gipsy, which is based on an 'Outer' speech allied to Western Panjābī, possesses forms like « cōres-kērō, -kērī » and « cōreŋ-(g)ērō, -ērī » (= cāurasya, cāurāṇām + kēra-). The preservation of the « -k- » in W. Hindī is no isolated thing: we have « -kar, -karā » (rather than « -rḍ » as in Bengali) in the Bihārī dialects. The W. Hindī « -kau, -kā » seems to have retained the « -k- » chiefly through two reasons: firstly, it formed the only consonant in the post-position, and as such intelligibility demanded its retention; and secondly, there was in all likelihood the influence of the adjectival « -kka » affix, which also had a genitival force. The loss of « -k » in the agentive affix « -nḍ » of W. Hindī (= MIA. *kaṇṇahĭ, OIA. *karṇa-smin:

cf. L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' Ind. Ant. 1915, §§ 70, 71) is to be recalled.

Side by side with « kārya > kēra, kēla », the words « kara, kāra » and « kṛta>kaa » were used in Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa to indicate the genitive. It would seem that in Māgadhī Ap. « kara » was used with the pronoun originally, and then was extended to the noun. Reduced to « -ara > -rā, -rǝ », it occurs as the genitive affix in Assamese-Bengali and Oṛiyā, and also in Maithilī and other Bihārī speeches in the genitive of the first and second personal pronouns. The unreduced form « -kara » is here and there found as a survival in MB., possibly through Maithilī influence; it is met with in Oṛiyā in the plural, where the « -k- » is preserved by the « -n- » of the genitive plural affix (see *supra*, pp. 137, 724); and it occurs in the forms « -kar, -karā, -kǝrā » in the genitive and dative of the pronouns other than those of the first and second persons in Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā. « kēra, kāra » have become practically doublets of an identical genitive affix. They figure also in Eastern Hindī side by side. « kara » is still found in its unchanged form in Marāṭhī surnames like « Hōḷ-kar, Bījāpur-kar, Ciplun-kar, Tāḷēgāw-kar » etc., meaning 'belonging to, dwelling in': compare the use of the genitive « -kā » in Mārwāṛī family names like « Khēm-kā, Gōyēn-kā, Himmatsinh-kā », etc.

The affix « kāra » seems to have been rather rarely used in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. It is now found in its unreduced form in a few nouns and pronouns in Bengali: *e.g.*, সকালকার « sǝkālǝ-kārǝ » *of the morning*, হেথাকার « hēthā-kārǝ », এখানকার « ēkhānǝ-kārǝ » *of here*, বছরকার bǝchǝrǝ-kārǝ » *of the year*, সকলকার « sǝkǝlǝ-kārǝ » *and* সবাকার, সবাইকার, সর্বাইকার « sǝbā-kārǝ, sǝ(b)bāi-kārǝ » *of all*, আপনকার « āpǝnǝ-kārǝ » *of self*. It does not occur in the other Magadhan speeches: and it may well be a modification of « kǝrǝ » itself.[1] The affix « kārǝ » is used in NB. with nouns indicating

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[1] Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 236, foot-note) regards this 'kāra' as being a double genitive, '-kā + -ra.' This explanation cannot be objected to considering that we have '-ka' as a genitive affix in Middle Bengali. But we do not have '-kā' (with the long 'ā') with nouns in Bengali: and although in Early Bengali we sometimes find '-ka,' the words which form the genitive with '-kāra,' as above, never employ the '-ka' form.

time and direction, and besides it has a definitive force (cf. Rabīndranāth Tagore, ' Sambandhē « kārǿ » ' in ' Śabda-tattva ').

The form « kṛta > MIA. kaa » is more important. As a word strengthening the genitive as well as the dative relation it seems to have come up in the Transitional MIA. Period, and probably even earlier. We have quite early « tasya kṛtē dattam=tasmāi dattam » in Sanskrit, an idiom apparently borrowed from a Prakrit or vernacular one ; and a Buddhist Skt. form like « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » shows the early establishment of « kṛta > kaa » as a genitive-indicating word. But it is a question whether the « -k- » genitive of the Magadhan languages (Early Bengali ক « -kā » ; New Bengali dialectal কা, গা, গো « -kā, -gā, -gō », Oṛiyā « -kā », in the plural ; Maithilī « -k », Magahī « -k, -kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « -k, kē, -kāī ») is based on the « kṛta » form. « kaa, kṛta > kaa », compounded with the preceding noun-base, could be expected to drop the « -k- », and to be changed to « -aa » as in the case of « -kēra, -kara>-ēra, -ara ». It seems that the basis of the New Magadhan « -k- » of the genitive is the MIA. pleonastic « -kka », rather than « kaa<kṛta » (see *supra*, p. 683). The « -kǿ » of the Bihārī dialects would derive better from a monosyllabic « -kka » rather than from the disyllabic « -kaa ». The ' Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala ' (14th century) has some instances of the « -ka » genitive which would seem to be an Eastern form derived from « -kka » : *e.g.*, (in the ' Bibliotheca Indica ' edition, ASB.), p. 249, « Khurasāna-ka Ollā » ; p. 403, « gāī-ka ghittā » ; p. 412, « dēva-ka likkhia kēṇa mēṭāvā » ; p. 470, « tā-ka jaṇaṇi ki ṇa thakkaü bañjhaü », etc. But the presence of a « kaa<kṛta » is not absolutely precluded from consideration ; and this « kaa » can of course easily give the Western Hindī « kau, kō, kā », and also Eastern Hindī and Bihārī « -kē, -kāī ». The « -kā » in an Oṛiyā form like « puruṣāṇ-kā » may be either the « -kka » generalised as an affix or help-word and employed by extension with the original genitive plural, or it may equally be the word « kaa » used post-positionally (= puruṣāṇām kṛta-).

About the use of the « -ka » (< -kka, -kaa), there is an agreement between Modern Bengali and Oṛiyā : it is confined only to the plural (or plural > honorific singular) in Oṛiyā, and in Bengali now it is found,

although dialectally only, in the plural genitive of the pronouns only. Why this form should be chosen for the plural is not clear: possibly « -ra » and « -ka » (Oṛiyā « -ŋ-ka », Bengali « -kā̃, -gā̃, -gẵ = -gō̃ ») were gradually adopted for the singular and the plural respectively in the absence or disuse of an affix distinguishing the two numbers.

Examples of « kēra > -ēra, -kara > -ara, -kka (-kaa) > -ka » for the genitive, from OB. and MB.:

« chānda-ka bāndha » *the bonds of (= from) pleasure* (1); « rukhēra tentali kumbhīrē khāï » *the crocodile eats the tamarind of (=from) the tree* (2); « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇī » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known,* « hariṇāra khura na dīsaï » *the Stag's hoofs are not seen* (6); « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy hut,* « kāhari nāvē̃ » *in whose boat ?* (tava+ha, kasya,+ kara-), « tōhōra antarē » *for thy sake,* « hāḍērī mālī » *chaplet of bones* (haḍḍa +kēra+-ikā) (10); « tōhōri bhābhariālī » *thy coquetry* (18); « ḍombī-ēra saṇgē » *in the company of the Ḍōm woman* (19); « mōhōra » *my* (20); « musā-ēra » *of the mouse* (21); « sō karaü rasa-rasānēri kaṅkhā (text = rasānērē kakhā) » *let him entertain the desire for pleasure and for elixirs* (22); « tōhauri » *thy* (28); « jāhēra » *of which,* « tāhēra » *of that* (29: yasya, tasya +kēra-); « cāndari cānda kāntī (reading of the commentary) » *moon-light of the moon* (31); « hāthēra kāṇkāṇa » *the bracelet of (=on) the arm* (32); « Ḍhēṇḍhaṇa-pāēra gīta » *Ḍ.'s song* (33); « mōhērā bādhā » *bound up of (=by, with) ignorance* (34); « pākhi na cahaï mōri pāṇḍiācāē » *(see supra,* p. 121); « kāhēri śaṇkā » *whose fear?,* « mahāmudērī kaṇkhā » *desire of the* mahāmudrā (37); « tōhōrē̃ dōsē » *through your fault,* « tōhāra binānā̃ » *your science* (39); « bāsaṇā tōrā » *thy desire* » (41); « mōra » *my* (49); « tailā bāḍira pāsēra jonhā-bāḍī tāēlā (=uēlā? bhāēlā?) » *the mansion of moon-light by the side of the third mansion became clear* (50).

It is seen that « -ēra, -ara » like their source-forms in MIA. are adjectives referring to the nouns they quality, and take the feminine affix « -i = -ī » (see *supra,* pp. 720-721), and also the case-terminations (*e.g.,* « tōhōrē̃ dōsē » in Caryā 39: =« *tava-kērakēṇa dōṣēṇa* » in MIA.)

« kēra, kara » occur in a few instances as cases of stereotyped survival in MB.: *e.g.,* ŚKK. নদীকের « nadī-kēra »; লাখেকের « lākhē-kēra » *of one*

lakh; 'Srī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya,' বৎসকের « bātsā-kērā » (R. S. Trivēdī, 'Sabda-kathā,' p. 103); 'Mānik Candra Rājār Gān,' কোড়াকর « kōṛā-kārā » *of a cowrie*, ঘড়িকর « ghāri-kārā » *of an hour* (VSP., pp. 63, 65); 'Sūnya Purāṇa,' রূপাকর « rūpā-kārā » *of silver* (p. 38), তামাকর « tāmā-kārā » *of copper* (p. 39), হীরকর « hīrā-kārā » *of diamond* (p. 40), etc.   In some of the above instances, *e.g.*, « lākhēkērā, kōṛākārā, ghārīkārā », the base may be in « -kā » : « lākhēkā » *one lakh*, « kōṛākā » *one cowrie*, « ghārikā » *one hour*, so that the inflexion would be « -rā, -ērā » and not the old « kara, kēra ».

The « -ka » affix for the genitive is rather uncommon in Bengali from the oldest times : it has disappeared from Modern Bengali in the singular, but is found in dialectal forms in the plural only. Examples : OB. « chānda-ka bāndha » *the bondage of pleasure* (Caryā 1), « samādhika pāṭa » *the process of* samādhi (comm. to Caryā 21); in the ŚKK., জরমক তরে কুলে কলঙ্ক থুইবে « jārāmā-kā tārē kulē kālāṇkā thuibē » *will put a stain on the family for all life* (p. 127); আপন কাজক লাগি সবই বিকলী « āpanā kājā-kā lāgi sābāi bikālī » *every body is anxious for the sake of her own work* (p. 253); পরাক লাগিআঁ সে হারাইবে নাক কানে « pārā-kā lāgiā sē hārāībē nākā kānē » *he will lose both his nose and his ears for the sake of another* (p. 307); নিত্যানন্দ রাম বন্দো রোহিণীক সুত « Nityānanda-rāmā bandō Rōhiṇī-kā sutā » *I praise N., the son of R.* (Lōcana-dāsa's 'Caitanya-maṇgala '), বিহারক রাজপুরী নামে অমরাবতী « Bihārā-kā rājā-purī, nāmē Amrābātī » *the capital of Bihār, Amarāvatī by name* (Vīra-nārāyaṇa's ' Kirāta-parvan '); গৃহস্থক ধর্ম এহি পুরাণ কহিছে « gṛhāsthā-kā dhārmā ēhi purāṇā kāhichē » *this is the duty of the house-holder, so declares the Purāṇa* (Sañjaya's ' Mahābhārata ': the last three examples given in R. S. Trivēdī's 'Sabda-kathā,' p. 104); etc.   NB.: মোর, আমার « mōrā, āmārā » *my*, plural ‡ মো(রা)েগা, আমা(র)েগা « mō(rā)-gō, āmā(rā)-gō », আমকা, আমগা « āmā-kā, -gā » *our*; তার « tārā » honorific তাঁর « tārā », *his*, plural ‡তােগা, তাঁেগা « tā-gō, tā-gō »; মানুষের « mānuṣērā » *of man*, plural ‡মানুষেগা, -গা, এর-েগা « mānuṣā-gō, -gā, -ērā-gō » *of men*. The « -gā, -gō » affix for the plural is present in some form or other in the vulgar dialects practically all over Bengal.

504.   An affix « -sat-ka », loosely compounded with a noun, with its base (for the singular)·or with the genitive (for the plural), is largely found

in inscriptional Sanskrit all over Northern India from the Second MIA. period : *e.g.*, Inscription of Jayanāga of Karṇa-suvarṇa (p. 180, *supra*), « brāhmaṇānām-satka-grāma-sīmā » ; Siyaḍoṇi Inscription (c. 11th cen. A. C., Lalitpur District, U. P., Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) : « samasta-kallapālā-nāṁ-satka-haṭṭānām-upari (= Hindī « -kalwārŏ-kē hāṭŏ-par), Vigraha-pāla-satka-dramma, bāmana-satka-vīthi, caṇḍāla-satkāvāsānikā », etc., etc. This affix « -sat-ka » is difficult to explain : apparently it is the present participle of « √as »—« santa-+-ka » (pleonastic), such as we find in the Transitional MIA. (see *ante*, p. 753). It is not unlikely that a vernacular from « santa-ka » became « *santə-ka, *sant-ka, *sakka » which was Sans-kritised into « sat-ka » in medieval Sanskrit as in the inscriptions. In Early Assamese we have the affix সাক « -sākŏ », as in the forms আমাসাক, তোমাসাক « āmā-sākŏ, tomā-sākŏ » *our, your, us, you*, which are obsolete in Modern Assamese. (Dēvānanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Bicār,' p. 32). These would affiliate themselves to a MIA. « *amha-sakka, *tumha-sakka », Sanskritised into « *asma-satka, *yuṣma-satka ». This form সাক « sākŏ » has not been found in Bengali.

The plural of the genitive has been discussed under 'Number' above (p. 725 ff.)

DATIVE

505. The « -ka » genitive of Bengali is used for the dative in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 4 « mantiě[1] thākura-ka parinibittā » *the minister* (= *queen, in chess*) *has checked the king* ; Caryā 21, « nāsa-ka » *for destruction*. This genitive-dative in « -ka » is exceedingly common in MB., as in the ŚKK. and other works : *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣŏ niyōjilŏ māribā-kŏ tāē » *appointed men for killing him* ; সেই উপদেশ দিব তোম্বাক উখবে « sěi upŏdēsŏ dibŏ tōmhā-kŏ tŏkhŏṇē » *he will give you advice at that time* ; p. 108, ঘরক মন না জাএ « ghŏrŏ-kŏ mŏnŏ nā jāē » *the mind does not turn to home* ; etc., etc. This « -ka » occurs as « -kŏ » now, but it is confined

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[1] The printed text reads মতিঙ্ : I accept the emendation proposed by Muhammad Shahīdullāh in the VSPdP., 1327, p. 151.

to North Bengal and Assam only, and members of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects in other parts now employ « -k-ē, -r-ē ».

« -k-ē » is an inflected form, the final « -ē » being really the locative affix, as has been noted before (p. 749). It can be the locative of the adjective-genitive with pleonastic « -ka » (*supra*, p. 756) ; it can be equally the locative of the form « kaa < kṛta » : *e.g.*, তাকে দিল « tākĕ dilἀ »=Skt. « tasya kṛtē dattam » for « tasmāi dattam » (cf. Grierson in the ' Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,' quoted by Hoernle in the JRAS. for 1903, p. 615). There is a third likely source of « -k-ē »—the OIA. « kakṣa » (see *supra*, pp. 164, 553) which has been suggested by Beames (' Comparative Grammar,' II, pp. 252-259) and Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, § 375, .p. 224), and accepted by Kellogg (Hindī Grammar ², p. 130). Hoernle later admitted the « kṛta » derivation (JRAS., 1903, p. 615). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar would trace the dative « -k-ē » of Bengali and « -kō » of W. Hindī to a MIA. locative « kēhī, kahī » *where, somewhere*, from the interrogative pronoun base « ka » (Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 246-248).

The last derivation does not at all seem convincing. Against it, and in favour of a derivation from « kakṣa », are the forms « kakhu » in OB. (see below), « kāhū, kāhu » with « -ā- » in Eastern Hindī, and « kahū » as in Western Hindī. (See also the remark in connexion with the derivation of the locative « -t-ē » at p. 750.) The forms « -kū, kahŭ » etc., as in Western Hindī, « ku » as in Oṛiyā, and « -ka » as in Early and dialectal Bengali, will also go against it : for all these forms accord but ill with « kahī, kaī » the locative of « kaa, kṛta ». There cannot of course be any objection to the derivation of « kē » from « kṛta », but the difficulty remains with regard to « kō, kū, ku » and the « -hu » forms. The forms « ku, kū » is not found in NB., but it occurred in OB., and it is now the characteristic dative affix of Oṛiyā only among Magadhan speeches. In Caryā 35, we have « ēbē cia-rāa ma-kū(=mō-kū) naṭhā » = « idānīṁ cittarājaḥ mama vinaṣṭa(ḥ) », as the commentary explains ; and also « Bājulĕ dila mōha-kakhu (bhaṇiā) »=« Vajrakulēna...mahyam pradattam », also according to the explanation of the commentary.

We have apparently « kakhu » side by side with « kū » here. The Skt. « kakṣa » seems to have been adopted in Late MIA. as a post-positional, and from « kakkha » a weak form « *kakha » can very well be assumed. This in the transitional stage between Late MIA. and NIA. seems to have become « kaha, kāha ». The proper NIA. *tbhs.* « kākha, kākha, kācha » seem to have influenced the lengthening of the « kāha ». The change of « -kṣ- < -kkh- » to « -h- » is not isolated : Beames gives « pāhū, pahū » *beside, to*, from Hindī, which he derives from « pakṣa » ('Comparative Grammar,' II, p. 258); Old Western Rājasthānī also has the same word as « pāhī, pāhi » (Tessitori, §72[8]); and Oṛiyā as « pāi, pā » as in « ki-pāi, ki·pā » *why? wherefore?* Pischel also cites a number of instances of change of « -kṣ->-kkh- » to « -h- » from Prakrit ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 323). We can also compare the origin of « maha, māhi, mē », NIA. post-position of the locative, from Sanskrit « madhya » introduced in MIA. as a *sts.* « maddha, madha » beside the *tbh.* « majjha > NIA. mājha ». The normal NIA. form of « kakṣa », with « -kh- », is certainly preserved in the Sindhī « khē » for the dative, and « khā, khō, khū » for the ablative (although Trumpp derived these from « kahā < *kathaṁ < kṛtam, kṛtē »: Sindhī Grammar, London, 1872, pp. 115-116): here the initial « -k- » of « kakkha » has been elided, like the « k- » in « kajja- < kārya » giving « -jō, -jī » for the genitive. The Sindhī « khē, khā, khō, khū », inflected forms of a post-fixed « (ka)kkha », the Old Bengali « kakhu », and the Early Eastern Hindī « kāhū » would all support the assumption that « kakṣa » is the source of Western Hindī « kahu, kau, kō, kū » and Oṛiyā « ku ». These are all to be connected with an Apabhraṅśa (Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī) form for the *ablative*, « *kakkhahu, *kakkhahū », or probably « *kakkhāu, *kakkhau ». (Cf. Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī ablative affix « -ādō », which we would expect to give « -āu, -au » in Apabhraṅśa). Unlike « kē », the present day « kō, kū, ku » is thus not of locative origin.

   « -kē » of Bengali can thus be either « kṛta », or « kakṣa », in the loca-tive. It is not unlikely that the two post-positional words have converged into this one form. In the plural of the dative as in তাদেরকে « tādēra-

-kē » *to them*, we can see that an analysis into « tasya+ādi-kēra+kakṣē » or
into « +kṛtē », is equally possible. The *tbh.* form কাছে « kāchē » is still in
use in Bengali as a post-position meaning *near, by, with*. The earlier forms
of « -kē », namely « *-kai, *-kahī », are not found in Old Bengali. The
Caryās, in addition to « -ka » and « -ku », give instances of « -kē »:
« rūpā thōi mahī-kē ṭhāvī » *putting away the silver, it was placed on the
ground*, and « kēḍuāla nāhi kē̃ ki bāhaba-kē pāraï (text=pāraa) » *there
being no oar, what can one do in the matter of rowing?* (Caryā 18: the text in
the second instance is corrupt). « -kē » occurs regularly in MB., NB.; and
« kē̃ », with nasalisation, is rather rare in MB.

Maithilī has « kē̃ », Magahī « kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « kē »: all these
are identical with the Bengali post-position. Of the E. Hindī dialects,
Awadhī has « kā, kā̃, ka », Baghēlī « kā, kahā̃ », and Chattisgaṛhī « kā ».
The Baghēlī « kahā̃ » is a relic of the older forms « kahū, kahā̃ » etc. of
Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa, and « kā, kā̃ » apparently also are
from « kāhū > *kāhā̃ ». The « kakṣa » derivative is thus found to occur
in Bengali, Oṛiyā, E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and Sindhī.

506. The dative « -r-ē, -ē-rē »: it is found from OB. times, *e.g.*,
« kariṇā kariṇi-rē̃ risaa (=risaï) » *the male elephant is impassioned (?) with
regard to the female elephant* (Caryā 9); « kēhō kēhō tōhō-rē biruā bōlaī,
bidu-jana-lōa tō-rē̃ kaṭṭha na mēlaī » *some call thee (as being) of ugly form,
(but) the learned never free thee from embrace* (Caryā 18). It is the locative
in « -hi, -hī » of the genitive in « -ra, -ēra ». At the present day, the « -r- »
dative is found in East Bengal (W. Vaṅga specially), and the « -k- dative
is spread from Rāḍha through Varēndra to North Bengal and Assam, and
seems to occur also in East Vaṅga, as in the Haijong Dialect of
Maimansing, and in the Chakma of Chittagong.

ABLATIVE.

507. Bengali-Assamese does not now possess an organic affix for the
ablative, unlike Oṛiyā. In Caryā 4, however, there seems to occur a solitary
instance of an ablative form in OB.: « khē̃pahu (=khēpahū̃) jōini lēpana
jāya » =« kṣēpāt sva-sthāna-yōgāt sā bōdhicitta-rūpā nairātma-yōginī, mōha-

malâvaliptā bhavati », as the commentary explains. In Oṛiyā the ablative affix is also « hū », as in Early Oṛiyā, e.g., ' Kaṅsa-janma' in Jagannātha-dāsa's ' Bhāgavata' : « Ugrasēna-hū nōhē āna » he is not different from U. (p. 4, Contai edition), « kāhū utpatti hōilā » from whom was the origin ? (p. 8, ibid). In Modern Oṛiyā it occurs as « -u » : « ghârâ » house, ablative « ghâr-u »; and it figures also in ' S.-W. Bengali.' The genitive form is also put in the ablative : « ghârâ-râ, ghârâ-r-u ». With proper names, and as an honorific, the post-positional form « ṭhā-r-u » from « ṭhā » place is used (cf. « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative), and « ṭhāu, ṭhu » also are found as ablative post-positions with pronominal adverbs of place. The « -hū, -u », doubtless a Māgadhī form, is apparently the same as that we find in Śaurasēnī Ap., viz « -hu » in the singular and « -hū » in the plural (puttahu, puttahū). The origin of this « -hu, -hū » in Ap. is obscure, but it seems that it was due to the fusing of several case-terminations—« -a-taḥ > -adō > *-au » of the ablative, plus « -h-, ~ » of the locative, for instance. The form « -a-hu, -a-hū » occurs in Sindhī, Panjābī and Western Hindī as « -ō, -ȫ » (e.g., Hindī « hāthō-hāth » from hand to hand < « *hatthahu hatthi »), and in Marwāṛī as « -ȧ » (cf. Tessitori, Grammar of OWR., §61).

The use of the locative form in « -ta, -tē » for the ablative has been noted above (p. 751). In the MIA. and NIA. confusion or interchangibi-lity of the three cases, instrumental ablative and locative, there is probably the influence of Dravidian. (Cf. K. V. Subbaiya, IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff.)

508. The development of the OIA. noun declension, through the Late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa Māgadhī) into Bengali, as described above, is set forth below, in the declension of the OIA. word « putra »=MIA. « putta » :

Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa

Nominative : singular—
 (i) *putti, *putta (< Māgadhī Prakrit puttē < putraḥ).
 (ii) *puttaï (<puttaē < puttagē, puttakē < putrakaḥ).

Bengali

Nominative : singular—
 (i) * pūti, *pūta< পুতি, পুত puti, putৄ.
 (ii) পুত putē.

Nominative : plural—

    (i) *puttă (< puttā < putrāḥ).

    (ii) *puttahi (< puttēhi < *putrēbhiḥ = instrumental).

Accusative : singular—

    *puttā, *puttaṁ (< puttaṁ < putram).

Accusative : plural—

    *putta, *puttāī (< *puttāṇi, *puttăni < putrān).

Instrumental : singular—

    *puttẽ, *puttēṁ (< puttēna[ṁ] putrēṇa)

Instrumental : plural—

    *puttahi, *puttahī (<puttēhi, puttēhiṁ < *putrēbhiḥ).

Dative : singular—

    (i) *puttā (< puttāa < putrāya).

    (ii) *puttā/ă(ha) (genitive) + kai ; +ka(k)khi, ka(k)khī, kahi, kahī; putta-kkaī, -kkaī.

    (iii) *puttăba-(k)arahi, -(k)alahi ; *puttāha-(k)ērahi, (k)ēlahi.

Dative : plural—

    *puttahi, *puttēhi (<puttēhi [as in Aśōkan inscr.] < *putrēbhiḥ = putrēbhyaḥ) (also Genitive Forms).

Ablative : singular—

    *puttāu, *puttău, *puttahu, *puttahū.

Nominative : plural—

    (i) পুত puttᶐ.

    (ii) ? পুত putē.

Accusative : singular and plural-

    Lost.

Instrumental : singular—

    OB. *pūtẽ, *pūtē > পুতেঁ putẽ, পুতে putē.

Instrumental : plural—

    ? পুতে putē.

Dative : singular—

    (i) Lost.

    (ii) পুতেকেঁ putᶐkẽ, পুতেকে « putēkē », পুতেকে putᶐ-kē.

    (iii) পুতরেঁ, পুতেরেঁ putᶐrẽ, -ērẽ, পুতরে, পুতেরে putᶐ-rē, putērē.

Dative : plural—

    Lost.

Ablative : singular—

    OB. *pūtu, *pūtahu, *pūtahū ; Oṛiyā putahū, putu.

Ablative : plural—

(i) *puttahī, *puttēhī (< *putrē-
bhiḥ = instrumental).

Ablative : plural—

Lost.

Genitive : singular—

(i) *puttă, *puttā, *puttaha,
*puttăha (= puttaśśa <
putrasya).

(ii) *puttā/ă(ha)-(k)ēra -([k]ēla) ;
*puttā/ă(ha)-(k)ara, -(-[k]ala);
*putta(k)ēra-   (-[k]ēla) ;
*putta-(k)ara- (-[k]ala).

(iii) *putta-kka- (= putra-ka-).

Genitive : singular—

(i) OB. *pūtā, *pūtāha.

(ii) পুতর, পুতের putārǎ, putērǎ.

(iii) OB., MB. পুতক putǎ-kǎ.

Genitive : plural—

*puttāna,   *p u t t ā ṇ a ṁ,
*puttāṇ-i- (<putrāṇām).

Genitive : plural—

OB. *pūtāṇa, *pūtaṇa, *putāni :
NB. ‡পুতাইন putāin.

Locative : singular—

(i) *putti (<puttē < putrē).

Locative : singular—

(i) OB. *pūti (cf. NB. ঘর ghărǎ
< ghar-i).

(ii) *puttahi, *puttahī.

(ii) OB. *pūtahi, *pūtahī, *pūtaï,
*pūtē>MB., NB. পুতে putē ;

(iii) *putta-anta ;   *putta-antahi,
-antahī ;   *puttahi antahi
(*puttahī antahī).

(iii) ‡পুতত putătǎ, পুতুতে putǎtē,
পুতেতে putē-tē.

(iv) *putta-ma(d)dhi, -ma(d)dhahi,
-ma(d)dhahī ; -mahī, -mahahi,
-mahahī (< madhya).

(iv) ‡পুতমি putǎ-mī (cf. Bihārī
« pūt-mã̃, -maī).

Locative : plural—

(i) *puttaśu, *puttēśu.

(ii) *puttahī, *puttēhī (< *putrē-
bhiḥ=instrumental)

Locative : plural—

Lost.

POST-POSITIONAL WORDS.

509. Use of post-positions to denote case relations is found in IA., Kōl and Dravidian. In OIA., indeclinables like « ā, adhi, anu, pari, pra » etc. are found both as prepositions and as post-positions ; so in Old Greek. In IE., these so-called prepositions were properly adverbs referring to the act, but in all IE. languages, including IA., they came to attach them-selves to and to 'govern' particular case forms of nouns (accusative or instrumental, ablative or genitive or locative). The prepositional and post-positional use with the noun of these particles fell into gradual disuse from Late OIA., and they lost their separate and independent existence in the sentence as help words : they were compounded as prefixes or pre-verbals with the verb, the sense of which they modified. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or post-positional employ than Vedic (J. S. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax' in the Grundriss, §§ 85-90). In MIA., the number of these old particles as post-positions employed with nouns grew even more restricted. On the other hand, to make the sense clear, especially when in MIA. the case terminations were confused and were being lost, the IA. speech began to employ the accusative, dative, ablative or locative form of some suitable noun (with the sense of location, vicinity, direction, connexion, purpose, or power) along with the principal noun which retained its ori-ginal inflexion. Classical Sanskrit, following the Prakrit vernaculars, took up this device (Speyer, § 91). This sort of auxiliary and post-positional use was later extended to some verbal formations—passive participles and present participles, and to the indeclinable conjunctive verb. Such post-positional or prepositional use of verb forms is not unknown to other IE. languages : e.g., English *during, regarding, concerning*, German *während*, French *pendant*, Italian *mediante, durante*, etc. But this principle was utilised only to a very limited extent elsewhere outside India, where-as IA., from the MIA. stages downwards, fully employed it to form post-positionals. Classical Sanskrit already took up some passive participles and conjunctive indeclinables as post-positions governing oblique cases (Speyer, §§ 92, 93). In this matter, it seems that IA. was profoundly

influenced by Dravidian (*vide supra*, p. 172; cf. also K. V. Subbaya, ' A Comp. Gram. of Dravidian,' IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff).

Some of these post-positional words—nouns and verb-forms—through phonetic decay became transformed into organic affixes in NIA., as has been seen before. The conjunctive and participle post-positions, however mostly retained their phrasal character, and in NIA. they remain distinct, as detached words. Bengali has a number of such verbal post-positions. Besides, some nouns (old *tbhs.*, as well as *tss.* or *stss.*), are used as separable post-positions in all NIA. Their establishment is apparently post-NIA., and independent in each language or dialect group.

Below are given the more important Separable Post-positions of Bengali.

(1) অপেক্ষা « apēkṣā » = *with regard to*: *ts.*, used either with the base or with the genitive to indicate comparison.

(2) আগে « āgē », locative of আগ « āgǝ » < «agra»: MB. আগত « āgǝtǝ » *before*. Used more commonly with the genitive, and occasionally with the=base: cf. ŚKK., p. 65, রাজা আগে করিবেঁ গোহারী « rājā āgē kǝribǒ gōhārī » *shall make a plaint before the king*; p. 127, আমার আগত বীর নাহিঁ কোন জন « āmhārā āgǝtǝ bīrǝ nāhī kōṇǝ jǝnǝ » *before me (i.e., greater than me) there is no hero*; etc.

(3) করিতে « kǝritē » > ক'রতে « kǎ'rtē, kōrtē » *doing*, present participle of কর « √kǎr » = « √kr̥ » *to do* (instrumental or locative: « kǎritǒ < karantǒ < karantahi, karantahī » (see p. 676). Employed with the genitive for comparison, *e.g.*, রামের ক'রতে শ্যাম ভালো « Rāmērǝ kōrtē Śyāmǝ bhǎlō » *Ś. is better than R.* This is a form which is not common in the « sādhu-bhāsa ».

(4) করিয়া « kǎriyā » > ক'রে « kǎ'rē=kōrē » *having done*: added to the locative oblique in « -ē » to denote the instrumental (see *ante*, p. 747). Used with an adverbial force after adjectives and nouns (the commoner practice at the present day being to use it after the base and not after the « -ē » oblique): *e.g.*, জোর ক'রে « jōrǝ kōrē » *forcibly*, lit. *doing force*; টান ক'রে « ṭānǝ kōrē » *tightly*; ভালো ক'রে « bhǎlō kōrē » *well*, etc.; ŚKK., p. 14, এ কাজ সাধিব আমে করি�| যতনে « ē-kājǝ sādhibǝ āmhē kǎriǎ jǎtǎnē » *we shall*

do this work carefully; p. 250, তখন রাধা ৰোষ করিয়া সত্বর গমনে জাএ « tåkhånå Rådhå röşå kåriå såtwårå gåmåne jåē » *angrily then R. goes with quick steps*; etc.

(5) বর্ত্তৃক « kårttṛkå » (generally pronounced [kottrik]) : a *ts.* word, used as an instrumental post-position, either loosely compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive : 'having (the preceding noun or pronoun) as the doer': *e.g.*, বিদ্যাসাগৰ কর্ত্তৃক লিখিত « Bidyåsågårå-kårttṛkå likhitå » *written by Vidyāsāgara*; তীঁহার্কর্ত্তৃক দৃষ্ট « tåhå-kårttṛkå dṛṣṭå » *seen by him*. A learned form, which became established during the early 19th century.

(6) কাছে « kåchē » *near by, beside* = locative of কাছ « kåchå » *side, neighbourhood*. Like the other derivative from « kakṣa », viz. কাঁখ « kåkhå » (<MIA. *kaṇkha=kakkha; cf. pp. 178-179), কাছ « kåchå » also meant *waist* in MB. : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 287, কাছের কলসী « kåchērå kålåsɪ »; p. 250, কাছের কলসিএ « kåchērå kålåsiē » *in the jar held on the waist*, beside কাখত কলসী করি « kåkhē-tå kålåsɪ kåri » *placing the jar on the waist* (p. 259). কাছে « kåchē » is used with the genitive to indicate the locative. The base কাছ « kåchå » (or its genitive কাছের « kåchērå »)+থাকিয়া, থেকে « thåkiyå, thēkē » *having been*, or হইতে, এ'তে « håitē, hōtē » *being*, verbal post-positionals for the ablative, are also used along with the genitive of the noun or pronoun to indicate its ablative.

(7) কারণ « kårånå » *cause*: used with the genitive, in an instrumental, dative as well as ablative sense: very common from eMB. downwards: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. l, কংসের কারণে হএ সৃষ্টির বিনাশে « Kånsērå kårånē håē sṛṣṭirå binåsē » *through Kaṁsa takes place the destruction of the world*.

(8) ঘর, ঘরে « ghårå, ghårē » *house, in the house* (gṛha): used colloquially over a great part of Bengal to indicate the oblique cases in the plural. It is used with the genitive of the noun, and optionally with the « -å » oblique of pronouns. In the employment of this post-position, there seems to have been some influence of the « -k-, -g- » genitive for the plural (pp. 756, 757). Variations are ঘোরে « ghōrē », গরে « gårē ». (Cf. the plural use of মহল « måhålå »: p. 733).

(9) চাহিতে « cåhitē », present participle locative of চাহ « √cåh » *look at, want*: used in comparison, generally with the genitive and occasionally

with the stem. The beginnings of the post-positional use of this present participle form go back to OB.: « cǎhantē » already figures in the Caryās (e.g., Caryā 31) : but the old sense of *seeing* is still predominant in eMB. (ŚKK.)

(10) চাহিয়া, চেয়ে « cǎhiyā > cēyē » *having looked at*, indeclinable conjunctive of চাহ « √cǎh »: used in comparison, with the genitive. This use seems to be old. Cf. Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa: « kahã dhanu kulisahu cǎhi kaṭhōrā: kahã syāmala mṛdu-gāta kisōrā » *where is the bow, more tough than even the thunderbolt, and where the lad, darkish and soft of limb?*

(11) ছাড়া « chāṛā » *let loose* = passive participle of ছাড় « √chāṛ » *give up, loosen*: used with the stem in the sense of 'without,' e.g., আমাছাড়া « āmā-chāṛā » *without me*, হুঁকাছাড়া « hũkā-chāṛā » *without the hookah*, etc.; or 'in addition to,' e.g., তা ছাড়া « tā-chāṛā » *in addition to that* < *letting that alone.*

(12) জন্যে « jānyē » locative, beside the stem form জন্য « jānya » = *for the sake of, because of, caused by* : a *ts.* word, employed with the genitive to express the dative relation.

(13) ঠাই « ṭhāi » *place* (< sthāma-): dative or locative post-position, used with the genitive of the noun. An old post-position in Bengali: e.g., ŚKK., p. 142, কহ মোর ঠাঞি « kāhā mōrā ṭhāyi » *tell me*; p. 200, এবে আম্বাক পাঠাইল তোর ঠাই « ēbē āmbākā pāṭhāyilā tōrā ṭhāi » *now me he has sent before thee.* Cf. NB. সবঠাই মোর ঘর আছে « sābā-ṭhāi mōrā ghārā āchē » *I have a home everywhere.* A locative of « ṭhāi »—ঠাই-এ « ṭhāi-(ẏ)ē » is also found : this ঠাইএ « ṭhāiyē » becomes in the Standard Colloquial ঠেনে, ঠেয়ে « ṭhēñē, ṭhēẏē », and in Calcutta « ṭhēñē » is changed to ঠেঙে « ṭhēŋē »— the change of « -ñ- » to « -ŋ- » here is curious ঠাই « ṭhāi » is found in dialectal Bengali as ঠে « ṭhē », ঠি « ṭhi ».

(14) তরে « tārē » *for, for the sake of*, from অন্তরে « āntār-ē », a genuine *tbh.* form, with regular MB. change « -nt- » to « -t- ». Used with the genitive of the noun, and the oblique of the pronouns of the first and second persons optionally. Found in OB. as « antarē »; e.g., Caryā 10, « tōhōra antarē » *for thee, for thy sake.* In the ŚKK., the word occurs as

the regular form তরা « tắrẽ » only twice, and as আাতরে « ẵntắrẽ » over a dozen times : (for « ẵ- », see *supra*, p. 314). The latter is apparently an archaic literary form.

(15) থাকিয়া > থেকে « thắkiyắ > thẽkẽ » *having stopped at* : also dialectally *থেঅ, থ « thẽẽ, thẽ » (*thắiẵ) : affixed direct to the stem (or to the locative oblique in « -ẽ » or « -tẽ ») of neuter nouns, and to the genitive of names of sentient beings, to indicate the ablative. Found in Early MB. : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 347, দূরথাকি « dūra thắki » *from a distance*. Gujarātī has the same conjunctive used similarly for the ablative, *viz.*, « thakī ».

(16) থানে, থানৰ-তা « thẵnẽ, thẵnắ-tắ », locative of থান « thẵna » (sthắna) : used with the genitive to express the dative and locative relations. Examples are numerous in the ŚKK and other MB. works. In NB., it is mainly dialectal (in East and North Bengali, where it is found as থনে, তেনে, থোন, তোন, থ্ন, তুন « thắnẽ, tắnẽ, thōn, tōn, thun, tun »).

(17) দিয়া, দিয়ে, দে « diyắ > diyẽ > dẽ » *having given*. This conjunctive form is used ordinarily with the base of the noun (which is in accusative relation to it), but occasionally also with the genitive, to express instrumentality or intermediacy. Found from early times : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 22, এৰ দিয়া দেখা « hẵthắ diẵ dẽkhắ » *feel with the hand*, etc.

(18) দ্বারা « dwắrắ » : *ts.*, instrumental of « dvắr » *door*, = *through the instrumentality of*. Forms the instrumental, with the genitive (and also with the oblique base in « -ắ » in the case of pronouns). This is in its origin a learned form, but it has become sufficiently popular to be used in familiar conversation in NB.

(19) নিমিত্তে « nimittẽ » (locative), নিমিত্ত « nimittắ » (stem) = *mark, target, sign* > *objective* : a *ts.* word, forming the dative with the genitive of the noun.

(20) নীচে « nīcẽ » *below* : used with the genitive to express the locative.

(21) পৰ « pắrắ » from « upari » of Skt. = *above, upon*. The full form উপৰ « upắrắ » also occurs, as also the Bengali locatives পৰে « pắrẽ », উপৰে « uॣrắrẽ », as if from a base « upara ». Occasionally also strengthened by তে « -tẽ », as পৰেতে « pắrẽ-tẽ », উপৰেতে « upắrẽ-tẽ ». Used with the genitive to form the locative. *E.g.*, ŚKK., p. 377, তনৰ উপৰ

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« tānērā (*ats.* < atana) upárá » ; pp. 388, 389, গাছের উপর « gācherā upárā »
on the tree. But cf. ŚKK., p. 80, খোঁপাত উপর « khōmpā-tá upárá » *on
the coiffure,* where « upárá » is used along with the locative in « -tá ».

(22) পাখে « pākhē » *by the side of,* locative of « pākhá » (pakṣa) : found
in North Bengal : used like পাশে « pāśē » below (See *supra*, p. 121.)

(23) পাছে, পিছে (পীছে) « pāchē, pichē (pichē) » *after.* Used with the
genitive (as in the corresponding Sanskrit expression). OIA. « paśćā(t) »
> MIA. « pacchā, pacchá » > NIA. « pācha », locative « pāchē ». The
form « pichē, pichē » has an anomalous « -i- », which is found also in the
Hindī « pichē ». Beames explains the « -i- » as follows : « *pasćē >
*pah(a)ćē », on the analogy of « niścaya > nihaćē » : « *pah(a)ćē > *pahićē
> pićē », then « pichē » with aspiration through influence of « pāchē »
(Comp. Grammar, II, p. 297). But there is no need to postulate a *ts.*
stage for this *tbh.* word : it is more likely that there was the influence of a
word like « piccha » *feathers of the tail,* or « nīca » *below down* (also a
post-position), or of « pṛṣṭha » > পিঠ « pithá » *back* (cf. পিঠমোড়া « pichá-
mōṛā » beside পিঠ-মোড়া « pithá-mōṛā » *with arms pinioned behind the
back*), in altering « -ā- » to « -i- ». The « -i- » form might well
be a borrowing from a Western dialect, and not native Bengali : and
in the derived adjective and denominative verb in Bengali at least, the
« -i- » is resultant, due to Umlaut and Vowel Harmony : পিছ > পাছু, পাছুয়া
« pāchá > pāchu, pāchuá », adjective, > পেছো, পেছু « pēchō, pēchu » > পিছু
« pichu » ; verb পাছুয়ান « pāchuáná » > পেছানো, পেছুনো, পিছুনো pēchōnō,
pēchunō, pichunō » *to fall back.*

(24) পানে « pānē » *at, towards, in the direction of* : e.g., মুখ পানে
« mukh(á)-pānē » *at the face, towards the face,* আমা(র) পানে « āmā(rá)-pānē »
at me, towards me, ঘর or ঘরের পানে « ghárá (ghárērá) -pānē » *in the direction
of the house.* This post-position occurs in Assamese as পনে « pánē ».
The origin of it is obscure, but phonetically it can be from either OIA. « prajñā »
knowledge (cf. p. 305, *supra*), or « panna » (√pad + na) *reached, arrived at.*

(25) পাশে « pāśē » : locative of পাশ « pāśá » *side* (pārśva). Forms
the locative of proximity with the genitive : ŚKK., p. 7, এহার পাশে « ēhārā
pāśē » *by his side,* রাধার পাশে, কানের পাশে « Rādhārá pāśē, Kānhārá pāśē »

etc. We have also (in poetry especially) পাশ « pāś♦ », which is the old
locative in « -i », = « *pāśi < pārśvē » (see p. 312).

(26) বই « baï » *without, apart form, in addition to* : apparently from
an OIA. « vyatīta ». Used with the base. In MB., this post-position is
written বহি, বহী « bāhi, bāhī », as if from বহ « √bāh » *carry, bear, be
carried away* (indeclinable conjunctive forms of which are বহি « bāhi » and
বহিয়া « bāhiyā »). The « -h- » however is euphonic (see 'supra, p. 341), and
the OIA. passive participle « vyatīta » is the source : if it were বহি, বহিয়া
« bāhi, bāhiyā », the Standard Colloquial form would have been ব'য়ে
« bōyē », which is not the case. This post-position occurred in eMB. : cf.
ŚKK., pp. 192, 193, হাটে দান দেহ এ বাটে বহী « hāṭa dāna dēhā ē bāṭē
bāhī » *pay the tax in the market, apart from (the tax) on the road*, ছিন কি
দিবোঁর এ বাট বহী « bhinā ki dibō-rā ē bāṭa bāhī » *what else shall I give, in
addition to (that on) the road*.

(27) বাহির « bāhir♦ », modern locative বাহিরে « bāhirē », Standard Coll.
বায়, বের « bār♦, bēr♦ », বাইরে « bāirē » =*outside* (MIA. *bāhiri, *bāhirē <
bāhira : cf. OIA. bāhiḥ, bāh-ya). Employed with the genitive.

(28) বিনা « binā », by Vowel Harmony বিনে « binē », also বিনি « bini » :
from the OIA. « vinā » *without*. This word is found both as preposition
(a rare thing in NIA.) and as post-position. Thus বিনা অনুমতি or অনুমতিতে
« binā ānumāti, ānumāti-tē » or বিনা হুকু(ে)ৱ « binā hukum(ē) », beside অনুমতি
or হুকুম বিনা « ānumāti, hukum binā » *without permission*; বিনা হাতা, হাতা বিনা
« binā hātā, hātā binā » *without handle*; etc. বিনি « bini » is a rare form,
now occurring only prepositionally in a few expressions like বিনি-সুতার হার
« bini-sutār♦ hār♦ » *a necklet without a cord*, বিনি দুঃখে « bini duḥkhē »
without sorrow. It is found both pre- and post-positionally in the ŚKK.,
e.g., p. 212, বিনি যতনে « bini jātānē » *without any trouble*, beside p. 215, কাহ্ন
বিনী আভাগিনী গোপজুবতি « Kānhā binī ābhāginī gōpā-jubātī » *without Kṛṣṇa,
the milkmaid girls arē unhappy*. বিনি « bini » may be a locative form,
from a nominalised use « *bina » of the Skt. particle.

(29) বিহনে « bihānē », OB. « bihani, bihunē » (Early Oṛiyā=bihuṇ♦)
without, in the absence of. It seems to be the Skt. « vihīna » in the locative,
with influence of « √bhū > -hu- ». Caryā 13, « ninda-bihunē suinā jāïsō »

just as a dream (suina = svapna) *without sleep*; 23, « jīvantā-bhēlā-bihaṇi maēla » *dead without even having been a living one*; 35, « cia-bibunnē pāpa na punna » *without mind, no sin, no merit*. In MB. and NB., this post-position is used with either the stem or the genitive: cf. ŚKK., p. 172, চুম বিহনে যেহ তাম্বুল তিতা « cunā bihānē jēnhā tāmbūlā titā » *just as the betel leaf is bitter without lime*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9, তোমার বিহনে বাছা ছাড়িব জীবন « tōmār(ā) bihānē bāchā chāribā jībān(ā) » *in thy absence, my son, I shall give up life*; etc.

(30) ভিত (ভীত), modern locative ভিতে (ভীতে) « bhita (bhītā), bhitē (bhītē) » *in the wall, bank, side*: from « bhitti ». Used with the genitive, to indicate direction: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 388, যমুনার ভীতে « Jāmunārā bhītē » *towards the Jumna*. Rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā ».

(31) ভিতর, ভিতরে « bhitarā, bhitārē » *within*, locatives (the first form < « *bhitari < *abhyantarē): used with the genitive.

(32) মাঝে « mājhē » *in the middle*, locative form (< madhya). Compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: NB. বনমাঝে কি মনমাঝে « banā-mājhē ki mānā-mājhē » *in the woods, or within the heart*; MB., ŚKK., বৃন্দাবন মাঝে « Bṛndābānā-mājhē » *within Brindāban*, মথুরা পুরের মাঝে « Māthurā-purērā mājhē » *within the city of Mathurā*, etc. This post-position is a characteristic one of Bengali, and is found from the OB. stage: *e.g.*, Caryā 2, « kōri-majhē (= mājhē) ēku-hiahī » *in one heart, in the midst of* (= *among*) *10 millions* (see *ante*, p. 746); 14, « Gaṅgā-Jaūnā-mājhārē bahaī nāī » *the boat floats in the Ganges and the Jumna*; 30, « uittā gaaṇa-mājhē adabhūā » *risen in the sky, wonderful*; etc.

The locative in মি « -mi » in Haijong, from *sts.* « *mahī, ma(d)dhī » = « madhyē », has been noted before (p. 751). Haijong has also the forms মিনি « -mini » and নি « -ni » which are difficult to explain: মিনি « mini » may be from « *mahī » with « hī » changed to « -ni », and « ni » would in that case appear to be a contracted form of « mini ». Or it may be the affix « -hī » as added to the noun—ঘরনি « gharā-ni » < *gharanhi < « gharahī ». Or is it the locative of a help-word « karṇa » *edge, side* (« -kaṇṇahi >*(k)annaī > -ni » ?), which is found for the genitive and accusative in W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, etc. ?

(33) লাগিয়া > লেগে « lāgiyā > lēgē », poetical লাগি « lāgi » = *having come in touch with* : contracted dialectally to লাগে, লগে, লয়ে, লাঘ, লই, লে « lāgē, lăgē, lăyē, lăy, lăï, lē ». Used with the base, or the genitive, to indicate the dative of interest, 'for the sake of, with the object that.' This postpositional form has become rather rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but it is exceedingly common MB. and in the archaic poetical language : *e.g.*, সুখের লাগিয়া এ ঘর বাধিনু « sukhērā-lāgiyā ē ghārā bādhinu » *for the sake of happiness this house I built* (Caṇḍīdāsa) ; রূপ লাগি আঁখি ঝুরে « rūpā-lāgi ākhi jburē » *the eyes shed tears for (a sight of) the beauty* (c. 1590 : VSP., p. 1324) ; এইক্ষণে তোমালাগি ছাড়িব পরাণ « ēi kṣaṇē tōmā-lāgi chāribā pārāṇā » *even at this moment for your sake I shall give up my life* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9) ; etc., etc.

(34) সঙ্গে « sāṇgē » : instrumental or locative-oblique of the *ts.* « saṇga » *company* : used in MB. and NB. with the genitive, but in OB. with the stem, to mean 'along with' : *e.g.*, Caryā 3², « dujjana-sāṇgē » *with a bad man* ; ŚKK., p. 169, বুড়ারির সঙ্গে « bārāyirā saṇgē » *with the old dame* ; etc.

(35) সনে « sānē » *with*, instrumental of « samam, sama- ». In OB. the base « sama » (pronounced undoubtedly « saẘa ») is used with the instrumental or oblique : *e.g.*, Caryā 10, « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tōē-sama karibe ma sāṇga » *O Ḍombī, with thee shall I have companionship* ; Caryā 33, « siālā sihē-sama jujhaï » *the jackal fights with the lion*. The instrumental or locative « *sama-hi=sāẘē > sānē, sāyē » seems to have been in use in OB., and even in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, as the Maithilī equivalent « sanē, sayē » would show. By the end of the 14th century, it became সনে « sānē » : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 19, দেবসনে « dēbā-sānē » *with a god* ; p. 382, দসনের সনে « dāsānērā sānē » *with the teeth*. Dialectally in North Bengali, it occurs as সানে « sānē ». The earlier form সমে « sāmē » is also found in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

The W. Hindī « sõ » and probably also « sē » *with, by* are from « sama ».

(36) সাথ, সাথে « sāthā, sāthē » *with*, from OIA. « sārtha » *having interest in*. Employed with the genitive, to denote association. This word is more commonly used in East Bengali, West Bengali (especially

the Standard Coll.) preferring সঙে « sǎṅgē ». Not found in the ŚKK., which is in Early West Bengali.

(37) সুদ্ধ, সুদ্ধা, সুদ্ধ(ি) « suddhǎ, suddhā. (śuddhǎ, -ǎ) » is used after the noun or pronoun put in the dative in কে « kē » or দের « -dēr » to indicate the dative of inclusion : e.g., তাকে সুদ্ধ ব'লতে হবে « tākē śuddhǎ bōltē habē » one must tell him also, ছেলেদের(কে) সুদ্ধ নিয়ে « chēlēdēr (-kē) śuddhǎ niyē » taking also the boys, etc. It is compounded with nouns and pronouns as an inclusive affix : see supra, p. 706.

(38) হইতে (হেতে) « haitē »> হ'তে « hōtē » being. In MB., this is found also as হতে « hǎntē », beside হোতে « hōntē », হইতে « haitē », হত্যে « hǎtyē = hǎitē », হোইতে « hōitē », হতে « hǎtē », হনে « hanē ». With the base, it indicates the ablative. It is the present participle of √হ or হ « √hǎ, ǎh » to be = OIA. « √as » : « *as-ant- > *ahanta- > *ahenta- > *ahita- > haita- », locative or oblique « *ahanatahi »> « *ahitē »> হইতে « haitē », NB. হ'তে « hōtē ». There are phonological reasons for affiliating হইতে « haitē » to « √as >*ahitē » and not to « √hō, hū > *hōitē » : (see infra, under Verb : ' Substantive and Defective Verbs.') The MB. dialectal form হনে « hǎnē » shows change of « -nt- > -t- » to « -n- » on the analogy of « karanti > করেন kǎrēn » does, do (honorific) : and possibly there is some influence of সনে « sǎnē » (No. 35, above). Equivalents of হইতে « haitē » are apparently the Magahī « -satī » and Bhōjpuriā « -santē » = from, by (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 228, 328), where the sibilant has been preserved.

The use of « -santa- » as a genitival post-position is very old, and has been found, at least in MIA. of the South-west, as early as the Transitional MIA. period (see supra, p. 753). At the present day, this employ of « -sant-, -hant- » obtains in the Western languages, Sindhī and Rājasthānī (« -sand- » in Sindhī, and « -handō, -handī » in Western Rājasthānī), and in the Dardic speech of Kashmir (« -hond^u », beside « -sond^u < -s handu » with « -s » from the genitive base to which it is affixed : cf. Grierson in ' Lallā-vākyāni,' London, 1920, p. 139). It has been also suggested that the Panjābī genitive post-position « -dǎ, -dī » has developed out of the same present participle « -handa » (Beames, II, p. 291), but that is exceedingly problematic, and is not at all attested, and it seems that here we have another

post-positional form, in all probability a derivative from OIA. « √dā » *to give* (see *supra*, p. 164). This genitival use is not met with in the Eastern languages. Early Assamese, like Bengali, uses the locative oblique হতে « hântē », beside the base form হত « hântâ » (not found in Bengali), as an ablative affix, either with the noun base, or with the locative in ত « -tâ » *e.g.*, দুই-হতে « dui-hântē » *from two*, মন-হতে « mânâ-hântē » *from the mind*, নগরী-হতে « nâgârī-hântē » *from the city*, beside মোত-হতে « mō-tâ-hântē » *from me*, ললাত-ত-হতে « lâlâtâ-tâ-hântē » *from the forehead*, etc. In later Assamese, however, হতে, হত « hântē, hântâ » no longer feature for the ablative. But we have a form হত « hâtâ », certainly from this « hântâ », as a plural affix for rational nouns, to indicate only members of a trade, caste or group (Hēma-candra Baruā, 'Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa,' p. 18) : *e.g.*, ছাত্রহত « châtrâ-hâtâ » *students*, কঁহার-হত « kâhârâ-hâtâ » *bell-metal workers*, ডোমহত « ḍōmâ-hâtâ » *people of the Ḍōm caste*, etc. (see *supra*, p. 739). The use of হত « hâtâ » for the plural is possibly based on an earlier use of হত « hântâ » as a genitive post-position (as in Sindhī, Rājasthānī, and Kaśmīrī) in addition to an ablative one, in the Eastern languages : which, in that case, would parallel the development of the Bengali রা, এরা « -rā, -erā » as a plural affix from the genitive র, এর « -râ, -erâ ».

In the form হইতে « hâitē » there also has been the influence of the present participle of √হ « √hō » (< bhū), as both these substantive roots, « as » and « bhū », have merged into one form in Bengali. The present participle of « √bhū »=« bhavant->honta », is found to be employed as an ablative elsewhere in IA.—*e.g.*, in Western Rājasthānī and Gujarātī as « hūtau, taü, tu, thaü, thī » (cf. Tessitori, ' Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 72), and in Khas-kurā, where it occurs as « bhanda », In Western Apabhraṅsa « *bhavantaü, hontaü » (<√bhū) were undoubtedly in use as ablative-forming post-positions, like « ahanta-, asanta- » (< √ as) in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa.

These post-positional present participles of Late MIA. are certainly distinct from the Second MIA. ablative affixes « -hiṃ-tō, -suṃ-tō », which look like compounds formed of the OIA. inflexions (« -hiṃ »=instrumental plural, and locative singular ; or « -suṃ »=locative plural ; *plus* « -tō < OIA.

-taḥ, -āt+-taḥ » ablative affixes), although the suffixes « -himtō, -sumtō » and the Apabhraṅśa present participles « hontaü, *santaü » have been sought to be connected with each other (cf. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, § 376).

(39) হইল, হ'ল « hāilē > hōlē » *on having been*, conditional conjunctive of the substantive verb, is used with the base or the dative in « -kē » to mean 'in that case,' 'on such-and-such or so-and-so remaining.' The negative form নহিল, নইল, ন'ল « nāhilē, nāilē, nōlē » is used also with the base or the dative in « -kē » as a post-position meaning *without*.

A number of *tss.* are also used as post-positions: *e.g.*, « anusāra, anukrama, anuyāyī [onuĵĵai], bhinna, viṣaya, vyatīta, vyatirēka » etc., which are mostly put in the locative or oblique and used with the genitive or the mere base.

The Perso-Arabic form সেওয়ায, সওয়ায, সয়ায, সওয়া, সয়া « sēwāy, sāwāy, sāhāy, sāwā, sāhā » *besides, other than, over and above*, is used in Bengali with the base or the genitive, generally with the demonstrative pronouns, rather rarely with nouns. It has been borrowed from the Hindōstānī, where it is both a preposition and a post-position (Hind. sawā, siwā, siwā-e, sawā-e, < Persian < Arabic siwā [swy]=*extra, additional*). The word বেগার « bēgār » *without* (Perso-Arabic ba-gair) is sometimes found, either as a preposition or as a post-position, exactly like বিনা « binā » (p. 772)

[E] ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

510. Bengali like most NIA. languages possesses some post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons also take these post-positions, which are attached to the words and practically become a part of them, the case-affixes coming after them. These post-positional words, full or attenuated, are commonly described as *articles*. When a noun (or pronoun) is in the singular, the article or definitive comes after it; when in the plural (and pronouns are not used in the plural here), it must be qualified by a numeral, with which the post-positional is combined : where the number is vague or unknown, the definitive is not used. Where the numeral-*cum*-enclitic

precedes the noun, it becomes an attributive adjective, and does not take the case affixes, which are added to the noun : but where numeral-*cum*-enclitic follows the noun, it is loosely compounded with the latter, and the affixes are attached at the end of the entire group.   Thus, মানুষ « mānuṣ » *man* : একজন মানুষ « ēkə-jənə mānuṣ » *one-person man = a man*; একটা or একটী মানুষ « ēkə-ṭā, ēkə-ṭī mānuṣ » *a* or *one man*; একজন মানুষের « ēkə-jənə mānuṣērə » *of a man*, একজন মানুষকে « ēkə-jənə mānuṣ-kē » *to a man*; but মানুষটা, মানুষটী « mānuṣ-ṭā, mānuṣ-ṭī » *the man*, মানুষটার, মানুষটীর « mānuṣ-ṭā-rə, mānuṣ-ṭī-rə » *of the man*, মানুষটাকে, মানুষটীকে « mānuṣ-ṭā-kē, mānuṣ-ṭī-kē » *to the man*; দুটা, দুটী or দুজন মানুষ « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jənə mānuṣ » *two men*, genitive দুটা, দুটী or দুজন মানুষের « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jənə mānuṣērə », but মানুষ দুজনের « mānuṣ-du-janērə » *of the two men*, মানুষ-দুটীকে, « mānuṣ-du-ṭī-kē » *to the two men*; etc.,

The definitives are used with nouns in the qualifying genitive, *e.g.*, নীচের টার « nīchērə-ṭā-rə » *of the one below*, উপরের থানা থেকে « upərērə-khānā-thēkē » *from the piece at the top*, পাশের জনকে « pāśērə-jənə-kē » *to the one beside*, etc.   When the definitive is placed *before* the numeral, which qualifies the noun, instead of *after* it, the sense becomes, on the contrary, vague and indefinite as to the number: *e.g.*, জনদুই মানুষ « jənə-dui mānuṣ », or মানুষ জনদুই « mānuṣ-jənə-dui » *about* or *some two men*, gen. জনদুই মানুষের or মানুষ জনদুইয়ের « mānuṣ-jənə-duiērə, jənə-dui mānuṣērə ».   This usage is certainly old in the language: it is found in the Early Maithilī of the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' (*supra*, pp, 102-103).   The enclitics টা (টো, টে), টী « -ṭā (-ṭō, -ṭē), -ṭī » are not used in this way to precede the numeral, as it is not an entire word any longer.   To emphasise the vagueness, the indefinite forms of the numerals (with এক « -ēk ») are also used : *e.g.*, জন দুই or জনদুইয়েক « jənə-dui, -dui-ẏ-ēk », থান-দশ or দশেক « khānə-dəśə, -dəś-ēkə ».

The employment of these enclitic words or fragments of words lacks the range and variety of the numerative or qualifying words of many other languages, *e.g.*, Chinese (cf. R. K. Douglas, 'Chinese Manual,' London, 1889, pp. 64-66), and Japanese (*e.g.*, H. J. Weintz, 'Japanese Grammar Self-Taught,' London, 1904, pp. 32-34), although there is some resemblance in the general principle.

Common Numeratives of Bengali, and their Origin:

(1) খান, খানা « khānḍ, khānā », diminutive খানী, খানি « khānī, khāni » (originally feminine : see pp. 672-673)=*a piece* (<« khaṇḍa » : see p. 365). In NB., it is used by preference to specialise objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a frame-work. But in the ŚKK., it is used in an expression like নাতিনী খানী « nātinī-khānī » *the (little) grand-daughter* (p. 11 : cf. also note at p. 433 of the ŚKK., where is quoted from Early Assamese কন্যাখানি « kānyā-khāni » *the little daughter*). This numerative was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also বেড়িল কুড়িষা (=কুড়িষা>কুড়ে) খা ন « bēṛhilā kuṛ(h)iā-khāni » *surrounded the cottage* (Kṛttivāsa, ' Uttara-kaṇḍa,' p. 58), সাঁতারিয়া আনে ভৃগু অর্জ্জনের শরীর-খান « sātāriyā ānē Bhṛgu Arjunērḍ śārīrḍ-khānḍ » *B. swims and brings the body of A.* (ibid, p. 65), দুইখান হাত « dui-khānḍ hātḍ » *the two hands* (ibid, p. 92) ; etc.

(2) গাছ, গাছা « gāchḍ, gāchā », diminutive গাছী, গাছি « gāchī, gāchi » =*a long piece, a ' stick,' a ' tree'* (MIA. « gaccha » : see p. 472) : used with reference to thin and long articles. This is not found in eMB., and seems to have been established in its numerative function during the lMB. period.

(3) গোটা « gōṭā », diminutive গুটী, গুটি « guṭī, guṭi »=*one piece, one whole, one round object*. It occurs also as গোট « gōṭḍ », and is found in Hindōstānī as an independent word meaning *a pebble or stone, a round object, a piece, a man (as in a game)*. The word is of uncertain origin, but doubtless the Skt. « guṭikā », Bengali গুটী « guṭī » *a small globe or ball, a pill, a pearl, a pustule, the cocoon of the silk-worm* is the same word. The source of it may be the Skt. root « gṛ » *to sprinkle, moisten*, which figures in the ' Dhātu-pāṭhas ': a form like « *gṛ-ta » to mean *a drop* could well have given « *gurta », whence « *guṭṭa, *gōṭṭa », whence the NIA. forms, as well as the Skt. « guṭikā ». The Skt. word has been also sought to be connected with « gōla » *round* and « guḍa » *molasses*. The word গোটা « gōṭā » was derived from «gōṣṭha-ka » by Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 273), but that should give an aspirate in NIA., *e.g.*, « *gōṭhā », whereas all the actual NIA. forms—Western and Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese,

have « -ṭ- » and not « -ṭh- ». The form « gōṭā » figures as a post-positional
numerative in Bihārī; e.g., in Maithilī « duhū-gōṭā » the two pieces; also in
Oṛiyā, in Bengali, and in Assamese; and consequently it is likely that the
numerative employ of this word goes back to Māg. Ap. We have it in Early
Maithilī, and it is extremely common in Early Bengali: e.g., ŚKK. বাঁশী গুটি
« bāśī-guṭi » the flute, several times, and Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' বাণ
গোটা « bāṇ-gōṭā » the arrow (p. 28). In NB. গোটা « gōṭā » is quite
common as a noun meaning whole; its numerative use, however, has
become considerably curtailed.

(4) জন « jánā » person, which can be either tbh. or ts., is used to
indicate men and women. The use of this word is found in eMB., and in
all likelihood it goes earlier: e.g., Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 2, ভাই
দুইজনে « bhāi dui-jánē » the two brothers, lit. brother(s) two-persons;
'Uttara-kaṇḍa,' p. 66, মাতাপিতা দুইজনে « mātā-pitā dui-jánē » the two
parents (or mother and father both); etc.

(5) টা « -ṭā » (by Vowel Harmony টো « -ṭō » and টে « -ṭē »: p. 401),
diminutive টী, টি « -ṭī, -ṭi » : used as the post-positional 'Definite Article,'
meaning an object, a whole. For derivation and use, see supra, p. 686. The
dialectal forms « -ḍā, -ḍī » have been noted before. In the Haijong
(Maimansing) dialect, apprently it is this « -ṭā > -ḍa > -rā » that figures
in forms like রাজারা « rājā-rā » the king, মাগুরা « māgu-rā » the wife, কথারা
« kathā-rā » the word, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 216 ff).

টী, টা « -ṭā, -ṭī » are the most important definitives of Bengali. The
employ of these is already well-established in the Early MB. period: e.g.,
ŚKK., p. 75 সোনার কটুআ দুটি মাণিকে পুরাইা « sōnārā kaṭuā du-ṭi māṇikē
puráyā » causing the two (round) boxes of gold to be filled with gems;
Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, চকুটা « câkṣu-ṭā » the eye; ibid., p. 1,
দুইটী ব্রাহ্মণ « dui-ṭī Brāhmáṇā » (the) two Brāhmaṇs, দুটী হাত « duṭi hātā »
the two hands etc., etc.

The « -ṭā » affix is found as টু « -ṭu » after the numeral এক « ēkā » one
(=-ṭ- +-u<-ū: p. 677); and when used post-positionally after a noun,
« -ṭu » is extended to টু-ক « -ṭu-kā », and further strengthened to টুকু
« -ṭu-k-u »: « -ṭu, -ṭukā, -ṭuku » are all used to denote 'a small quantity

of any thing,' generally of fluids and of substances which are already in small fragments : *e.g.,* একটু জল « ēkɔ̄-ṭu jɔ̄lɔ̄ » *a little water,* but জলটুকু, টুকু « jɔ̄lɔ̄-ṭukɔ̄, jɔ̄lɔ̄-ṭuku » *the little water;* একটু নুন « ēkɔ̄-ṭu nunɔ̄ » *a little salt, a pinch of salt,* নুনটুকু « nunɔ̄-ṭuk(u) » *that pinch of salt.* The « -k- » in « -ṭukɔ̄, -ṭuku » looks like being the nominal or pleonastic affix (see *ante,* pp. 679 ff), but it may be from « ēkɔ̄ » *one,* as in the dialectal word টুক, টুয়েক « ṭukɔ̄, ṭuyēkɔ̄ » *a little (e.g.,* টুক, টুয়েক বাদে « ṭukɔ̄ or ṭuyēkɔ̄ bɔ̄dē » *a little later,* as in West Râḍha Bengali : = « -ṭu » diminutive + « ēkɔ̄ »).

(6) থান « thānɔ̄ » *flat piece, round or rectangular piece* (< sthāna): *e.g.,* কাপড় দুথান « kāpɔ̄ṛɔ̄ du-thānɔ̄ » *the two pieces of stuff,* etc. Rather restricted in employ.

A few other words are similarly used as definitives. *E.g.,* the Persian words তা « tā » *sheet* (« tah, tāh » *fold, plait* : দুতা কাগজ « du-tā kāgɔ̄jɔ̄ » *two sheets of paper*), and কেতা « kētā » *piece* (Ar. « qitā » *cutting* : নোট দু-কেতা « nōṭɔ̄ du-kētā » *two bank-notes*). But they partake rather of the nature of English words like *head* ('five head of cattle '), *sail* ('ten sail of ships ') than of enclitic definitives like the above.

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CHAPTER III

THE NUMERALS

511. The numerals present one of the difficult phonetic problems of NIA. Their forms show a remarkable uniformity all over the NIA. area, a uniformity which is not in keeping with the several phonetic histories of the various NIA. speeches. The names for the cardinals in the different NIA. languages, instead of going through their proper MIA. forms back to OIA. (i.e., with each group showing independent and distinct forms with characteristic dialectal phonetic history, in general agreement with the phonology of the mass of words in the language), appear rather to be based on some standardised MIA. forms. These standardised forms originally belonged to some particular dialect of MIA., but they were early adopted in a standard dialect, a sort of Hindōstānī of ancient times (when they did not originally belong to it), whence they were imposed upon the vernacular speeches in the different tracts of the country; and the proper native forms in these latter vernaculars were generally superseded, although in some cases they have maintained themselves (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « bě » Sindhī « b'ě » Marāthī « dōn » Bengali দুই « dui » *two*, Panjābī « wīh » *twenty*). From the very close resemblance between the common NIA. cardinals and those of Pali, the latter may be taken to represent the basis or source of the former. Pali is based on the speech of the Midland, with influences from the East as well as the North-West and the South-West : one Pali form for *twelve* is « bārasa », with « b- » for OIA. « dv- », which does not seem to be a proper Midland treatment of this group of consouants : the native Midland form was certainly « d(u)vādasa », also found in Pali, but we do not know when « bārasa » or an earlier « *bādasa < dvādaśa » from an outside dialect imposed itself in Pali, side by side with the native form in « d(u)vā- ». (Cf. p. 58, *supra*.) The form « bārasa », however, became established in the standard form of the Midland speech, and thence passed on to the other dialects, Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī included ; although these latter continued to use their

proper forms « duvālasa, *duvāḍasa » side by side with « bārasa », at least
as a literary survival down to Second MIA. times.   Even though the Pali
forms give a sufficiently satisfactory ground work for those of NIA., there
are certain irregularities in the development of the latter, which cannot
be properly explained.   Thus, intervocalic « -s- » became « -h- » in all
the forms except those of the 9th decade in Western Panjābī and
Sindhī : e.g., W. Panjābī « yārā(h), bārā(h) » =11, 12 ; « wīh, ikkī(h),
bāi(h) » =20, 21, 22 ; « trīh, battīh » =30, 32 ; « cālī(h), cutālī(h) »=
40, 44 ; « pañjāh, aṭhwañjā(h) »=50, 58 ; « bāhṭh, chēāhṭh »=62, 66 ;
« ihattar, pañjhattar » = 71, 75 ; but « assī, ikāsī »=80, 81, where
the sibilant is retained.   In the other NIA. languages, in Marāṭhī,
Gujarātī, W. Hindī, E. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali for instance, we find
« -h- » for « -s- » regularly only in the 2nd and 8th decades, but irregularly
in other cases (e.g., Hindī « bārah »=12, « bāhāttar »=72 but « pacās »
=50, « aṭhwan »=58) ; while the « -s- » remains in the third, fourth, fifth
and ninth decades (e.g., Hindī « bāïs »=22, « artīs »=38, « byāllis »=42,
« pacāsī »=85) : and Oṛiyā and Assamese preserve the « -s- » in the eighth
decade as well (the « s » in Assamese has become [x]).   The Pali forms cannot
explain all these anomalies among the NIA. speeches, because Pali re-
presents an earlier state of things in MIA. when « -s- » remained a sibilant.
The later Prakrits show a mix-up of « -s- » and « -h- » forms which it is
now impossible to refer to local dialects of the Second MIA. stage.   Forms
like those that we find in Pali would seem to have been adopted in most
MIA. dialects by the Second MIA. stage : then after the « -s- > -h- »
change took place in one area (probably in N.-W. India : see supra, p. 549),
that phonetic development also partially insinuated itself into the forms
of the standard speech (some form of Śaurasēnī, in all likelihood), and
thence also to the other dialects, but not uniformly.

    The origin of the NIA. words for the numerals has been discussed
by Bloch (cf. ' Langue Marathe,' pp. 214-223).   The question is studied
here from the point of view of Bengali.

    512.   One= এক « ēkə » [æ:k] : from eMB. [e:ko], OB. [e:ko] < MIA.
« ēkka », a MIA. ts. or sts. form, occurring side by side with the tbh

« ēga, ēa » which occur in Prakrit but which are not so common (Jaina Ardha-māgadhī prefers « ēga », however). The Assamese এ « ē »=one, as in এজন « ē-zānꜹ » one person, এটা « ē-ṭā » one, এহেজাৰ « ē-hēzārꜹ » one thousand (= Bengali একজন, একটী, একহাজার « ēkꜹ-jānꜹ, ēkꜹ-ṭā, ēkꜹ-hājārꜹ »), shows that the tbh. « ēa » was as much a living form in Second and Third MIA. as the sts. « ĕkka ». A common and exceedingly important word, for the numeral one, it could not remain as the colourless « ēa », and hence the ts. form could easily come in to meet the necessity of a distinctive vocable.

In composition, « ēkꜹ » remains unmodified (e.g., একুশ ekuśꜹ < ēkuiśꜹ, ēkāiśꜹ=21 ; একত্রিশ, তিত্রিশ ēkꜹ-t(i)riśꜹ, ēkāttriśꜹ=31 ; একচল্লিশ ēkꜹ-cālliśꜹ =41 ; একান্ন ēkānnꜹ=51 ; একষট্টি ēkꜹ-ṣaṭṭi=61 ; একাত্তর ēkāttarꜹ=71 ; একান(ব্ব)ই ekānꜹi, ēkānꜹbbꜹi=91), except in এগার « ēgārꜹ »=11. Here the voicing difficult is to account for. It seems to be NIA., from a Late MIA. « *ēkāraha », a standard form, < earlier « ĕkkāraha » which supplanted the tbh. « ēāraha ». The « -k- < MIA. -kk- » is preserved in Marāṭhī « akrā » ; and Panjābī « yārā » represents the normal MIA. tbh. « ēāraha- ». The Ardha-māgadhī « ēga » would only be confined to literature, and cannot be regarded as being responsible for the NIA. « ēgārꜹ, igārah » etc. The ‘Prākṛta-Paiṅgala’ form « ŏggāraha » seems only to be a Prakritisation of the NIA. word. In forms like « ēk-uśꜹ, ēkꜹ-t(i)riśꜹ » etc., an analysis into « ēkꜹ + biśꜹ (viśꜹ), ēkꜹ + t(i)riśꜹ » was easy, and this analysis seems to have helped to bring in or retain the « -k- » ; but there was not much scope for this analysis when « -daśa » became « -raha » in the MIA. « ŏkkāraha, *ēkāraha, ēāraha » in the dialects, which mostly now have « -g- » or zero for the original « -k- ». In Gujarātī « ōgꜹnīs »=91, « ōgaṇtīs » =29, « ōgaṇcālīs »=39, « agnō-ĕśī, ōgaṇyāsī »=79, however, it is not a case of voicing : « ōgaṇ- » is not from OIA. « ēkōna- », but is rather from a Skt. « *apaguṇa (-viṅśati) », etc. (Pischel, § 444).

In Chittagong Bengali, there is the voicing of « -k- » which characterises this dialect : « ēgꜹ < ēkꜹ » ; also « ēkuā, ēkā > ēguā, ēgā, eggā, oggā » ; (this « eguā, eggā » gives in Chittagong Bengali the numerative enclitic « -ggā » or « -gōā » : e.g., « du-ggā »=two pieces, « tsāir-gōā »=four pieces,

etc., which corresponds to « dui-gō, cār-gō » etc., of the Bihārī dialects) ; « ĕgāiśẟ, ĕgōiśẟ=ĕkuśẟ, ĕkāiśẟ » ; etc.

In other compound forms in Bengali, « -k- » of « ĕkẟ » is preserved: *e.g.*, একুইটি « ĕkuiti » (=ĕka-putrikā). The « -k- » is lengthened or doubled in Bengali for emphasis, as in the case of the other consonants : *e.g.*, একেকালে, একেবারে « ekkē-kālē, ekkē-bāre » *all at once* or *all at the same time*, etc. (see above, p. 448).

513. *Two*=দুই « dui », from MIA. « duvē », properly the neuter form=« dvē » of OIA., which is already established in the eastern dialect of Aśōka for the masculine as well (*e.g.*, Rock Edict I. Jaugada=« duvē majulā=dvāu mayūrāu »). দুই « dui » is a genuine Prācya and Māgadhī form as preserved in Bengali. It is found in the other Magadhan speeches as well. Other typical NIA. forms, differing from that of the Eastern tracts, are « dō » (W. Hindī and Panjābī), « dōn » (Marāṭhī), « bē » (Gujarātī), « b'ē » (Sindhī) and « dē-ka » (Sinhalese).

In composition with nouns, the equivalent was « dō- » in MIA. In the Caryās, « dō » also occurs (beside « dui ») as an independent or qualifying form : *e.g.*, « dui gharē » (Caryā 2), « dui māra (=mārga: Caryā 26), and « dō bāṭā » (=vartma: Caryā 15). We have also a definitive « duā » as in « phiṭaü duā » *let the two be split* or *destroyed*. In genuine Bengali compounds, the form « dō » becomes « du » when followed by a high vowel (see under 'Vowel Harmony,' *supra*, pp. 397-398): thus, দুমুখো « du-mukhō < dō-mukh-ā » *two-faced*, দুছুট « du-chuṭẟ » < দোছুট « dō-chuṭẟ » (see p. 472), দুপুর « dupurẟ » < দোপহর « dō-pahārẟ » (dvi-prahara); but দোপাটি « dō-pāṭī » *a flower*, দোআঁসলা « dō-āsẟlā » *of mixed breed* (dvi+aṅśa +la-), দোভাষী « dō-bhāṣī » *interpreter*, etc. A common contraction of the adjectival দুই « dui » is দু' « du »: *e.g.*, দু(ই)টা > দুটা « du(i)-ṭā > du-ṭō » *two pieces*, দু(ই)জন « du(i)-jānẟ » *two persons*. In such forms, দু « du » is regarded as forming compounds, and this fact influences the original « dō- » in many compounds to be changed to « du- »: *e.g.*, দুহাতা > দুহাতা « du-hātā > du-hāttā », beside দোহাতা « dō-hāttā » *with both hands* (=*to one's best advantage*), দুধারী « du-dhārī » beside দোধারী « dō-dhārī » *two-edged*, etc.

In MB. there is the form দোহা « dōhā » *two* (as in দোৱেই « dōhē » nominative and oblique, দোহার, দোহাকার « dōhā-rā, dōhā-kārā » genitive, দোহাকে « dōhā-kē » dative) which represents an Apabhraṅśa genitive « *doṇhā, dōṇṇaṁ ». Variants of this form, with the nasal from the genitive plural of the noun, are দুই « duihā » (as in the ŚKK.), and দুহান « duhānā » (as in the Early Assamese দুহানো « duhānō »).

In compound numerals, we find the forms বা « bā- » and ব, বি, বে « bā-, bi-, bē- » representing the OIA. « dvā-, dvi- »: thus বাইশ « bāiśā » (dvā-viṅśati), বত্রিশ, বত্রিশিশ « bātt(i)riśā » (dvā-triṅśat), বিয়াল্লিশ, বেয়া-, ব্যা- « biyālliśā, bēyā-, byā- » (dvi-catvāriṅśat), বিরাশি « birāśi » (dvy-aśīti). The change « dv- > b- », as has been noted before (see *supra*, pp. 508, 782) is non-Māgadhī : native Māgadhī would have shown « *dōā-, *dui ».

Bengali দোকা « dōkā » *twain, with a second* is an analogical formation after একা « ēkā » *alone.*

In the OB. of the Caryās we have the word « bēnī » to mean *two* (Caryās 1, 4, 5). The word in this sense is extremely common in Early Oṛiyā (bēṇi). It is the *ts.* word « vēṇī » *plait, plait of two bands of hair,* and the Sanskrit word itself would seem to be based on a MIA. formation from « dvi », with « v- < b- » from « dv- ».

514. *Three* = তিন « tinā », properly তীন « tīnā » < OB. « tini, tiṇi = tīni » (cf. Caryā 13, « tiṇi bhuana » *the three worlds*; also Caryās 7 and 16) ; Oṛiyā, Assamese and Maithilī = « tīni ». This form is found in most NIA., excepting in the Western Languages—Panjābī and Lahndī, Sindhī and Gujarātī—which have forms in « -r- » (Panj. and Lahndī « trai », Sindhī « ṭrē », Gujarātī « traṇ ») through Dardic influence. The NIA. « tīni » comes from the OIA. neuter « trīṇi », which was generalised in the East for all genders (and, it seems, also in the Midland: cf. W. Hindī « tīn(i) »). This can be seen from Aśōkan inscriptions : thus « tiṅṇi pānāni » in Dhaulī and Jaugada I, = « tiṅṇi, tini pānāni » in Kalsi, for which Girnar has « tī, trī prāṇā » and Shahbazgarhi « tra(yo) praṇa, praṇa-trayo ». OIA. « trīṇi » seems to have passed through a stage « *tīrṇi » to give Early MIA. « tiṇṇi, *tiṇṇi ». An expected Māgadhī form from « trīṇi », without the intermediate stage « *tīrṇi » postulated here, would be « *ṭiṇi », and also

« *ṭi-=tri- »: cf. Hindōstānī « ṭi-kaṭhī »=tri-kāṣṭhikā » *wooden triangular frame to which offenders are tied to be flogged* (=Bengali টিকটিকি « ṭikṭṭiki <*ṭi-kāṭh-ikī » with confusion with the onomatopoetic word টিকটিকি « ṭikṭiki » *house lizard*) in which « tr- > ṭ- » seems to be a Māgadhism which has survived.

In compound numerals we find তে, তি « tē-, ti- » (< traya-, tri-): তের « tērā » (trayōdaśa, *tridaśa), তেইশ « tēiś » (trayōviṅśati), তেত্রিশ « tēttriś » (trayastriṅśat), etc., etc. In compounds generally we have তে « tē- », changed to তি « ti- » by Vowel Harmony : *e.g.*, তেহাই « tēhāi » *third part* (tri-bhāgikā), তেপায়া « tēpāyā » *tripod*, MB. তেওরী, তিওরী « tēōrī, tiurī » *oven* (tri-vṛt), etc. OB. however has « ti-śaraṇa » (Caryā 13) and « tia-dhāu » (< tri-ka-+dhātu : Caryās 28, 29).

515. *Four*=চার<চার, চাইর, চারি « cār < cāīr, cāir, cāri ». This is the form which is found in almost all NIA., except Sinhalese, which has « satara, hatara ». The NIA. « cāri, cār » is apparently to be connected with the OIA. neuter form « catvāri ». In the Aśokan Kalsi dialect, « cat(t)āli », occurs already for the masculine ; but Aśōkan of Girnar shows for masculine « catpārō » (catvāraḥ). (This, if it had survived, would have given in NIA., Gujarātī, a form « *cāpar », through a Second MIA. « *cappārō »). Pali has « cattārō » (accusative « caturō »), « catassō » and « cattāri » for the masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. From Second MIA. « cattāri », we come to the Apabhraṅśa « cāri » and the Early NIA. « ciāri » : and the apparent loss of « -tt- » in these later forms is not easy to explain (see *supra*, pp. 254-255). The loss of the « -tt- » may have been due to the form taken by this numeral word in compounds —« caü < catuḥ- »; and as Pischel notes (Gramm. der Pkt.-Spr., § 439, p. 313), « cāri » occurs in Apabhraṅśa in compounds (« catuṣpāda > *caüppāa+*cattāri-pāa » giving « cāri-pāa » ?).

The form « ciāri » is attested from Early Oṛiyā, from Marāṭhī, and from other NIA. languages (see *ante*, p. 106). It can also be well assumed that Bengali also possessed this « ciāri », at least side by side with « cāri ». The form « ciāri » appears to be late, and NIA. There is no proper

explanation of the intrusive (?) « -i- », but an Iranian influence here does not seem to be an impossibility (see *supra*, p. 255; also see *infra*, under *Six*).

In compounds, the numeral occurs as চৌ « câu » =MIA. « caü », OIA. « catuḥ, catus, catur ». The diphthongal form occurs already in OB. : eg. « cau-dīsa » (Caryā 6), « cau-koṭṭi » (Caryā 37). In the numerals, « cau » has become contracted to « cō-, cu- »: thus চোদ্দ « cōddâ » (« caturdaśa »: the « sādhu-bhāsā » form চৌদ্দ « câuddâ » is archaic), চোব্বিশ « cōbbiśâ » (caturviṅśati), চুল্লিশ « cuâlliśâ » (catuścatvāriṅśat), চুন্ন « cuânnâ » (catuḥpañcāśat), চুয়াত্তর « cuâttârâ » (catussaptati), চুরাশী « curâśī » (caturaśīti), চুরান(ব্ব)ই « curâ-nâ(bbâ)i » (caturnavati). The forms চোত্রিশ « câu-triśâ » (catustriṅśat) and চৌষট্টি « câu-ṣaṭṭi » (OB. « caüṣaṭhi, caüṣaṭṭhi, cauṣaṭhṭhī » as in Caryās 3, 12 and 10 respectively:=« catuṣṣaṣṭi ») preserve « câu »: but they are not the normal Bengali forms as expected—the first has *ts.* influence, and the second seems to have been influenced by literary Prakrit from the OB. period. In MB. and dialectal NB., through the common change of « âu » to « âi », we have চৈপর, চোপর « câiparâ, cōparâ » < চৌপর « câuparâ » (caü-pahara, catuṣprahara), চৈদ্দ « câiddâ » (=Assamese চৈধ্যা « câidhyâ ») beside চৌদ্দ « câuddâ », etc. (see *supra*, p. 385). Compounds like চৌকাঠ « cau-kāṭhâ » *door-frame,* চৌঘুরী « câu-ghuri » *four-in-hand,* চোদোল « câu-dōla » *litter, palanquin of state,* চৌধুরী, *চৌধরী « Caudhurī < *Caudharī » a title or surname < chief (=catur + dhara + -ika), চৌমাথা « câu-māthā » *carrefour, crossing,* are archaic in type, and « câu » is an atrophied form; and in MB. and NB., compositions with the Bengali চারি, চার « câr(i) » are more common: *e.g.,* চার-পেয়ে < চারি-পাইয়া « cârâ-pêyê < câri-pāiyâ » *four-footed,* চার-কেল < চারি-কালিয়া « cârâ-kêlê < câri-kāliyâ » *of the four ages,* etc.

516. *Five* = পাঁচ « pâcâ » (OIA. pañca). All NIA. speeches agree in retaining the nasal, except Sinhalese, which has the form « paha < pasa < *paca ». In compounds with nouns, « pâcâ » remains unchanged in Bengali: *e.g.,* পাঁচমুড়া « pâcâ-muṛâ » *five-crested,* পাঁচ-হাতী « pâcâ-hât-ī » *five cubits long,* etc. In the compound numerals, however, the word occurs in four forms in Bengali, as below:

(1) পঁচ « pắc- » as in পঁচিশ « pắciś𝑑 » (panca-viṅśati), পঁচত্তর
« pắcāttār𝑑 » (panca-saptati), পঁচাশী « pắcāśī » (panċāśīti),
পঁচান(ব্ব)ই « pắcāná(bbā)i (panca-navati);

(2) পঞ « panc- » as in পঞাশ « pắñcāś𝑑 » (panċāśat), পঞান্ন pắñcānná
(« pañca-pañcāśat » : there is a dialectal পঁচপন « pắcé-pán𝑑 »),
and উনপঞাশ « unā-pắñcāś𝑑 »; also contracted to « -ñc- » as
in ‡ উনঞাশ « unắñcāś𝑑 » 49;

(3) পঁয « pắy𝑑- » as in পঁয়বিশ « pắy𝑑-triś𝑑 » (panca-triṅśat), পঁয়তাল্লিশ
« pắy𝑑-tālliś𝑑 » (panca-catvāriṅśat), and পঁয়ষট্টি « pắy𝑑-ṣaṭṭi »
(panca-ṣaṣṭi);

(4) পন, পান্ন, আন্ন « pặn𝑑-, -pānná -ánná » as in পনের « pắnèr𝑑 »
(panca-daśa), and in the fifties—একান্ন, বাহান্ন, তিপ্পান্ন, চুয়ান্ন, পঞান্ন,
ছাপ্পান্ন, সাতান্ন, আটান্ন, « ekānná, bāhānná, tippānná, cuánná,
pañcānná, chāppānná, sātānná, āṭānná ».

Of the above, « pắc𝑑 < pắc𝑑 », with short « -ā- » through absence of
stress in the word in the formative period of Bengali, seems to be the
native Bengali form : and « pañc- » in পঞাশ « pắñcāś𝑑 » etc., has a restored
« -ñ- », apparently through *ts.* influence : the expected native Bengali form
would be « *pắcāś𝑑 » : cf. Hind. « pacās ». The forms « pắy𝑑 (=paña)» and
« pắn𝑑, pắnná, -ánná » are respectively from MIA « pañña » and « panna
(paṇṇa) », from « *pañja < pañca ». The change « ñj > ññ, ñ » is found in
Maithilī in one or two forms (see *supra,* p. 364), but it does not characterise
Bengali; and « -ñc->-ñj- > -nn-, -n- » is equally foreign to Bengali. We
find the latter change in the Midland and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka : *e.g.,*
« pañna-dasa » (=panna-dasa < pañca-daśa) and « pañna-vīsati » (=panna-
vīsati < pañca-viṅśati) in the Delhi-Siwalik pillar, for instance, and
« sa-pañná » (=*sappannā[h]<ṣaṭ-pañcāśat) at Sahasram : where it can
well be an imposition from an « -ñc—>-ñj->nn » (and « -s- > -h- ») dialect,
presumably of the North-West (cf. Jules Bloch, JA., 1912, I, pp. 332 ff.).

517. *Six*=ছয়, ছ « chắy𝑑, chá », Assamese « chắy » [soŏ], Oṛiyā
« chắĭ ». MIA. has the form « cha ». The Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā
forms, as well as the Panjābī « chē », Marāṭhī « sahā », and the forms « chē,
chèy-, chiy- » as in the decades (as compared with Hindī and Gujarātī

« cha- ») are apparently based on a fuller form in MIA. than simple « cha ». The word cannot have originated from « ṣaṭ » of OIA.: « ṣ- > ch- » would be an inexplicable change in Early MIA., and we should expect the sibilant to remain either as « s- » or as « ś- », as in « ṣōḍaśa, ṣaṣṭi » > NIA. sōlah, sāṭh » : and as a matter of fact the word for *six* does occur with « s- », in Aśōkan Prakrit.

The Indo-European word for *six* was « *seks, *sweks ». In Indo-Iranian, it became « *saśs, *swaśs », the expected OIA. equivalent of which would be « *sakṣ, *swakṣ > *sak, *swak », which could change only to « *ṣaṭ, *svaṭ » by analogy (Uhlenbeck, 'Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics', p. 88 ; Wackernagel, I, p 174): normally it could not certainly be « ṣaṭ », such as we actually find in OIA. In the form « ṣaṣ- » (as in « ṣaṣ-ṭha, ṣaṣ-ṭi), the second « -ṣ- » is quite regular (< Indo-Iranian « *s[w]aśtha, *s[w]aśti » =IE *s[w]ekstho, *s[w]eks-ti: cf. Wackernagal, I, § 202, d). This « -ś- > -ṣ- » in the interior of the word may have influenced the initial « *s- » to « ś-, ṣ- » (Indo-Iranian « *s[w]aśtha, *s[w]aśti > *ś[w]aśtha, *ś[w]aśti > OIA. ṣaṣ-, Prim. Iran. *ś[w]aś-»: cf. H. Reichelt, 'Awestisches Elementarbuch,' § 160). The Avestan equivalent of Vedic « ṣaṭ, ṣaṣ » is « xśvaś », which represents the Iran. « *śwaś » (with the « -w- » of IE. « *sweks ») : the prothetic « x- » in « x-śvaś » is regular in Avestan before initial « ś- » *plus* consonant (Reichelt, ibid., § 174). The forms « ṣaṣ (śaś), xśvaś » beside « *ṣvaṣ (*śwaś) » occurred in the various ancient dialects of Indo-Iranian, as we can see from Sanskrit, from Avestan, and from the various present-day speeches of the Indo-Iranian borderland—Iranian and Dardic: *e.g.*, Baśgalī « śō », Kalaśa « śōh », Vērōn « uśu » and Śiṇā of Jalkot « śva (ṣva) », as well as Paśtō « ṣpaź, ṣpēž, ṣpag », would seem to be based on a form « *śwaś » or « *ṣvaṣ »; Śiṇā « śah, śa (ṣah, ṣa) » and Kaśmīrī « śōh » on « śaś (ṣaṣ) », like the New Persian « śaś », : and the Central Asian Ghalcha forms—Yūdghā « uxśo » and Munjānī « axśe » would appear to be based on a form agreeing with the Avestan « xśvaś ». But « ṣaṣ, *ṣyaṣ » cannot explain the MIA. and NIA. « cha- », and the Khō-wār (Dardic) « choi ». Could the typically Iranian « xśvaś » have been borrowed, or blended with the Indian « ṣaṣ », in an old Indo-Aryan frontier dialect, in the

form « *kṣas, *kṣak » ? This form in « kṣ- » could well be extended to « *kṣaka », to make it a disyllabic word like « pañca, sapta » etc.: and « *kṣas, *kṣaka » could very well be the source of « cha, chaa », with the North-western or Western MIA. alteration of « kṣ » to « ch » (cf. *supra*, p. 469).

Tokharian of Central Asia (*supra* p. 5) shows some peculiar forms for *six* and *sixth*, which may be noted. In Dialect A, it is « ṣak », ordinal « ṣkaṣt » and in Dialect B the forms are « ṣkas, ṣkaste », cardial and ordinal. The derivation « IE. *seks > *ṣaks > *ṣakas > ṣak, ṣkas » has been proposed (cf. A. Meillet, MSL., XVII, 1912, p. 287). But in this connexion, can an Indo-European « *skes » (or « *skwes »), as occurring side by side with « *seks, *sweks », be postulated ? In that case, this « *sk- » of Indo-European can regularly give the « ch- » of Indo-Aryan.

In the Aśōkan inscriptions, the words for *six* are « cha » (Rūpnāth: « cha-vacharē »), « sa- » (Sahasram : « sa-vachalē, sa-paññā »), « ṣa- » (North-West and Kalsi), and « saḍu- » (Dehli-Siwalik and-Meerut « saḍu-vīsati »). The occurrence of « cha » and « sa-, ṣa-, saḍ- » side by side is a certain indication that the first is a form independent of the other ones.

The « -h- » in Western Apabhraṅśa « chaha », Marāṭhī « sahā », Sinhalese « saha » is obscure. It may represent the second sibilant in the base form « ṣaṣ », which is seen to occur in Dardic. The forms « chē, chēy-, chiy- » in the compound numerals are easily explained as being from a MIA. « chaa, chaya ». The Maithilī « chau », earlier « chaō, chahu » (as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara,' *supra* pp. 102-103; also in the same work, « āṭhahu=āṭha » 8, « caubīsaō »=« caubīsa » 24, etc.), has the affix « -hu » which would seem to be only an emphatic particle.

The words for *16*, and the *sixties*, are based on the OIA. (Sanskrit) forms with « ṣ- ».

518. *Seven*=সাত « sātɐ » : regularly derived from OIA. « sapta », and found in all the IA. speeches (Hindī etc. « sāt », Panjābī « satt », Sindhī « sataʰ », Sinhalese « hata, sata »).

In the compound numerals, except in সতেৱ « sātēra » *17*, and সাতিৰিষ « sātitriṣɐ » *37*, « sātɐ » is unchanged. In Early Bengali, it is likely that the

compounded form was « *sătă », with weakening of « -ă- » to « -ă- » through
absence of stress·: cf. Oṛiyā « sătăîśa, sătă-cāḷîśă » 27, 47, Hindī « satăîs,
sat-hattar » 27, 77, etc. The « -ă- » is due to initial stress, no doubt;
but curiously enough, we have সতের « sătĕră » and uot « *sătără » which
would be the expected or normal form for Bengali. In সাঁইত্রিশ « săitriśă »
(or গাঁয়ত্রিশ « săyătriśă ») there was certainly the influence of « păyă <paññå »
of পঁয়ত্রিশ « păyătriśă » 35 : cf. similar nasalisation in Bengali চৌঁত্রিশ
« căutriśă » (beside চৌত্রিশ « căutriśă ») 34, and Maithilī and Hindī « tătīs,
căutīs, tătālīs ». Other Magadhan speeches have « săî- » or « săy- »; e.g.,
Maithilī « săītīs, săītālīs »; except Assamese, which has a borrowed and
modified form « sāttric » [xattris]. The analogical « săî-, săyă- » we find
also in Hindī « săitīs, săitālīs », and Panjābī « săit(r)ī, săitālī » 37, 47.
The form of this numeral as « saṭ > sad, sar, sar, săḍ », as in Hindī
« sar-saṭh » 66, Gujarātī « săḍ-trīs » 37, which is due to the influence of
« aṭh-, aḍ- » 8, is not found in Bengali.

519. *Eight*=আট « ăṭă », আঠ « ăṭhă » in eMB. and OB. (< aṭṭa-).
This word remains unchanged in compounds as « ăṭă », except in আঠার
« ăṭhără » 18, where the old aspiration is preserved. The ts. আঠ, আট « ăṭṭă,
ăṣṭă » is also common, by itself and also in the forms আঠবানী « ăṣṭă-ăśī »
88 and আটন(স্ব)ই « ăṣṭă-nă(bbă)i » 98, beside the regular tbhs. আটাশী
« ăṭăśī » and আটান(স্ব)ই « ăṭă-nă(bbă)i ».

520. *Nine*=নয় « năyă », from OB. « *năyă », and ন « nă, nă »=OB.
« năwa » mainly in compounds (OIA. nava). Oṛiyā has « nuă ». The
numeral নয় « năyă » does not occur in the decades, the nines being formed,
as in OIA., by prefixing « ūna- » (in Bengali উন « ŭnă- ». Oṛiyā « uṇă-,
ănă- ») *less* to the next ten : e.g., উনিশ « un-îśă » 19, উনসত্তর « ună-săttăr »
69, etc. Cf. « ōgaṇ- » in Gujarātī, p. 784. An exception is নিরান(স্ব)ই
« ni-r-ă-nă(bbă)i » 99, with altered vowel and intrusive « -r- ». Most NIA.
languages agree in having a corresponding compounding of *nine* and
ninety. Oṛiyā, however, has « ănĕ-sătă » (with irregular dental « -n- »).

521. *Ten*=দশ « dăśă ». The sibilant is preserved in most NIA.
except in the Western languages—Lahndī « dāh » beside « das », Sindhī
« ḍ'ahᵃ », dialectal Gujarātī « dah », and Marāṭhī « dahă »; and Sinhalese

also has « daha(ya) » beside « dasa(ya) ». In the OB. of the Caryās, we find « daśa » side by side with « daha », of which the former alone would seem to be native Māgadhī.

522. *The Tens.*

The phonology is peculiar for Bengali in two ways—by change of OIA. « -ś- » to « -h- » (which is dropped in MB.), and by that of « -d- » to « -r- »: « -daśa > *-ḍaśa, -ḍasa (cf. Aśokan duvāḍasa, paṇṇaḍasa) > -ḷasa, -lasa (cf. Jaina Ardha-māgadhī duvālasa), -rasa (as in Pali) > -raha (as in Second MIA.) ». The change of « -d- » to « -ḍ- », which could easily alter to « -ḷ-, -l- » and then « -r- », has not been satisfactorily explained. It certainly occurred in a cerebralising dialect *after* the « ḍ » in « ṣōḍaśa » altered to « ḷ, l », as this « ḍ > l » did not participate in the general change of « d > ḍ > ḷ » to « r » of « ēkāḍasa » and the rest. (Cf. Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' § 221; see *supra*, p. 488, for the cerebralisation; also p. 549 for « -ś- » > « -h- ».)

The final group « -aha » became « -ā » and then « -ā » in Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese: and this final « -ā » is also written and pronounced « -ō » in Bengali (*supra*, p. 347); but « -ahḍ » is retained in Bihārī and in Hindī. In Panjābī, it occurs as « -ā » (yārā, bārā etc.) where it is an oblique plural form used absolutely: so in Sindhī « -an » (yāraban, b'ārahan). Marāṭhī has « -ā » (akrā, bārā), which also is apparently a plural form with dropping of intervocal « -h- » (< *ěkkārahā, *bārahā ?). In Gujarātī, the group « -aha », found in Northern India, is dropped (*e.g.*, bār, tēr, caud, pandar, sōḷ, satar, aḍhār): this apparent dropping of two syllables of MIA. is strange, but it is possible that the Second MIA. source-forms of the Gujarātī tens were, not « bārasa, tērasa, cauddasa » (or « bāraha, tēraha, cauddaha ») etc., but rather « *bāras (*bārah), *tēras (*tērah), *cauddas (cauddah) » etc., with the final vowel already dropped, through an intermediate stage of « *bārasə, *tērasə, *cauddasə » (or « *bārahə, *tērahə, *cauddahə ») etc. (See *supra*, p. 752, on the probable pronunciation of genitival « -asya > -assa » as « -asə, -as » in the Malwa country in the Transitional MIA. period.) Sinhalese preserves rather archaic forms, « ekoḷosa, doḷosa, teḷesa, pahaḷosa,

solosa, satalosa, aṭalosa », where the « -ḷ- » occurs in all the numbers, and not in the form for *16* alone, as in Northern India.

In NIA. « cau(d)dah », the « -d- » is preserved by the preceding « -r- »: MIA. « caüddaha » is palpably an uncerebralised, non-Māgadhī form. The MIA. doubling is kept up in NB. চৌদ, চৌদ « caüddā, coddā », Standard Coll. [ćoddo], although we find চৌদ « caüdā » with one « -d- », (beside চৌদ « caüddā ») in the ŚKK. In Assamese চৈধ্য « caidhyā » there has been metathesis of the « -h- », aspirating the « -d- »: the « -y- » indicates only doubling.

523. *The Twenties.*

The common Bengali word for *twenty* is কুড়ি « kuṛi »= Assamese « kuri », Oṛiyā « kōṛiē », meaning *score*. Cf. Bengali এক কুড়ি « ēkā kuṛi » *one score*, but never এক বিশ « ēkā biśā ». In Western Hindī the word also occurs in the form « kōṛī », which is the earlier form (see *supra*, pp. 395-396). Gujarātī has it as « kōṭī, kuṇṭī ». Computation is, or normally used to be, by twenties in Bengal : at the present day, this is still the old-fashioned way : thus *25* = এক কুড়ি পাঁচ « ēkā kuṛi pācā » *one score and five*, *38* = এক কুড়ি আঠারো « ēkā kuṛi āṭhārō » *one score and eighteen*, *62* = তিন কুড়ি দুই « tinā kuṛi dui », *85* = চার কুড়ি পাঁচ « cārā kuṛi pācā », *100* = পাঁচ কুড়ি « pācā kuṛi », etc. Counting by twenties is also common in Assam : and the fact that the numerals for the third decade in Assamese show in their spelling চ « c » indicating the [s] pronunciation, rather than শ or স « ś, s » which would be the expected form (with normal change in pronunciation of the original sibilant to the guttural spirant [x] : একইচ, বাইচ, তেইচ, চৌবিচ, পঁচিচ, ছাব্বিচ, সাতাইচ আঠাইচ, also উনইচ « ēkāicā, [ekois], bāicā [bais], tēicā, caübicā, pācicā, chābbicā [sabbis], sātāicā, [xatais], unāicā » *21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 19*, rather than *একইশ, *বাইশ « *ēkāiśā, *bāiśā » [ekoix, baix] etc.) indicates that the forms in « -icā = -vīsa » were borrowed from some Western dialect, Maithilī or Hindī, into Assamese. In Bengali, the word বিশ « biśā » *20* is by no means common : it occurs only in a few expressions like উনিশ-বিশ « uniśā-biśā » *19 and 20 = minute distinction.* Counting by twenties is also found in Bihar, and also further west in Hindustan.

It is to be noted that the highest unit for counting among the Kōls is twenty (Santali « isI », Muṇḍārī « hIsI, IsI », Kurku « Isā » : the IA. « bIs », and « kōṛI » also are used : *hundred* is 5 × 20 = [mɔ̄ṛɛ̄ isi:] in Santali, [mɔ̄ṛɛ̄ hisi] in Muṇḍārī, « mono Isā » in Kurku, « molloi koḍI » in Savara : borrowings of the NIA. word « sai, sau < śatam» are also found). Vigesimal counting is found in many languages—*e.g.*, in Dardic (cf. Grierson, 'Piśāca Languages,' p. 37), in French. But it seems that in the case of Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, probably also in the North-Western frontier (the Dardic tract), Kōl influence was responsible for this habit of computation, rather than that counting by twenties characterised some form of OIA. The word « kō̃ṛI, kuṛi » occurs in Tamil as « kōḍI ». Although any cognate form has not been found in the Kōl speeches, it is still exceedingly likely that « kō̃ṛI, kuṛi » in its origin is a Kōl word, and not Dravidian or Aryan.

The OIA. « viṅśati » gave MIA. « vIsati (Aśōkan and Pali), vi(ṅ)saï, vIsaï, vIsaïṁ (Second MIA.) ». The Pali « vIsā, vIsa », lMIA. « vIsa » are from an OIA. « *viṅśát » on the analogy of « triṅśát, catvāriṅśát, pañcāśát » In the compounded forms, the labial « -v- » (where not doubled to « -bb- ») has been vocalised in Bengali and other Magadhan ; and besides, the vowel « -i- » has been dropped wherever suitable in Standard Bengali, but it is preserved in dialectal Bengali (as in Chittagong), in Oṛiyā, in other NIA. generally : *e.g.*, উনিশ « uniśɛ » < « *unōiśɛ, unǎiśɛ » *19*, একুশ « ēkuśɛ » < « ēkǎiśɛ, *ēkavIśa » *21*, সাতাশ « sātāśɛ » < « sātāiśɛ, *satāvIsa » *27*, etc. চব্বিশ « cǎbbiśɛ » properly for চৌব্বিশ « cōbbiśɛ » (caübbIsa, caturviṅśati) and ছাব্বিশ « chǎbbiśɛ » (< ṣaḍviṅśati », with « ch- » from the numeral for *six*) are archaic forms, influenced by Prakrit, which retain the group «-bb-» (under normal conditions expected to change to a single « -b- ».)

524. *The Thirties.*

The native *tbh.* form *তীশ *তিশ « *tIśɛ » has been supplanted in Eastern Magadhan (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā) by the *sts.* তিশ « triśɛ » or তিরিশ « tiriśɛ » ; in Assamese, as the spelling in ঃ, তিচ « triōś » = [*tris*] shows, this supplanting has been recent. In the compound numerals for the fourth decade, the *tbh.* « *tIśɛ » is frequently *heard* in

Bengali : *e.g.*, বত়ীস « bàttîsǎ » *32*, ছত়ীস « chǎttîsǎ » *36*, etc. (beside the more common বত়িস « bàtrîsǎ », ছত়িস «chǎtrîsǎ » etc.) : cf. OB. « batîsa, batîsa » (Caryās 17, 27), MB. চৌতিস « càutîsǎ » (see *supra*, p. 228); Assamese « bàtîsǎ » = [botixa] ; and Oṛiyā preserves in the *tbh.* « -tîsǎ » side by side with the *sts.* « -tirîsǎ » in the fourth decade.

The « -r- » forms of Gujarātī (trîs, trîś) and Panjābī (trî, trîh) may be due to the numeral for *three* (traṇ, trai). Sindhī has « ṭîhᵃ ». Other NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī, Marāṭhī, keep to the *tbh.* « tîs » (Sinhalese « tiha, tisa »).

525. *The Forties.*

Forty is চল়িস or চাল়িস « càllîsǎ, cāllîsǎ », sometimes চালিস « cālîsǎ » = « catvāriṅśat ». The last form with one « -l- » is the genuine *tbh.* form : this single « -l- » is found as the cerebral « -ḷ- » in other NIA. The doubling of the « -l- » is quite optional even now, and is apparently recent in Bengali, absent as it is in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in other NIA. The change of « -r- » to « -ḷ-, -l- » in this word shows that it is Prācya or eastern in origin (< cattālîsa), but it spread all over the NIA. area. The group « -tvā- » > Early MIA. « -ttā- » has been dropped as in «cāri » *4*, but Sinhalese preserves the dental (« hataḷiha=sataḷisa < MIA. cattāḷisa » : there is also « sāḷisa », which is late). The dropping of the « -tt- » is already found in Second MIA., in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. In the compound forms for the fifth decade, « -c- » remains in একচাল়িস or চাল়িস or চল়িস « ēkǎ-cāl(l)îsǎ, -càllîsǎ » *41*, (c)ছচল়িস « chēcàllîsǎ, chā- » *46*, সাতচল়িস « sātǎ-càllîsǎ » *47*, and আটচল়িস « āṭǎ-càllîsǎ » *48*; it is dropped in বিয়াল়িস « biyāllîsǎ » *49* (< « *bǎyālîsǎ » etc.: cf. Oṛiyā « bǎyāḷîsǎ »)   and চুয়াল়িস « cuàllîsǎ » *44* (< « *cō-ālîsǎ, *cau-āḷîsa) ; and it is altered to « -t- » in তেতাল়িস « tē-tāllîsǎ » *43* and পঁয়তাল়িস « pǎyǎ-tāllîsǎ » *45*. In Māgadhī, we would expect the « -c- » to remain (see *supra*, p. 468). The form « -tālîsǎ » is found in other NIA., and it is obscure : can it be due to some dialectal shortening of « cattālîsa », through loss of the initial syllable ?

526. *The Fifties.*

. For *49* and *50*, we have পঞ্চাশ and উনপঞ্চাশ, ‡ উনপঞ্চাশ « pàñcāsǎ, unǎ(pǎ)ñcāsǎ », where the full « ñ » is due to *ts.* influence (see p. 789). In the compound forms OIA. « -pañcāsat » occurs as পন্ন পাঁন, অন পান « -pǎnnǎ

> -pānnā, -ānnā, -ānnā », dialectally পন « -pānḍ », with one « -n- », in Bengali. The forms of dialectal Bengali, of Oṛiyā (*e.g.*, « ěkābānā, bābānā, tēpānā, chāppānā » etc.), of Assamese (*e.g.*, « bāuwān ; cāuwan ; sātāwān » etc. beside « bāuwānnā, cāuwānnā, sātānnā »), of Maithilī (ekāwan, bāwan, tirpan, cāuwan, pacpan » etc.), of Hindōstānī, and of other NIA. speeches would show that the double « -nn- » is a late development within Standard Bengali itself. OIA. « pañcāsat » in the form « *pannāsa > *pannāha > pannā », already found in the Eastern speech of Aśōkan, became established in some standard form of Early MIA. In Second MIA., it occurs as « paṇṇāsaṁ, paṇṇāsā, paṇṇā, -paṇṇaṁ, -vaṇṇaṁ » (in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. The contraction of « -āsat » to « -āsa, * āha > -ā, -aṁ » thus occurred already fairly early in Prācya (Western Prācya): although the change « -ñc- > -nn- » is inexplicable for this dialect. The change seems to have been through « *pañjāsat, pannāha » (see *supra*, p. 789), and not through « *pañcāsāt, *pañcsat, *pañcat », as Pischel suggests ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 445, p. 317). The NIA. « -pan, -wan » in composition comes from this contracted MIA. « -pannaṁ, -wannaṁ », Aśōkan « -pannā » : the uncontracted form of MIA., *viz.* « -pannāsa, *-pannāha » would have given NIA. « *panā », in composition « *-wanā », which is not found.

In Bengali বাৱান « bāhānnā » *52* we have euphonic « h » (p. 341 ; for « *bāwānḍ, bāwānā », cf. Oṛiya « bābānā »). In তিৱান « tippānnā » *53* the doubling is due either to the influence of চাৱান « chāppānnā », or to the Hindōstānī *sts.*, with « r » — « tirpan », by assimilation in Bengali of the « -r- » with the following consonant (see *supra*, p. 541): the native Bengali form, now obsolete, seems to have been like the Oṛiyā « tēpānā ». A form তিৱান or তেৱান « tiyānnā, tēyānnā », also native Bengali, occurs. চুৱান « cuānnā » *54* is for « *cō-ānḍ, *cāu-ānḍ » : cf. Assamese « cāu-wān ». The dialectal পাঁচপন « pāc̣ḍ-pānḍ » (Central and East Bengal) represents the genuine Bengali form, and not the Standard পঞ্চান « pañcānnā ». The other numerals show no anomaly, except the doubling of the « -n- ».

527. *The Sixties.*

The word for *sixty* is ষাট = « ṣāṭḍ » in Standard Bengali, ষাইট « ṣāiṭḍ » বাট « ṣāḷṭ » in Eastern and other dialectal Bengali, = Assamese « ṣāṭhi »,

Oṛiyā « ṣāṭhiē », and it is regularly derived from OIA. « ṣaṣṭi ». The form with *ḻ*, নাই « ṣāṭhḻ » is also found. In the compound numerals, in Bengali the ট « -ṭ- » is doubled: একষট্টি « ēk-ṣāṭṭi » *61,* বাষট্টি « bā-ṣāṭṭi » *62,* পাঁষট্টি « pāyṣ-ṣāṭṭi » *65* etc. Oṛiyā has the *tbh.* form « -ṣaṭhi ». The final « -i » in the compound forms, again, is anomalous: contrast উনষাট « unā-ṣāṭḻ » *59,* with proper loss of final « -i » (see *supra,* pp. 307 ff).

528. *The Seventies.*

OIA. « saptati » certainly first changed to « *saptaṭi » by spontaneous ceberalisation, and then in MIA. (as the source of the NIA. forms) to « *sattaṭi, *sattaḍi, sattari » quite early. In Pali occur both « sattati » and « sattari ». It is very likely that there was the influence of « sattaraha »= « sapta-daśa » in bringing about the change of the « -t- > -ṭ- > -ḍ- » to « -r- ». The double « -tt- » is anomalous for Bengali; it is found also in Bihārī, in Hindī, in Marāṭhī. It is quite normal in Panjābī, and the double « -tt- » may have been imposed from the Panjab dialects on Hindī and on the rest. Gujarātī has one « -t- » (agṇōtēr=*69,* sitēr=*70,* ikōtēr=*71,* b[ō]hōtēr=*72,* etc.). It would seem from the Oṛiyā and Assamese forms that in East Magadhan at least, the normal NIA. form with one « -t- » was the rule. But Bengali (in common with the Bihārī dialects) seems to have adopted the Western forms in « -tt- ». In compound forms, « sattari » changes to « -hattari » in most NIA. This, again, seems not to have characterised Magadhan, at least East Magadhan: the sibilant is preserved as a sibilant in Oṛiyā (unā-stōri, ēkā-stōri, bā-stōri, etc.), and undergoes the normal change to [x] in Assamese, although written স « s » (bā-sātār, tē-sātār, cāu-sātār etc.): cf. also Bengali উনসত্তর « unā-sāttarḻ » *69,* with the sibilant and not « *unā(-h)āttarḻ ». Bengali thus in all likelihood agreed with its immediate sisters Assamese and Oṛiyā in having « -s- » and single « -t- » throughout in the eighth decade. The « -h- » (in what may be called the Western, non-Māgadhī or 'new forms' for the eighth decade of Bengali) is preserved in dialectal Bengali, *e.g..* ‡ « ēkā-hāttarḻ, pācā-hāttarḻ, sātā-hāttarḻ, āṭā-hāttarḻ », but in the Standard Colloquial it is dropped as an intervocal sound, except in বাহাত্তর « bāhāttarḻ » *72.*

529. *The Eighties.*

The OIA. « aśīti » quite regularly gives পানী « āśī » in Bengali, with change of initial « ă- » to « ā- » (see *supra* p. 314). The doubling of the « -s- » in Panjābī and Hindōstānī « assī » is peculiar, and seems to have originated in the Panjab: it was this doubling which possibly preserved it from changing to « -h- » in the Panjab dialects (cf. OIA. « kŗtá, *dită, pītá » > « *kitta-, *ditta-, *pitta- » > Panjābī « kītă, dittă, pītă »). The Sinhalese « asū, asūva », with intervocal sibilant preserved, would seem to be based on a MIA. « *ass- » rather than on « as- » (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen,' § 21, 22). The Sindhī « āsī » would equally be based on an earlier « *assī ». It seems that a form with doubled « -s- » characterised the IA. speeches of the North-West and the South-West from MIA. times: « *assīi(ṁ) »; and it is also extremely likely that there was a nasalised form of it, « *aṅsīi(ṁ) » (through spontaneous nasalisation: see *supra*, pp. 368 ff.), which gave by epenthesis the Marăṭhī « aiśī, ēśī » and Gujarātī « śī, hēśī » (cf. Old Western Rājasthānī « aïsi »: L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 80).

In the compound forms, Panjābī and Hindōstānī show an intrusive « -r- » in « ti-r-āśī », which is apparently due to the analogy of « curāśī », where it is original (= catur-aśīti). Bengali has this « -r- » form, তিরাশী (by Vowel Harmony তিরেশী, ‡ তিরিশি) « tirāśī, tirēśī, ‡ tiriśi »; and the « -r- » has been further extended to বিরাশী, বিরেশী, ‡ বিরিশি, « birāśī> birēśī, ‡ biriśi ». Maithilī also has « bĕrāśī » beside « bĕśāśī ». The « -r- » forms for *82, 83* do not seem to be proper for Māgadhī, but rather due to Western influence: cf. Oŗiyā « bāyāśī, tēyāśī », but চুরাশী « curāśī » *84* is quite proper (« cōrāśī < *caūr-āśī »). For *89*, Bengali has a contracted উনাশী « unāśī » beside a fuller উনআশী « unā-āśī ».

530. *The Nineties.*

The word for *ninety* has two forms: নৈ « nái », and নব্বই, নব্বুই « nábbāi, nābbui ». The former is the native Māgadhī form: OIA. « navati > *navaï > *naaï > *nawaï > nắi > nái », Assamese « nái ». The second one with geminated « -bb- » is not genuine Bengali: cf. Hindī « nawĕ, nawwĕ », Panjābī « nabbĕ, nawwĕ », Sindhī « navĕ <

*navvaï », Marāṭhī « navvad » with MIA. « -d- » preserved (< *navvaddi ?). Bihārī « nabbāi », Oriyā « nåbē < *nabbaï » are similar Western forms. In Pali, the form is « navuti »; and the Ardha-māgadhī « naüiṁ » and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « naül » are based on an Early MIA. form with « -u- » like the Pali one. Gujarātī « nēvŭ » and Sinhalese « anū(va) » alone represent these attested MIA. forms in « -u- ».

As in the case of the *Eighties*, we find the intrusive « -r- » in বিয়ান(ব্ব)ই » bi-r-ā-nå(bbā)i » *92*, তিয়ান(ব্ব)ই « ti-r-ā-nå(bb)āi » *93*, নিয়ান(ব্ব)ই « ni-r-ā-nå(bbā)i » *99*, on the model apparently of চুয়ান(ব্ব)ই « curå-nå(bbå)i » *94* (caturnavati). On the analogy of the « -ā- » in the *Eighties* (ēkāśī < ēkāśīti, pācāśī < pañcāśīti, sātāśī < saptāśīti, aṭāśī < aṣṭāśīti), the *Nineties* all over the NIA. area show an intrusive « -ā- »: একান(ব্ব)ই « ēk-ā-nå(bbå)ı » Marāṭhī « ekyānnav » *91*, Hindī « nawānawē » Gujarātī « nayānŭ » *99*, etc.

531. *Hundred* is শ' « så, sō », in combination generally pronounced « sō » (*e.g.*, একশ [æk∫o], সওয়াসো [∫oōa∫o]=*125*, দুসো [du∫o], পাঁচশ [pɑ∫∫o] etc.): a regular development out of OIA. « śata- » (śaa, OB. *śawa, MB. *så). Oriyā is also « så », and Assamese [xɔ:]. The diphthongal forms « sai, sau » (< saẏa, sawa) as in Bihārī, Hindī and Panjābī are now unknown to Bengali, as also the nasalised forms as in Marāṭhī (śẽ) and Gujarātī (sõ), preserving the « anusvāra » of MIA. (pp. 358-359, *supra*). The form শয় « såyå » = « sai » of Hindī etc., however, occurred in Early Bengali : thus in the proverbial lines—

<div align="center">

নরা গজা বিশে শয়। তার অর্ধেক বাঁচে হয় ॥

বাইশ বলদা, তের ছাগলা। গুণে গেছে বরা পাগলা ॥

« narå gåjå biśē såyå, tårå årdhēkå bãcē håyå ;

bāïså bålådā, tērå chāgålā : guṇē gēchē Bårå pågålā »
</div>

A man, and an elephant, hundred and twenty; half of that lives a horse ;

An ox twenty-two, a goat thirteen : so has computed the mad-cap Barū (= Varāha-mihira),

where বিশ শয় « biśē såyå »=*hundred with twenty* (« biśē »=either « biś-ā » by Vowel-Harmony, or « biś-iyā », adjective from « biśå » *20*, with « -ā »

affix, p. 658 *supra*, or « -iyā » affix, p. 674), is an idiom corresponding to the Hindōstānī « bīsā sau » (J. T. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53). The form « sau » also occurred in OB : cf. Mayang (of Manipur) « ăk-hau-gō » *hundred*, where « hau » < « sau ».

532. The word for *thousand* is a Persian borrowing, হাজার « hājār » (< hazār, Avestan hazaṇra), in Assamese « hēzār », which has superseded the native word (from OIA. « sahasra ») in all NIA. Was it because the native IA. word had fallen into disuse in the spoken forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. when the Persian language came into India with the Turkī and Tājīk invaders ? It is not unlikely that a composition like « daśa-śata » had restricted or made obsolete the single word « sahasra > sahassa, śahaśśa » etc. in IA., making it possible for the Persian « hazār » to meet the want of a single term in the popular language. The Sinhalese « dahasa » *1,000*, which seems to be better explained as a composition of « daśa+śata » rather than as a modification of « sahasa=sahasra » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 222), and the use of « das sau » for *1,000*, etc. in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53) and in other NIA. would support this assumption. The native Indian (*tbh.*) word seems to be present in a few compounds, *e.g.*, সাসসমাল « śāśś-māl̤ » *a surname* (= sahasra-malla ?), সাহসরাম « sāhās̤-rām̤ » *a personal name* (= « sahasra-rāma » ?: the *ts.* form is also found as a name).

533. For *100,000*, লাখ « lākh̤ » < « lakṣa » is native Indian. For *10,000,000* the word is কোটি, কোটী « kōṭī, kōṭi », of unknown origin, which occurs also in Sanskrit. The forms কোড়, কোড়া « krōṛ̤, krōṛ̤ » (= Anglo-Indian *crore*) are in common use in Bengali : the corresponding form in Hindī is « karōṛ »: « krōṛ̤, karōṛ = krōḍa » seems to be a false Sanskritisation of a vernacular « *kōḍa, kōḍi » agreeing with the *ts.* « kōṭi »: cf. Caryā 2, « koḍi-mājhē ēku-hiahī » *among ten millions, in the heart of one only*. In the feeling of Bengali speakers, « krōṛ̤ » is the more learned form, a better Sanskrit word than « kōṭi »: we find it in compounds like কোড়পতি, কোড়েশ্বর « krōṛ̤-pāti, krōṛ̤eśwār̤ » etc., side by side with কোটিপতি, কোটীশ্বর « kōṭi-pāti, kōṭīśwār̤ ».

534. *The Fractional Numbers.*

The following are common to all NIA., and are easily explained.
(Cf. S. K. Chatterji ' Prācīn Bāṅgalā "āhuṭha, āuṭa " Ō Sārddha-saṅkhyā-
bācak Śabdābalī ' in the VSPdP., 1330, pp. 113-117).

¼ : পো, পোষা, পোয়া « pō, pōā » < MIA. « pāwa-, pāa- », OIA. « pāda- »
The change of « -āwa- » to « -ō- » is against the general phonetic develop-
ment of this group in Bengali: see *supra*, pp. 349-350 : the form
expected should have been « *pā » : cf. Oṛiyā « pā » *quarter*, « pāō » *one
quarter* (cf. also Bengali পাই « pāi » *pie, pice* = « pādikā »). This alteration
certainly indicates extraneous influence (cf. Hindī « pāw »; cf. also Bengali
conjunction তো « tō » = MIA. « tāva », OIA. « tāvat »).

½ : the common Bengali word is আধ « ādha » *half*, আধা « ādhā » *half
portion*, Oṛiyā « ādha » *half*, « ādhē » *one-half*; OB. « adha=ādha » : <
OIA. « ardha ». The absence of cerebralisation (we would expect « -rdh- » to
change to « -ḍḍh- ») shows that it is a non-Māgadhī form. The native
Māgadhī equivalent seems to occur as আড় « āṛ » in a number of compounds,
e.g., আড়-পাগল « āṛ-pāgal » *half-mad*, আড়-বাঁকা « āṛ-bākā » *half aslant*,
আড়-মাদল « āṛ-mādal » *half-drum shaped, not fully oblong*, আড়ে গেলা
« āṛē gēlā » *swallow half chewed*; cf. besides দেড় « dēṛ » 1½, সাড়ে « sāṛē »
plus half, আড়াই « āṛāi » 2½. The Gujarātī « aṛdhō » ½ is peculiar, and
may be a blend of « aḍḍha » and « addha ».

⅓ : তেহাই « tēhāi » (tri-bhāgika) : rather archaic.

1½ : দেড় « dēṛ », earlier « dēṛha » as in Oṛiyā, = MIA. (Māgadhī)
« diaḍḍha », OIA. « dvyardha ». Colloquially, we find occasionally
দেঢ় « dēṛ » in Bengali, and there are forms in other NIA. also which
show cerebralisation of the initial dental: *e.g.,* Hindī « ḍēr(h) » beside
ḍaurhā, ḍōṛhā », Panjābī « ḍērh, ḍeōṛhā, dūrhā, ḍūrh » beside « dōṛhā ».

2½ : আড়াই « āṛāi », Oṛiyā « aṛhāi » (with earlier « -ṛh- »), = MIA.
« aḍ hatiya » (cf. Aśōkan « aḍhatiya » : Sahasram), a true Māgadhī form
showing also haplology of « -t- » < OIA « ardha-tṛtīya ». A MIA. form
« *aḍḍha-titīya » gave Gujarātī « aṛī, haṛī »; and the Marāṭhī « aḍic »
represents another (Early) MIA. form like « *aḍḍha-titiyya » (= Second
MIA. « *aḍḍha-iijja », whence « *aḍḍhijja > *aḍhīja > aḍic »).

3¼ : Early MB. আহুঠ « âhuṭhâ » (as in the ŚKK., pp. 55, 153), Late MB. আঊঠ « âuṭâ, âuṭâ » : from OIA. « ardha-caturtha », through MIA. « *aḍḍha-catuṭṭha > *aḍḍha-yaduṭṭha > *aḍḍha-aüṭṭha > aḍḍh'uṭṭha »; then by dissimilation of one the cerebral groups, « *ahuṭṭha », and finally « âhuṭha » in OB. (The form « aḍḍhuṭṭha » occurs in Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī, and it has been falsely Sanskritised into « adhyuṣṭa »). This word has now become obsolete in Bengali, but its cognate forms are found in the Bihārī dialects, in Hindī, and in other NIA. (Cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 413-416; Kellogg, Hindī Grammar², pp. 159, 161).

Plus ¼ : সওয়া « sâôâ, sâwâ », Oriyā « sâuyâ=sâuâ » : < MIA. « savâa- » =OIA. « sapâda- ». It is an adjective, found in all other NIA. (Hindī adjective « sawâ´ »=« sapâda », noun « sawâī »=« sapâdikâ »).

Plus ½ : সাড়ে « sâṛē », also in Oriyā; = Hindī « sāṛhē ». From OIA. « sārdha- » > MIA. (Māgadhī) « *śaḍḍha- », NIA. « sāḍha- ». The absence of the « -ṛh- » in Oriyā shows that it is not a native form of it. « sāṛhē » is an oblique or plural form, < « *saḍḍhahi » : cf. also Gujarātī « sārā », the expected singular nominative form of which would have been « *sāṛō ».

A quarter less : পৌনে « pâunē »; also « pâunē » in Oriyā. The source is OIA. « pādōna- » *a quarter less*. The alteration of « -ādō- » > MIA. « -āô- » to « -âu- » (cf. p. 351 *supra*), and the presence in the Oriyā form of the dental « -n- » instead of the expected cerebral « -ṇ- », indicate that the word is not proper Bengali and Oriyā, or Eastern Magadhan. « pâunē » is an adjective, qualifying the number following it, which is reduced by a quarter: পৌনে দুই « pâunē dui »=*2 minus* ¼=1¾; পৌনে আট « pâunē âṭ »=7¾ ; etc. Its use with এক « ēk » is recent, and is found to denote only the hour, *e.g.*, পৌনে একটা « pâunē ēkâṭâ » *quarter to one*. The « -ē » in « pâunē » seems to be the plural « -ahi » (*supra*, p. 724): cf. also Gujarātī « pōnō » ¾, but « pōnā bē » 1¾, with « -ā » indicating plural. For ¾, the native Bengali is তিন পৌ(আ) « tin-pō(â) » = Oriyā « tini pâ ».

535. Adjectives are not declined in Bengali, although in the oldest period we find concord between a subject and its predicate (adjective or verb) in so far as the latter takes up the feminine affix if the former is feminine (see *supra*, p. 721). In the Caryās, however, we find that the numerals

sometimes take case-affixes corresponding to the nouns they qualify: *e.g.*, « tiniĕ pāṭĕ » (see *supra*, p. 743); « ĕkĕ śara-sandhānĕ » *with one aiming of the arrow* (Caryā 28) ; « daśam-i duāra-ta » *in the tenth door* (Caryā 2).

536. *The Ordinals.*

The use of the *tbh.* ordinal forms has been greatly curtailed in Bengali. They are now restricted, to indicate the days of the months, and besides occur in one or two stereotyped expressions. The *ts.* ordinals have entirely replaced them in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and these have found a permanent place in the Colloquial also. As there is no native affix in living use to form ordinals, and as *tbh.* ordinals beyond *32* (the largest number of days for a month) are not much used, the language is helpless in expressing ideas like *84th* or *105th*, and must borrow Skt. words—unfamiliar-looking enough for Bengali—like « caturaśīti-tama » and « pañca-viṅśaty-adhika-śata-tama ». It has been sought to naturalise the Skt. affix « -tama » in Bengali, by using it with *tbh.* numerals (*e.g.*, চুরাশী-তম « curāśī-tāmă » *84th*, এক-শ-পঁচিশ-তম « ĕkă-śă-pãciśă-tămă » *105th*), but such hybrids are extremely artificial, and have not succeeded.

In the Colloquial, however, the *genitive of the cardinal* numeral expresses its ordinal.: *e.g.*, দশের পাতা « dăśĕră pātā » *the tenth page.* Also the word qualified by the cardinal is put in the genitive in a cumbrous construction in some cases, as follows : the cardinal numeral + the word in the genitive + the word itself : *e.g.*, ষাট দিনের দিন « ṣāṭă dinĕră dină » *the sixtieth day*, তিন-শ বারের বার « tin-śăbārĕră bără » *the 300th occasion* ; etc.

The Forms for the Ordinals occurring in Bengali are :

First = NB. পহলা < পহেলা « păyălā < păhĕlā », MB. OB. « pahila- » (cf. Caryās 12, 20). The source of this form, which occurs in all NIA., is an OIA. « pra-tha+-ila », becoming in MIA. « *paṭhilla, *pathilla > *paḍhilla, *pahilla ». The Skt. « prathama » is a blend of « pra-tama » (cf. Avestan fratəma) and « pra-tha » (with ordinal « -tha », as in « catur-tha, ṣaṣ-ṭha, sapta-tha »). Equivalents of « prathama », as well as of an elaborate « prathama+ila » occur in the Prakrits. The Bengali form « pahila » is non-Māgadhī in origin, as shown by the absence of cerebralisation.

Second, Third. The Bengali words in use are দোসরা and তেসরা « dōs₄rā, tēs₄rā », which are probably new Magadhan formations with the cardinal bases *plus* an affix « sar-ā » (No. 57, p. 700). The OIA. forms were « dvitīya (dvitya) » and « tṛtīya ». The former apparently gave (i) a MIA. « *dutiyya, *duijja, *du(y)ajja », whence we have the Early Bengali দুঅজ (ŚKK.)> দোঅব > দোব « duₐjₐ > dōyₐjₐ> dōjₐ » and Hindi « dūj »; and (ii) a MIA. « biiyya, biijja », whence Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « bīj »; besides (iii) the form « docca, ducca » (< dvitya), which is not represented in NIA. The latter (i.e. the OIA. « tṛtīya ») through MIA. « *titiyya, tiijja, *ti(y)ajja » gave Bengali তিঅব (ŚKK.) > তেব « tiₐjₐ, tējₐ », besides Hindi, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « tīj ». The change of « -īya » to « ijja, -yajja, -aja « (through a doubling of « -y- »), which first took place in Early MIA.), is not Prācya, or Saurasēnī: at least it is certainly non-Magadhan (see *supra*, p. 476). In Bengali দুঅব, তিঅব occur in the ŚKK., but they were replaced by *tss.* « dvitīya, tṛtīya », except in the expressions দোব-ব'রে, < তেব-ব'রে « dōjₐ-bārē, tējₐ-bārē < bār-iₐ »=*a bride-groom for the second and third time.*

Fourth : চোথা « cauthā » (by Vowel Harmony চোথো « cauthō »), MB. (ŚKK.) চউঠ « cauṭha- »; in (Saurasēnī) Apabhraṁśa as written in Bengal, it occurs as « cauṭhṭha = cauṭṭha » (cf. 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha, p. 117 of 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā'). In Maithilī also we have « cauṭh ». The cerebral « -ṭh- » indicates that it is derived from a Māgadhī « *cauṭṭha, caduṭṭha' » < « catuṭṭha < caturtha ». Other NIA. speeches show the un-cerebralised « cauth », and Bengali has borrowed this form (চৌথ « cauthₐ ») from Hindōstānī and Marāṭhī, meaning the *fourth part of a sum of money in a transaction,* and *a fourth of the revenue.*

Upto the ordinal for *4,* NB. shows diverse ordinal affixes, « -tha + ila; -sara; -tha »; *plus* the definitive or adjectival « -ā » affix (No. 6, p. 658). For the ordinals for *5* to *18,* we have a generalised OIA. ordinal affix « -ma » + NIA. « -i > -ī > -ikā, -ika ». Thus *fifth* is পাঁচুই < *পাঁচই « pācui < *pācₐī » < « *pañcamikā, -ikā » for OIA. « pañca-ma »; *sixth*= ছউই < *ছঅই, *ছঅই « chāui < *chāₐī, *chaₐaī » < MIA. « *chaamia < chaamikā » (« chā + ma » for « ṣaṣ-ṭha » of Skt.); *seventh* = সাতুই < *সাতই

« sātui < *sātāi » < MIA. « sattamika », for Skt. « sapta-ma »; so to
বাঠারই < *বাঠারই « āṭhārui < *āṭhārāi » *eighteenth*, representing a MIA.
« *aṭṭhārasamika » (cf. Pali « aṭṭhārasama » = Skt. « aṣṭādaśā »: the
Skt. in the ordinals from *11th* to *19th* simply shifts the accent to the last
syllable, « -daśā », which takes the masculine, feminine and neuter affixes
as an adjective). The ordinal « -ma » (> Late MIA « -wa ») has lost its
nasalisation in Standard Bengali, except in ছউই « chāui » *sixth* : in Hindōstānī
the nasal is retained as « -wā (= wā) »; and the nasal also is found in other
NIA., either as « -m- » or as a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

From *19* onwards, the affix is ইয়া « -iyā », contracted to এ « -ē »,
an adjectival form (= No. 26, p. 674): thus * উনিশিয়া, উনিশে « *uniśiyā
> uniśē », dialectal উনইশয়া « unāiśyā » *19th*; so পঁচিশে « pãciśē » *25th*,
চল্লিশে « cãlliśē » *40th*. Indication of the ordinals by a definite affix is
exceedingly rare beyond the fourth decade.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRONOUN

537. The Pronoun in Bengali takes the same case affixes and post-positions as the Noun, but it has, unlike the Noun, a definite oblique form to which the affixes and post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive, as in Late MIA. There has also been an extension of the new genitive in « -ra » to form a new oblique or plural in MB. and NB.

[A] The Pronoun for the First Person.

538. OIA. « aham » *I* was extended to « *aha-ka-m » with the pleonastic « -ka- », and in 'Old Māgadhī' « ahakaṁ » was the word for *I*. Aśvaghōṣa employs it in the 'Old Māgadhī' of his dramas (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 36). In the Prakrit (Māgadhī) of 'Bhāsa,' the form is « ahakē », with the characteristic Māgadhī affix « -ē » (Sukthankar, 'Studies in Bhāsa,' JAOS., Vol. 40, pp. 248-259); and « ahakē » occurs in the Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period, as in other Skt. dramas, as « bakē, hagē » and « haggē », the last being certainly an emphatic form. The loss of the initial syllable is at least as old as the 3rd century B.C., long before the time of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa. In the eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, we have · hakaṁ »: so that « ahakaṁ, ahakē » in the former writers, and « ahayaṁ < ahakaṁ » in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī would appear to be literary and archaic forms. By 300 A.D., it would appear that two forms were to be found in Māgadhī, « hakaṁ (*hagaṁ), hakē (hagē) » for the OIA. « aham ». Against these, New Bengali shows nothing. But in the Old Bengali of the Caryās, there is the form « hāu » = *I*, apparently for « *hāu, *haū », which occurs four times : « tu lō ḍōmbī, hāu kapālī » *thou, oh, (art) a Ḍōm woman, (while) I (am) a Kāpālika* (Caryā 10) ; « hāu sutēli » *I slept* (18) ; « hāu nirāsī » *I am 'Sans-Esperance'* (20) ; and « hāu acchilē ' (= *āchilō? *āchila ?) »

I was (35). OB. « bǎu » can be compared with Gujarātī « hū » and Brajbhākhā « bāu » *I*. Of the two Māgadhī forms « hakaṁ, hakē », the former can only give OB. « bǎu » (see *supra*, p. 359); while the latter could be represented in OB. only by a form « *haï, *hai » (< *haě < hagē). It is just possible that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, « *hai » was current, side by side with « *haü ». The nasalised form, however, ousted the other one, and in the struggle the former was in all likelihood strengthened by Western Apabhraṁśa which also had « haü ». At the same time « *haï » itself may have influenced the formation of the verb substantive first person — « asmi, *asāmi > *asami > *ahimi > *ahiẅi > *haïwi > *haī > haï », and of the affix « -i » for the first person present of the verb. By initial stress, however, Māg. Ap. « *hǎü » could become « bǎu » in OB.

In MB., « bǎu » as the old nominative fell out of use, and the old instrumental took its place: but « bǎu » seems to have (given or at least influenced) the affix for the first person to the bases for the past and future tenses of the verb in Bengali and Assamese (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes').

539. The OIA. instrumental « mayā » occurs in Second MIA. as « maě, maï », in (Western) Apabhraṁśa as « maī ». The nasalisation in Apabhraṁśa (also preserved in NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī and Panjābī « maī », Gujarātī « mě », Sindhī « mū ») would indicate an influence from the instrumental affix for the noun (-ěṇa > -ě̃: maī < *may'ěna = mayā). The OB. equivalent is « maï » (= ? « maī »: the nasalisation can well be omitted in Bengali writing, see *supra* p. 362), which is found in Caryās 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 35 (thrice), 36, 39 ; and a contracted form « ma » also occurs (Caryās 10, 13). This is as yet instrumental in OB., being used in the passive construction with the past or future (iu « -il-, -ib- ») of a transitive verb: *e.g.*, Caryā 35—

    « ěta-kāla bǎu acchilě (= āchilō? āchila?) sva-mōhě:
      ěbě maï bujhila   sadguru-bōhě »

For such a long time I was in my own ignorance:
Now by me it has been understood through the good master's instruction.

The nominative « hāu », however, became obsolete, and the instrumental « mai (maī) » assumed its function. The confusion between the active and passive constructions, with gradual disuse of the latter, was both a cause and an effect of the interchange of the instrumental and the nominative, or of the use of the former for the latter (see also pp. 166, 742).

The oblique base « mō » (see below, § 541), with the instrumental « -ē » from the noun gave a new instrumental « mōē, mōē », which is found as early as OB.: cf. Caryā 10, « tōhōra antare mōē ghalili hāḍeri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast off by me.* This quite early became confused with « mai (maī) »; and « mōē, mai » in MB. occur in a bewildering variety of spellings (see § p. 811) as forms of practically one word.

In NB., this instrumental-nominative is found as मूइ « mui » (= Assamese « mãi », Oṛiyā « mũ »; it occurred in Bihārī as « mẽ », but there it is now obsolete). The Bengali মুই « mui » is almost archaic, and then it is found only among certain lower classes in different parts of Bengal: consequently it is considered as a vulgar form now (cf. the phrase তুই-মুই করা « tui-mui kārā » = *use insulting or inferior language,* which does not have the sense of affectionate intimacy indicated by the French « tutoyer »).

540. The ordinary form for *I* is আমি « āmi » which was originally the plural of « hāū, maī ». It comes from a common MIA. « amhē » = OIA. (Vedic) « asmē » for « vayam »: « asmē > *ămhē > *ămhi, *ămbhi > *ămhi, *ămbhi »: the NB. equivalent of which ought to be *আম « ām », with loss of final « -i » (see *supra,* § 151: we have « -ām » no doubt as an affix for the verb, where, however, there was influence of other forms: see *infra,* under Verb: 'Personal Affixes'). In the Caryās, we find « āmhē, āhmē, ăhmē (= ămhē), ămbhē »: thus, Caryā 4 « ahmē bīrā » = Skt. comm. « vīrō ' ham » (properly = « vīrāḥ vayam »); « āmhē sāṇē diṭhā » = « asmābhiḥ saṁjñayā dṛṣṭam » (Caryā 1); « āhmē dēhũ » = *I give,* lit. *we give* (Caryā 19): « ambhē na jāṇähũ » *we know not* (Caryā 22). The form in « -i » is not found in the Caryās, although the MIA. « amhē » is expected

to give « *āmhi » in OB. : and it is seen, the form in « -ē » is used both for the nominative and the instrumental. In the ŚKK., we have both আমি, আমি « āhmi, -i=āmhi » (only 6 times) and আমে, আমে « āhmē, -ē= āmhē » (some 30 times) : and there is not the least distinction between the two forms. The group « -hm-=mh » represents an aspirated « -m- », an inheritance from MIA. which continued down to Early MB. times, to lose its aspiration by the 16th century. Oṛiyā has only the « -ē » form, « āmbhē ». The « -ē » form would seem to represent the Late MIA. instrumental : « asmābhiḥ > *amhaī > « āmhē, āmbhē » ; and the « -i » form, the original nominative (see *supra*, p. 309). But already from before OB. times, there was a confusion between them, with the result that « -ē » practically ousted the « -i » in OB. and MB., (as we can see from OB., and from the preponderance of « -ē » forms in the ŚKK., as well as from Oṛiyā), but later this « -ē » itself seems to have become « -i » or to give place to the latter.

The transference of « āmhi, āmhē » from plural to singular took place in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. It became identical with « māi, mui, mōē » etc. in Early MB. Doubtless, the plural when first used for the singular was characteristic of polite or formal speech : cf. Oṛiyā « mū » inferior, and « āmbhē » polite, formal, and respectful. The old plural sense of « āmi » is still preserved in Assamese, where « āmi » always = *we*, never = *I*. Cf. also Western Hindī « haũ » (Brajbhākhā), « maĩ » (Hindōs-tānī and Brajbhākhā), plural « ham » ; Gujarātī « hũ », plural « amē » ; Panjābī « maĩ », plural « as(s)ī » ; Marāṭhī « mī », plural « āmhī » : which still continue faithful to the OIA. in point of number. The Bihārī dialects have now made the original singular obsolete, the plural « ham » being the one used for *I*. The proper plural use of « āmi » however is occa-sionally found in MB., as late as the 16th century : *e.g.*, in the '« Caitanya-Bhāgavata » of Vṛndāvana-dāsa, we find forms like আমি দুই পাতকীর « āmi dui pātākīr » *of us two sinners*, আমার উদ্ধারে « āmār uddhārē » *through our salvation*, আমি দ্রোহ কৈলূ « āmi drōha kāilū » *we did offence* (p. 258, ed. Atul Kṛṣṇa Gōswāmī).

541. মুই, আমি « mui, āmi » are the nominative forms of Bengali, and their history is given above. There are the oblique forms মো « mō- »

and বাবা « āmā- », to which the inflections and post-positions (accusative-dative « -ē », « -rē », « -kē », genitive « -rǝ », locative « -tē », instrumental « dwārā, diyā » etc.) are added to form the various cases. « mō- » is the OIA. genitive « mama », which (through Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa and OB. « *mawa ») occurs already in OB. Another form is « ma- », found in OB. side by side with « mō ». Following the oblique forms of the other pronouns (see *infra*) and the old genitive of the nouns, which optionally preserve the « -ha » (see *supra*, p. 752), « mō- » took up the « -ha » from OB. times, and was thus extended to « mō-ha- ». Inflected forms on the basis of this « mō- (ma-), mō-ha » oblique in the Caryās are: « mō-ē » instrumental (Caryā 10); « mō-ra » (Caryās 20, 33, 49), « mōhō-ra » (Caryā 20)=genitive forms qualifying masculine or neuter, and « mō-ri »=genitive qualifying feminine noun (Caryā 36); and « mōha-kakhu, ma-kū = mō-kū » dative (Caryā 35). In MB., beside মো « mō- », the extended forms of this oblique base are মোহ, মোহো, মহ, মহো « mōhā-, mōhō-, māhā-, māhō- ». The instrumental form « mō-ē » occurs in the spellings মোএ, মোঁ, মোঁ, মোকে, মোঞ, মোঞি, মুঞি, মুঁহ, মুঞি, মোই « mōē, mōē, mōñā, mōñē, mōñā, mōñi, muñi, mūhi, muyī, mōi, » etc., which are all used for the instrumental-nominative = মুই, মই « mui, mǎi » (see *supra*, p. 809). The inflected forms as usual are মোর (মোহর), মোকে, মোতে « mō-rā (mōhā-rā), mō-kē, mō-tē » etc. Besides there is the locative oblique in « -ē < -hi » (মোহি, মোঁ mōhi, mōē > মোঁ mōyā, মোঞ mōñā etc.), which is used in MB. for the dative-accusative. The original genitive use of « mō » seems to have existed in OB. (cf. « tō < tava » below). In eMB., « mō », although the oblique base, itself came to be used for the nominative, through confusion with « mōē » and « mǎ, mu < mǎi, mui ».

The form বাঁকা, বাবা « āhmā- = āmhā- (as in the ŚKK.), āmā » represents the OIA. base « asma- », in MIA. « amha- ». It was strengthened by an « -ā », apparently through the influence of the « -ā, -āha » of the noun. In Oṛiyā, it occurs as « āmbhā- », as in « āmbhā-rā, āmbhā-ku » etc. That the extension of « asmā- > āmhā- > *āmhā, *āmā- » to « āmhā-, āmā- » is due to a genitive « -ā » is seen from the

frequent use of the base « āmhā- », without the genitival « -rā », for the genitive in the ŚKK. and other MB. works; and the fact that post-positions are added direct to the « āmhā- » base, as if to the genitive, is to be noted.

542. With the old plural « āmhē, āmhi > āmi » becoming first honorific and then ordinary singular (the honorific singular sense still obtains in Oṛiyā at the present day), new plurals were formed, as in the case of the noun, from the Early MB. period, either by adding nouns of multitude like « sāmbā (sābā), sākālā », or by extending the strong form of the genitive in « -rā »: thus, in the ŚKK., we have আম্হে সম্হে « āmhē sāmhē », beside আম্হারা « āmhārā » (see *supra*, p. 735); in the 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' 16th century, nominative মুই-সকল « mui-sākālā », আমি-সব « āmi-sābā », oblique, আমা-সব « āmā-sābā »; beside মোরা, আমরা « mōrā, āmrā ». For the genitive, the use of « -dērā » seems to have been established by the end of the 15th century (*vide supra*, p. 731). The « -rā » and « -digā, -dērā » affixes are in common use in NB. at present, but « -sākālā, -sābā » are also occasionally found in NB. But « -gānā, -gulā, sāmūhā » and the rest do not occur. The position for Bengali is thus the following:

	Singular Forms.		Plural Forms.	
	Old Singular= vulgar, archaic, dialectal.	Old Plural> Honorific Singular> Ordinary Singular.	Regular Plural from Old Singular =poetic, dialectal.	New Double Plural.
Nominative	মুই mui	আমি āmi	মোরা mō-rā	আমরা āmā-rā (+ সব sābā etc.)
Oblique	মো mō-	আমা āmā-	মোদিগ mō-digā- মোদের mō-dērā-	আমাদিগ āmā-digā- আমাদের āmā-dērā

Double plural forms are found elsewhere in NIA., retaining the

honorific sense where the original singular is preserved and the original plural continues to be used as a plural : thus—

	Old Singular.	Old Plural.	Double Plural (Honorific).
Bengali	মুই mui (vulgar) আমি āmi (sg.)	মোরা, আমরা mōrā, āmᵭrā	
Assamese	mᵭi (sg.)	āmi (pl.)	āmā-lōkᵭ
Oṛiyā	mu, mū (vulgar)	āmbhē (sg.)	āmbhē-mānē
Magahī	[lost]	ham (sg.)	ham-anī, ham-ar-nī
Maithilī	mē̃ (obsolete)	ham (sg.)	ham-sabh, hamrā-sabh
Bhōjpuriyā	mē̃ (obsolete)	ham (sg.)	hamanī-kā, ham-ar-an
[Khaskurā	ma (sg.)	hāmi (pl.)	hāmi-haru]

In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, and Marāṭhī, as well as Sinhalese, where the old singular and plural forms are preserved intact, there is no room for the double plural : the Hindōstānī « ham-lōg » we, with a frequent enough use of « ham » = Bengali « āmi » for the singular, is due unquestionably to Eastern influence.

543. An oblique form like « majh-, mujh- » (as in Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and W. Hindī) is not found in Bengali and in other Magadhan speeches : Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa apparently did not possess a form like « majjhaṁ, majjhu » (as in Prakrit and W. Apabhraṅśa), which is found in the ablative as well as in the genitive, but which originated from the OIA. locative « mahyam ». But in the Brajabuli dialect (s supra, pp. 103-104) we commonly find a genitive form মঝু « mãjhu » (occasionally also oblique), which is a Western Apabhraṅśa imposition on Bengali, doubtless in the formative period of the language (cf. supra, pp. 113-116), at a time when « majh- < majjhu, majjhaṁ » had not altered its vowel to « -u- », as in « mujh » in W. Hindī (on the analogy of « tubhyam > *tuhyam > tujjhaṁ, tujjhu > tujh »). The form মঝু « mãjhu » now and then appears in Vaiṣṇava poetry written in pure Bengali, and that is due to imitation of the Brajabuli style. The MIA. genitive force of « majjhaṁ » is still retained in the Marāṭhī « mājhā, mājhī, mājhē̃ ».

It is a remarkable fact that the genitive of the personal pronoun throughout a great part of the NIA. area should show the adjectival

form with the « -ra (< kēra, kara, kāra) » affix, both in the first and second
persons : *e.g.*, in addition to the Magadhan speeches, we have E. Hindī
« mōr, hamār (tōr, tohār) », W. Hindī « mērā, mērau, mērī ; hamārā,
hamārau, hamārī », Panjābī « mērā, mērī » Gujarati « mārō, mārī, mārū ;
amārō, amārī, amārū », Rājasthānī « mhārō, amhārō » etc.; also in the
Pahārī languages ; and in the Gipsy dialects outside India. These are
based on Western Apabhraṁśa forms like « mahāra, amhāra » (cf.
Pischel. 'Gramm. der Pkt-Sprachen' § 434 ; Jules Bloch, 'Langue
Marathe' § 210 ; Beames, Comp. Gramm., II, p. 312).

In the Bengali poetic diction, the form মম « māmā » for the genitive
is quite common. This certainly is to be regarded as a MIA. form preserved
by literary tradition and strengthened by the Skt. « mama ».

544. The rage for Sankritising Bengali which was in vogue late in the
18th and early in the 19th centuries when the speech was under the guardian-
ship of the *pandits*, finds its expression in the curious form অস্মদাদি « āsmadādi »
we, occurring commonly in the genitive অস্মদাদির « āsmadādirɔ » *our*,
pronounced [oʃʃɔdadir], in which the Skt. base is made to oust the *tbh.* one.
In this artificial 'restoration' of the genuine Bengali আমাদের « āmādērɔ »,
the source of « -dērɔ » as « -ādi » has instinctively been hit upon.

545. Typical Dialectal Forms for the First Personal Pronoun in New
Bengali (*all* forms cannot be given : only some characteristic ones have been
introduced) :

S.W. Bengali.	**West Rādha.**

Nom. মুই mui—মোরমেনে mōrɔ-mēnē,
     মোনে mōnnē,আমাের āmɔnnē

Gen. মোর mō-rɔ—মোরমনকার mōrɔ-
     mānɔ-kārɔ, মোরমেনকার mōrɔ-mēnɔ-
     kārɔ, মোনেকার mōnnē-kārɔ

Dat. মোেক mō-kɔ—আমােদেক āmɔnnēkɔ

Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyā, মোথিৱ
     mō-thinu, etc.

Nom. মুই mui—মুইরা « mui-rā »

Gen. মোের, মহর mōhā-rɔ, mɔhā-rɔ—
     মোেের mō-dērɔ

Dat. মোেক mō-kē—মাদের mō-dērɔ

Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyā, মোহ'েত
     mō-hōtē, মোেত mō-tē, মোেদরেত
     mō-dērɔ-tē, etc.

East Rāḍha (Standard Colloquial),
also Varēndra (North Central).

East North Bengali
(Dinajpur).

Nom. আমি āmi—আমরা āmᶕ-rā	No. হামি hāmi—হামরা hāmᶕ-rā
Gen. আমার āmā-rᶕ—আমাদের āmā-dērᶕ	Gen. হামার hāmā-rᶕ—হামাদের hāmā-dārᶕ
Dat. আমাকে āmā-kē, আমায় āmā-y	Dat. হামাক, হামাকে hāmā-kᶕ, hāmā-
< āmā-ē—আমাদের āmā-dērᶕ,	kē—(plural, same as genitive).
আমাদিকে āmā-di-kē	
Loc. আমায় āmā-y, আমাতে āmā-tē,	
—আমাদিগেতে āmā-digē-tē, আমা-	
দেরতে, āmā-dērᶕ-tē, etc., etc.	

North Bengali.

Nom. মুই mui, মই mᴀi, মো̃ mō̃, হামি hāmi	হামা hāmā, হামরা hāmᶕrā, হামাগুলা hāmā-gulā
Gen. মোর mō-rᶕ, হামার hāmā-rᶕ	হামাগুলার hāmā-gulā-rᶕ
Dat. মোক mō-kᶕ, হামাক hāmā-kᶕ	হামাক hāmā-kᶕ
Other Oblique : মো mō-, মোর mō-rᶕ-, হামা hāmā- —হামাগুলা hāmā-gulā-	
(Loc. মো̃ই̃ mō̃-tē, হামাই̃ hāmā-tᶕ)	

West and South-West Vaṅga.

South-East Vaṅga (Chittagong).

Nom. মুই, আমি mui, āmi—মোরা mō-rā, আমরা āmᶕ-rā	Nom. আঁই ᴀ̃i—আঁ̃ইরা ᴀ̃ō-rā, আঁইরা ᴀ̃y-rā, আঁরা ᴀ̃i-rā
Gen. মোর mō-rᶕ, মই mᴀi-rᶕ, আমার āmā-rᶕ—আমরার amᶕrā-rᶕ, মোরেগো mōrᶕ-gō, আমাগো āmā-gō	Gen. আঁইআর ᴀ̃yā-rᶕ, আঁর ᴀ̃i-rᶕ—আঁ̃ইরার ᴀ̃ō-rā-rᶕ, আঁইরার ᴀ̃y-rā-rᶕ
Dat. আমারে āmā-r-ē—আমরারে āmᶕrā-r-ē	Dat. আঁইরে ᴀ̃y-r-ē, আঁরে ᴀ̃i-r-ē—আঁ̃ইরারে ᴀ̃ōrā-r-ē, আঁইরারে ᴀ̃yrā-r-ē

The origin of the above dialectal forms is plain in every case. The S.
W. Bengali মোনে « mōnnē » is contracted from « *mō-mānē », and « *āmā-

« mānĕ-kārɗ » gives আমারেরকার « ămānnĕkārɗ ». Contiguity with Maithilī is seen plainly in the forms with initial « h- » in North Bengali (« asma- > amha- > *hamma- > hām, ham- », as opposed to the normal development in Bengali « amha- > āmh- > ăm- »). The « -m- » has been reduced to a simple nasalisation in Chittagong, through an intermediate « -w̃- » which is also heard as « -ŏ-, -~o- ».

<center>[B] The Pronoun for the Second Person.</center>

546.　The Forms for the Second Person (in the Standard Speech) are—

	Old Singular (= New Singular, contemptuous or affectionate, for juniors and familiars).	Old Plural (>New Singular, inferior and familiar).	New Plurals.	
			Inferior and contemptuous.	Ordinary and familiar.
Nominative	তুই tui	তুমি tumi	তোরা tō-rā	তোমরা tōmɗ-rā (+সব, সকল sâbɗ, sâkâlɗ etc.)
Oblique	তো tō-	তোমা tōmā-	তোদিগ tō-digâ-, তোদের tō-dĕrɗ	তোমাদিগ tōmā-digâ-, তোমাদের tōmā-dĕrɗ

The above forms present an exact parallel with those for the first person : only the old singular (with its new plural in « -rā ») is used freely, in all its forms, to express familiarity or contempt, by all classes in society : unlike « mui, mō- », it has not become archaic, or confined to the lower classes only.

547.　OIA. « tvam » *thou* gave the MIA. « tuṁ », in addition to other forms. This « tuṁ » seems to be the source of the OB. « tu », which occurs also (through contamination with the oblique) as « tō ». Oṛiyā has preserved this as « tu »: Early Maithilī and Eastern and Western Hindī as « tū ». It is quite possible, however, that the OIA. original of the (Magadhan and Śaurasēnī) NIA. « tu, tū », without nasalisation (as opposed to the nasalised forms like the Marāṭhī « tŭ̃ », Gujarātī « tū̃ », Rājasthānī « tŭ̃ », Panjābī and Sindhī « tū̃ ») was a form like « *tū »,

as in Avestan (beside «tvēm»), instead of the Vedic and Sanskrit «tvam» (=tū+am).

In OB., «tu, tō» are the nominative forms, and they are found in the Caryās either independently (as *e.g.*, Caryā 18, «Kānhē gāï, tu Kāma-caṇḍālī» *Kṛṣṇa sings, thou art a 'Karma-caṇḍālikā'*; Caryā 6, «suṇa hari[ṇ]ā tō» *hear thou, O Deer*; Caryā 41, «jaï tō mūḍhā acchasi, puccha-tu sadguru pāwa» *if thou art ignorant, ask thou at the feet of the good master*), or loosely agglutinated with the verb in the imperative (*e.g.*, «puccha-tu» *ask thou*, in Caryās 5, 41; «bāha-tu» *row thou*, Caryā 8; «bujha-tu» *comprehend thou*, Caryā 32).

548. This OB. nominative form «tu» has become obsolete in MB. and NB. The form তুই «tui», from the old instrumental, corresponding to «mui» of the first person, has taken its place. The typical representative of OIA. «tvayā» in MIA. is «taē»; in the Apabhraṅśa the word shows nasalisation, which is due to the influence of the noun (taĩ < *tvay'ēna=tvayā). In the Caryās, we find «tāĩ = taĩ», which still retains its old case-value: *e.g.*, «tāï binu» (=tvayā vinā: Caryā 4): «tāï biṭāliu» (=tvayā viṭālitam: Caryā 18). There is also in OB. a new instrumental formation on the basis of the oblique «tō» (tō-ē = tō-ē̃), which become confused with the original «taĩ, tuĩ» in Early MB. The OB.«tāĩ» occurs in Assamese as «tāĩ»: in the change of the vowel to «u» in Bengali «tui», there was in all likelihood the influence of the oblique «tō-».

549. The oblique তোর «tō-», the nucleus to which the case terminations and post-positions are added, represents the OIA. genitive «tava». In OB., «tō» is found in its proper genitive sense: «tō muha» *thy face* (Caryā 4); «kin tō mantē, kin tō tantē, kin tō rē jhāṇa-bakhānē» *what is (the good) of thy spells, thy scriptures, and thy meditations and expoundings* (Caryā 34: «kin=kim» is a Sanskritism or Prakritism). It is found as accusative-dative (an extension of the genitive) in «tō puchami» *I ask thee* (Caryā 10). This form is also extended to «tō-ha-, tō-hō-» (cf. «mō-ha», p. 811, *supra*): genitive «tōhō-ra» (Caryā 10), «tōhāra» (Caryā 29), genitive feminine «tōhōri» (Caryās 10, 18), «tōhauri=tōhōri»

(Caryā 28), « tōhōrẽ dōsē » *with thy fault* (=*tava-karēṇa dōṣēṇa : Caryā 39) ; dative « tōhōrē » (Caryā 18) : beside genitive « tō-rā » (Caryā 41), dative « tōrẽ=tōrē » (Caryā 18). The instrumental based on this oblique is found in Caryā 10 : « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tō-ē sama karibē (=kariba) ma (=maī) sāṅga » *O Ḍōm woman, I shall have union with thee.* This instrumental « tōē=tō-ẽ » and the older « taī » reacted upon each other, and became merged into one form, and in Early M.B. the vowel in « taī » was altered through this process.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), we have a form with nasalised vowel, তোঁ « tõ », of fairly frequent occurrence. This is used as a nominative, singular. It seems it was originally a plural form : the genitive plural in « -na » as an honorific came to be attached to the singular « tō, tō-ha », in formations like « *tō-na, *tō-hā » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, for the regular plural « *tumhāṇa(ṁ), *tumhahā » etc. The old honorific sense of it was lost in Early MB. That this was the case for this « tõ » can be seen from the Early Maithilī plural base for the second person—singular « tū », plural « tõ-sabh, tõh-sabh » (= « *tō-na, *tō-hā » *plus* « sabh ») : cf. also the Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī plural « tō-ha-ni=tōha-+-na+ -ī » ; this « tõ, tõh, tōh-an-i » are thus quite distinct from the older « tumh- »= MIA. « tumha » < OIA. « yuṣma- ». The instrumental of this « tõ, *tō-hā » would be « *tõ-ẽ, *tō-ẽ, *tōh-ẽ », which would easily merge in the other singular instrumental « tō-ẽ » noted above : and we actually have an instance of a dative তোঁহাঁক « tōhā-kā » in the ŚKK. This was thus an additional strengthening (with the loss of any plural > honorific sense it might have possessed at the beginning) of the recent « tō-ē » (=tō +ẽ). In eMB., « taī, tō-ẽ, tõ-ẽ » were all confused : specially when the nasal was very unstable. Quite a large number of ways of writing these are found in MB. MSS. (*e.g.,* তইঁ, তোয়, তোএ, তৌএ, তোঁএঁ, তোঁএ, তোঁঅ, তোঁএ, তোঁঅঁ, তোঁনি, তুঞি, তুঞি, তুই, « taī, tōyā, tōē, tõē, tõẽ, tōñā, īōñā, tōñē, tōñẽ, tōñi, tuñi, tūñi, tui »), and all these have finally resulted in the inferior or contemptuous, or extremely familiar form of NB., তুই « tui ».

550. Corresponding to আমি « āmi », NB. has তুমি « tumi » = Early MB. তুমি, তোম্হ « tumhi, tomhē », OB. « tumhē ». The New

Bengali form represents a combination of the MIA. nominative (=tumhē) and instrumental (=*tumhahi, tumhēhi). The instrumental use occurs in OB.: e.g., « tumhē hōiba »=« yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam «(Caryā 5), « tumhē jāiba » (« jaibē » in printed edition)=« yuṣmābhir yātavyam » (Caryā 23). In Oṛiyā the form° is « tumbhē », in Assamese « tumi », = plural.

For the oblique, we have the base তোমা « tōmā- » (Early MB. তোম্হা « tōmhā- »), paralleling আমা « āmā- », which is derived from the OIA. plural base « yuṣma- ». The forms তুমি, তোত্তে, তুম্হে, তোমা, তোম্হা « tumi, tōmhē, tumhē, tōmā-, tōmhā- » quite early, in the First MIA. period had taken up the « t- » from the singular « tvam, tvayā, tubhyam » etc., so that we have « tumhē, tumha- » instead of « *yumhē, *yumba ».

The Aśōkan eastern form « tuphē » (=? tupphē ? tumphē) is not represented in NIA., any more than « aphē » (=? amphē ? apphē, =asmē).

551. Through the influence of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa in the OB. and Early MB. periods, and of the Brajabuli dialect, we have some peculiar Western forms in the language of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry : e.g., তুহূঁ « tuhū » *thou* (= Western Apabhraṅśa « tuhū », derived by Pischel from « *tva-kā-m », 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' p. 296 ; but it may properly be an emphatic form, « tu » + particle « hū, hu », cf. Eastern Hindī and Bihārī, as well as Brajabuli, « hama-hū » *we also*, « saba-hū » *everybody*) ; তুআ « tuā » *thy* (= literary i.e. early Maithilī « tua »: MIA. « tuva », Western Ap. « tuha »: OIA. « tava ») ; তুঝ « tujhā » *thy* (Western Ap. « tujjhu », Second MIA. « tujjha »: < « *tuhyaṁ » = OIA. « tubhyam », cf. « mahyam ») ; and besides, the extended base « tō-ha, tu-ha » is also much used through the example of Maithilī or Brajabuli (as well as Brajbhākhā), in Vaiṣṇava lyrics ; e.g., তোহে, তুহে, তোয় « tōhē, tuhē, tōy » accusative, locative and dative ; তোহারি, তুহারি « tōhāri, tuhāri » genitive.

552. In the Magadhan speeches, we have the following developments of the old forms for the second personal pronoun, paralleling those for the first personal pronoun :

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Bengali	তুই tui	তুমি tumi (sg.)	তোরা, তোম্রা tōrā, tōm̐rā
Assamese	tᾱi	tumi (pl.)	tᾱ-hᾱtē, tōmā-lōkē (hon. pl.)

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Oṛiyā	tu	tumbhē (respectful sg.)	tumbhē-mānē (hon. pl.)
Magahī	(obsolete)	tũ, tõ (sg.)	tōh-anī tōh-ara-nī,
Maithilī	tū (obsolete) tõ, tõh (sg.)		tõ(h)-sabh, tōharā-sabh
Bhōjpuriyā	tẽ (archaic)	tũ (sg.)	tōha-nī(-kā), tōh-ar-an
[Khaskurā	ta (sg.)	timi (pl.)	timi-haru]
[Hindōstānī	tū, taĩ	tum (pl.)	tum-lōg]

553. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Second Personal Pronoun : ·

S. -W. Bengali	West Rāḍha	Varendra
Nom. তুই tui, তুমি tumi —তোরে tōnnē, তোমাদে tōmānnē	Nom. তূই tũi—তোরা tō-rā, তুমরা! tumȧ-rā, তোমরা tōmȧ-rā	Nom. তুই tui— তমরাহ tȧmȧ-rāh
Gen. তর tȧ-rȧ—তমার tȧmā-rȧ, তদের tȧ-derȧ, তোেের tōnnerȧ	Gen. তোর tō-rȧ—তোমার tōmā-rȧ, তোদের tō-derȧ, তোরাদের tōrā-derȧ, তোেোর tō-gō-rȧ	Gen. তোর tō-rȧ— তমহার tȧmhā-rȧ তুমাঘর tumā-ghȧrȧ

North Bengali	West & S.-W. Vaṅga	East Vaṅga (Chittagong)
Nom. তুই tui—তুমরা tumȧ-rā	Nom. তর tȧy, তুমি tumi —তোরা tō-rā, তোমরা tōmȧ-rā	Nom. তুই tui, তুই tuī < tumi—তোরা tō-rā, তোরা tõ-rā < tōmā-rā
Gen. তোর tō-rȧ—তমহার tȧmhā-rȧ, তুমার tumā-rȧ, তুমাঘর tumā-ghȧrȧ.	Gen. তোর tō-rȧ, তর tȧ-rȧ —তোরার tō-rā-rȧ, তোমার tōmȧ-rȧ, তোমরার tōmȧrā-rȧ, তোর-গো tō-rȧ-gō	Gen. তোর tō-rȧ—তোমার tõȧ-rȧ < tōmā-rȧ, etc.

[C] The Pronoun for the Third Person.

The Pronoun for the Third Person (or) 'General Demonstrative': সে, তারা nominative « sē », oblique « tā(hā)- », etc.

554. The Typical Bengali forms as in the Standard Colloquial and the « sādhu-bhāṣā » are the following :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular	New Plural > Ordinary	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	সে sē, [neuter তা(হা) tā(hā)]	তিনি tini ; তেই tēhā, তিই tihā (archaic)	ত(হা)রা tā(hā)rā (+সব, সকল sābạ sākālạ etc.) ; সে. সব sē+sābạ etc.	তা(হা)রা tā(hā)rā (+সব, সকল sābạ sākālạ, etc.)
Oblique	তাহা tāhā-, তা tā-	তাঁহা tā̃hā-, তানা tānā-, তেনা tenā-, তা tā̃-	তা(হা)দিগ tā(hā)-digā-, তাহাদের tā(hā)dērạ	তাঁ(হা)দিগ tā̃(hā)-digā-, তাঁ(হা)দের tā̃(hā)dērạ-

555. The OIA. nominative of the pronoun for the third person (the base of which was « ta- ») was « sa, saḥ ». In Māgadhī Prakrit it became « śē », and the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form was in all likelihood « *śi », which seems to be preserved in the Assamese সি « si » (for শি « śi »), pronounced [xi] or [çi]. But in Bengali, and in Oṛiyā, and also in the Bihārī group, the pronoun occurs in the nominative as সে « sē (śē) » instead of the expected « *si (śi) ». The « -ē » vowel may be due to an extended form « *sa-ka-ḥ » (cf. ahakaṁ = aham) : which would give in Māgadhī « *śakē > śagē > *śaē > *śaï > śē » (cf. pp. 741-742, *supra*) ; or it may be due to the influence of the instrumental form « tē » (< tēna). The OIA. feminine « sā » seems to have continued (as « śā ») in Māgadhī down to the Apabhraṅśa period, when it fell into disuse, and the masculine came to be used for the feminine. Already during the Second MIA. stage, the masculine « śē » came to be employed for the neuter (like the neuter affix « -am > -aṁ » of the noun taking up the masculine « -ē <-aḥ » affix : *supra*, p. 622) (Pischel ' Grammatik der Pkt.–Sprachen,' § 423). In Bengali, as in other Magadhan, there is as a consequence no distinction of gender, « sē (śē) » being used for masculine, and feminine and also for neuter. For the neuter nominative, however, the form তা(হা) « tā(hā) » is

more common. It is really the oblique extended to the accusative and then to the nominative; the accusative employ we find in the Caryās : *e.g.*, « tā dēkhi » *having seen that* (7), « tā śuni » *having heard that* (16).

556. The oblique singular তা(হা) « tā(hā)- » is really the genitive in « -ā, -āha » discussed above, § 502 (pp. 751-752). The genitival use « -ā, -āha » occured in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. The oblique « tāh-ā- » is by extension of « tāha » with the definitive « -ā » affix. By adding the usual affixes and post-positions, we have forms like genitive তাহর, তাহার, তাহের, তাক « tāhā-rā, tāhā-rā, tāh-ērā, tā-kā », accusative and locative (or new oblique) তাহে, তায় « tāh-ē > tāyạ », locative তাহাতে « tā(hā)-tē », instrumental তাহা-দিয়া, -বারা « tā(hā)-diyā, -dwārā », etc.

557. The OIA. plural forms (masculine « tē », feminine « tāh » neuter « tāni ») seem to have continued down to Second MIA. (respectively as « tē; tāo; tāṇi, tāiṁ »). But they have not been inherited in NIA. Already in the Second MIA. stage, the nominative forms « sē, śē » of the singular were extended to the plural, in Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī (Pischel, § 423). In OB. we find « tē » in Caryā 22 : « jē sacarācara tiasā bhamanti, tē ajarāmara kimpi na honti » *those (Yōgīs) who wander through all the world and also through heaven, they do not become in the least ageless and deathless* : this « tē » may be a Sanskritism; but it can well be a nominative plural, derived from an instrumental « *tēhi, tēhī ». A similar nominative « tē » occurs in Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī. This « tē » (or « tē » ?) nominative of Old Bengali seems to have lingered on till Early Middle Bengali, and then it was dropped from the speech, new forms taking its place : we have one instance in ŚKK., p. 313 : গোপীকুলের তোম্হে কৈলে আপমান........., তে সম্হে চোরায়িল বাঁসী তোর কাহ্ন « gōpī-kulērā tōmhē kāilē āpāmānā, tē sāmhē cōrāyilā bāsī tōrā Kānhā » *you have insulted the Gōpīs, they have stolen your flute, O Kṛṣṇa.*

The expected form of the OIA. « tē » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and in OB. would be « *ti », and in an emphatic position it might remain as « tē ». Side by side with « śē, tē », the instrumental and the genitive plural were undoubtedly used for the nominative in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa

and in OB. (*tēhi, *tāhi, *tēhī; *tāna[ṁ], *tāhā; *tān-i), paralleling the usage for the noun.

558. MB. and NB. honorific singular forms come from the plural instrumental and genitive of Apabhraṅśa and OB. In MB., the honorific nominative is তেহঁ, তিহঁ « tēhā, tihā », which palpably receives its « ē, i » vowel from the instrumental, and its nasalisation may be due to the influence of the genitive. It is not impossible, moreover, that the « -ē- » of the OIA. genitive « tēṣām » should have persisted through some dialectal undercurrent here. The forms তেহঁ, তিহঁ, or তেহঁ (besides তেহা) « tēhā, tihā, tēha, tēhŏ » were continued down to the middle of the 19th century, in the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». The ŚKK. has registered তেহঁ « tēhŏ » is one place (p. 19), and তেহঁ « tēhŏ » in another (p. 67): in the ŚKK., the honorific sense is not strong, and we find that the ordinary সে « sē » is joined to তেহঁ « tēhŏ » merely as an emphatic form. (*e.g.,* চোদ চৌ যুগ আয়ু লঙ্কার রাবণ । তেহঁ সে মজিঞা গেল সীতার কারণ ॥ « cauda cāu jugā āyu Laṅkārā Rābāṇā, tēhŏ sē mājiā gēlā Sītārā kārāṇā » *fourteen four-yugas his life, Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā : even he went to perdition through the reason of Sītā*). The form now actually in use is তিনি « tini », both in the colloquial and in literature, which is not met with except in Late MB. : this « tini » is from an earlier colloquial form « *tēni » (cf. honorific oblique base তেনা « tēnā- », beside তা « tā », in the Standard Colloquial area : « ē > i » by Vowel Harmony), which looks like a blend of the genitive and instrumental. Assamese has preserved the old « tihā, tēhā » in the form of « tēo ».

The oblique তাহা « tāhā- » is easily explained. The persistence of the « -h- » may be due to the influence in singular তাহা « tāhā- ». There has been a great deal of cross influence in the development of these forms. There are in the Standard Colloquial area the dialectal obliques তেনা « tēnā- » and তানা « tānā-» (the latter more of a 'folk' form), which retain the vocalism of the instrumental and genitive, and the full « -n- » of the nominative form « tini » and the genitive-oblique « tānā ». The genitival use of তান « tānā » (< « tāna = tēṣām » : see *supra*, p. 306) is found in East Bengali : cf. also Oriyā « tāṅ-kā(rā) » (= « tēṣām-kara-, -kṛta »), and Maithilī « tan-i-k »,

Bhōjpuriyā « tinh- kĕ ».　The full « -n », or nasalisation, from the genitive plural, came to be associated with the plural (and honorific) base, and hence we find in M.B. the honorific genitive তাহান « tāha-nă »　(< tāha-),　Early Oriyā « tāha-nă ».　Bengali তাঁ « tă- » can be either from « tăna », or it is merely a new formation by nasalising the singular « ta- = tāha ».

With the Bengali « tăhă-, tēnă-, tini, tă(hă)- » etc. are to be compared the Maithilī « tan-ik », Magahī « tinh- », Bhōjpuriyā « tinh » ; and Awadhī ten(h) », Baghēlī « tenh », Chattīsgaṛh « tin » ; Western Hindī tin(h) » — plural or honorific forms, all with similar genitival « -n- ».

559. The old plural becoming singular honorific, new plurals were formed on the basis of their respective genitives in « -ra ». These came in use during the Early M.B. period (see *supra*, pp. 734-736).

560. Early Bengali preserves relics of some of the older case forms.　The instrumental « tēna > tĕ » is preserved in the sense of *therefore, consequently* in the ŚKK., as তেঁ, তে « tĕ, tē » : *e.g.*, p. 38, করলো খণ্ড ব্রত আর জরমত, তেঁ বা দুঃখিনী মোএঁ « kărălō khăṇḍă-brătă ără jărămă-tă, tĕ bă duḥkhinī mōĕ » *in my previous birth I did an unfulfilled penance, may be for that I am miserable* (now); p. 218, বুলি তেঁ আতি যতনে « buli tĕ āti jătănĕ » *for that I say with great care;* p. 367, বাপ নন্দঘোষ মা� য়শোদা, তেঁ তুম্ভী মামী আন্মারে « băpă Năndă-ghōṣă, mă Yăśōdă, tĕ tumbī māmī ămhārē » *(my) father is N., my mother Y., therefore you are my maternal uncle's wife;* p. 359, গেআন বাণে ছেদিলোঁ মদন বাণ, তে আর না ভোলোঁ তোম্হার য়ৌবন « gēănă-băṇĕ chedilō Mădănă-băṇă, tē ără nă bholō (=bhŏlŏ) tōmhără jăubănă » *with the arrow of wisdom I have shattered the arrow of Love, therefore I do not forget myself through your youth.*　There is also the phrase তে কারণে « tĕ kărăṇĕ » = « tēna kāraṇēna » which occurs more than ten times ; and an extension of « tĕ » occurs as তেঁএ, তেএঁ, « tĕĕ, tĕĕ » *e.g.,* এবে তোকে দেখিএ রূপএস । তেঁএ মোর বাঢিল আসে « ĕbĕ tōkĕ dēkhiĕ rupăsĕ, tĕĕ mōră băṛhilă ăsĕ » *I see thee now to be so beautiful, therefore my hope has increased* (p. 45); যেই দধি দুধ ঘৃত ভাণ্ডত আহএ । পসার সাজিতেঁ তেএঁ কান্হ ক কুঁআএ « jēi dădhi dudhă ghṛtă bhăṇḍă-tă ăchăĕ, păsără săjitĕ tĕĕ Kănhu-kă juăĕ » *the curds, milk and ghee that remain in the pots, K. should make a display for sale with that* (p. 179); and as তেঁউ « tĕ-ū » (< tēna + MIA.

hu = khalu) (p. 29). In later MB., this instrumental is very common
as a conjunction, in the form তেই « tē̌i » *therefore* (= tēna+hi). The form
« tē̌i » is archaic and poetic now, and তে কারণে, তে কারণ « tē̌-kārāṇē,
tē̌-kārāṇ » also occur in NB. poetry.

The locative in « -hī », « tahī » (see *supra*, pp. 745-746) occurs in OB.:
e.g., « tahī caḍi nācaï » *they dance, mounted on that* (Caryā 10). Its use became
obsolete as a locative in MB., where it was adopted as noun of place =
there, to which the case affixes were added. The ŚKK. has যমুনার
তীরে কদমতরু তলে তহি বসি কাহ্ন বাএ বীশে « Yamunārā tīrē kādāmā-tāru-tālē
tahi bāsi Kānhā bāē bā̌śē » *by the bank of Yamunā, under the Kadamba tree,
sitting there K. plays on the bamboo flute* (p. 306), beside মৃগমদ কুচযুগ গগন
মাঝার। তহিত নক্ষত্রগণ গজমুতীহার॥ « mr̥gā-mādā kucā-yugā gāgānā-
mājhārā, tahi-tā nākṣatrā-gāṇā gājā-mutī-hārā » *your two breasts (smeared)
with musk-paste is the vault of the sky, the necklace of elephant (big) pearls is
the mass of stars thereon* (p. 154), where « tāhi-tā » has a pleonastic locative
« -tā ». In ordinary MB., তহির, তহীঁর « tāhi-rā, tāhī-rā » are not rare,
meaning both *of that place* and *his, its*. Oṛiyā also possess « tāhī-rā »
beside « tā(hā)-rā » as genitive of « sē ». In Early MB. and in Late MB.,
the form তথি, তথী « tāthi, tathī » *there* (< locative of MIA. « tattha »
= OIA. « tatra ») is similarly used: তথির « tāthi-rā » *of him*, তথিত « tāthi-
tā » *in him*, etc.

561. The distinction of gender is now lost in all Magadhan, but
a feminine form for the third personal pronoun has been preserved in
Assamese and in South-Eastern Bengali (Chittagong): and traces might
still exist in the other dialects. Thus in Assamese beside the masculine
« si », plural « si- hātē », there is a feminine « tāi, tāyē », plural « tāi-hātē »;
and Chittagongese shows a feminine তাঁই « tā̌i » (plural « tāi-rā »), beside
the masculine হিতে, তে « hi-tē ´ (< *si + tē = sē + tē), tē » (plural « hitē-rā,
tārā » : Basanta Kumar Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 112). This feminine
« tāi » (the nasalisation in the Chittagong « tā̌i » is irregular, and might be
through the infection from honorific forms) seems to be based on the Second
MIA. instrumental, dative and genitive « tāē » (< OIA. instrumental
« tayā »), occurring in Māgadhī as well as in other dialects (Pischel, § 425).

The absence of distinction of gender for the personal pronoun of the third person is a defect in the language, and there have been unsuccessful attempts to do away with this defect by employing the Sanskrit « sā » for the feminine nominative, and the base « tasyā- », from the Skt. feminine genitive « tasyāḥ », for the feminine oblique : তাসার « tāsyā-rŧ » *of her*, তাসাকে « tāsyā-kē » *to her*, etc. In some 18th and 19th century documents the « tasyā- » oblique has been found[1] (Chandra-Śēkhara Kāli, VSPd., Kārya-vivaraṇī for 1316, pp. 45, 46 ; and ' Hōmiōpyāthik Bhaiṣajyābalīr Siddhi-prada Lakṣaṇa-cay,' Vol. I, 8th edition, Calcutta 1921, pp. 11 ff.)

562. Some Western (Saurasēnī) forms figure in OB. and in MB., especially in the Vaiṣṇava lyrics. (See *supra*, pp. 103, 115.) সো « sō » instead of the native সে « sē » is found in the Caryās (*e.g.*, 10, 22, 27, 33, 41) : it is the nominative, but is found as an accusative also, *e.g.*, Caryā 21, « kariha sō niccala » *make him motionless* ; Caryā 45, « chēwaha sō taru » *cut down that tree*. This form is fairly common in Vaiṣṇava lyrics and is often demonstrative adjective, as in OB. Thus « sō » is thrice as numerous as « sē » in the Caryās, a fact which is explicable through Saurasēnī literary influence as well as through the MS. being copied in Nepal. The genitive of « sō » in Western Apabhraṅśa has the forms « tassu, tasu » and « tāsu » (=tassa, tasya), beside « tahō ». In the Caryās we have « tasu » (instead of the native « tā, tāha, tāh-ēra »), as in « tasu aṅga » *its limbs* (27), « maṇa taru, pānca indi tasu sāhā » *the mind is a tree, the five senses are its branches* (45). Maithilī of literature also possesses this form. In MB., Brajabuli as well as ordinary poetic Bengali, it occurs as তছু « tāchu », with « -ch- » for « -s- » (*ante*, pp. 474, 551).

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[1] In Early NB. letters and documents, for feminine forms like দেবী, দাসী, শ্রীমতী ' dēbī, dāsī, śrī-matī,' the genitive and other cases are on the basis of the Skt. genitive in ' -yāḥ ': দেবার, দাসার, শ্রীমত্যাকে ' dēbyār, dāsyā-r, śrī-matyā-kō,' besides the regular ' dēbī-r, dāsī-kō, śrī-matī-kō ' etc. A curious result of this practice has been that in Bengali epistolary and legal language, these ' -yā ' oblique forms have become established as nominatives, especially with names of widows, and in this way a distinction is made of widows from unmarried girls or women with husbands living.

563. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Third Personal Pronoun :

South-West Bengali

Nom. সে, তিন sē, tin—তারমেনে tārǎ-mēnē, তানমেনে tānǎ-mēnē, তাম্নে tānnē, তাঁম্রে tānnē.

Gen. তার, তান tārǎ, tānǎ—তারমেনকার tārǎ-menǎ-karǎ, তান্নেকার tānnē-kārǎ, তান্নাকার tānnā-kārǎ.

West Radha

Nom. সে তাই sē, tāi—তাহারা tāhā-rā, তাহারা tāhā-rā.

Gen. তাহার tāhā-rǎ—তাহারদের tāhārǎ-dērǎ.

(The Remote Demonstrative is also commonly employed)

North Bengali (Rājbanśi)

Nom. সে, তাঁ, তাঁয়, তানি sē, tā̃, tā̃y, tāni—তাম(তাঁ)রা tām(ā̃)-rā.

Gen. তার, তাহেঁ, তামার tā-rǎ, tā-r-hē̃, tāmā-rǎ—তামার tāmā-rǎ, তামরার tāmǎrārǎ.

East Vanga (Sylhet, Kachar)

Nom. হে, হিনি hē, hini—হেরা, হেনরা hē-rā, hēnǎ-rā

Gen. হের, হেনার hē-rǎ, hēnā-rǎ—হেরগো hē-rǎ-gō, হেইয়ার hēi-ārǎ, হেনারগো hēnā-rǎ-gō.

West Vanga

(Dacca, Maimansingh)

Nom. সে, তাইন, তিনি sē, tāin, tini—তারা, তানরা, তাহানরা tā-rā, tā(hā)nǎ-rā.

Gen. তার, তান, তাহান tā-rǎ; tānǎ, tāhā-nǎ—তারার tā-rā-rǎ, তাগো tā-gō, তানরার tānǎ-rā-rǎ,

(The Remote Demonstrative is employed in Haijong)

South Vanga (Bakharganj)

Nom. হে, তাইন, hē, tāin—হেরা, তারা hē-rā, tā-rā.

Gen. হের, তার hē-rǎ, tā-rǎ—হেরার, hē-rā-rǎ, তারার tā-rā-rǎ.

S. E. Vanga (Chittagong)

Nom. হিতে, হেতিন, তে hi-tē, hē-tin, tē ; (fem.) তাই tāi—তারা, হিতেরা tā-rā, hi-tē-rā, তাইরা tāi-rā.

Gen. হেতার, তার, তান hē-tā-rǎ, tā-rǎ, tānǎ, তাইর tāi-rǎ—তারার tā-rā-rǎ, তানার tānǎ-rǎ, তাইরার tāi-rā-rǎ.

S.-W. Bengali has the characteristic « -mēnᶑ » affix for the plural contracted to « -n- ». The West Rāḍha তাই « tāi » may originally have been the feminine ·form noted in p. 825. North Bengali uses the base তা « tā » (beside a fuller তানি « tāni ») for the nominative; and the form তামার « tāmārᶑ », plural তাম(া)রা « tām(ā)rā » are honorific, with « -m- » for « -n- » or « -᾿h- » of other forms of Bengali — a phonetic peculiarity which characterises this dialect: as early as c. 1555 A.C., in a letter from the Kōc king Nara-Nārāyaṇa of North Bengal to the Ahom king Su-khām-phā, we find ইমারাক পাঠাইতেছি « imā-rā-kᶑ (=ibā-digā-kē) pāṭhāitē-chi » *I am sending them,* তামরার মুখে « tāmᶑ-ra-rᶑ (=tāhā-digērᶑ) mukhē » *from their mouth* (Report of the Third North Bengal Literary Conference, p. 37; VSP., II, p. 1672).

The use of the « -rā » plural for the oblique as well is noticeable in the North and East Bengali dialects. As the forms « imārā-kᶑ » and « tāmārārᶑ » mentioned above show, such oblique use was established by the 16th century.

The nominative « sē » becomes « hē » in many of the East Bengali dialects; and in South Vaṇga, « hē » changes « tini » to « *sini > hini », « tēnā-rᶑ » to « *sēnārᶑ > henārᶑ »; and « sē > hē » is used for the oblique as well: *e.g.,* East Vaṇga « sē-rᶑ > hērᶑ » *his,* « sē-rā > hērā » *they,* « sē-rā-rᶑ > hērārᶑ » *their.* The Assamese accusative « siyē » [xie, çie] shows a similar though restricted use of the nominative base for an oblique case.

The Chittagongese nominative « tē » seems to be due to the influence of the oblique base in « ta- ». A peculiarity of this dialect (and of S.-E. Vaṇga generally) consists in the double forms « hi-tē, hē-tin=sē +tē, sē +tini ».

In the Mayang dialect, the base « tā » is used for the nominative (genitive « tā-rᶑ » singular, plural nominative « tānō », plural genitive « tānō-rᶑ »).

564. The nominative সে « sē », emphatic সেই < সেহি « sēi < sē-hi », is used as a demonstrative adjective, = *that,* for all genders. A noun

of multitude agglutinated to « sẽ, sẽi » indicates the plural. The qualified word takes the case inflections, e.g., সে লোক, সেই লোক « sẽ, sẽi lōkḍ » that man, সেই-সকল লোকের « sẽi-sȧkȧlḍ lōkȧrḍ » of those men, etc.

[D]   THE PROXIMATE OR NEAR DEMONSTRATIVE.

565. The typical Bengali forms in the Standard Literary and Colloquial are :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	এ ĕ (earlier এহা ĕhā), neuter ইহা ihā	এই ĕhã, ইই ihã, ইনি ini	এরা ĕrã, ইহারা ihãrã (এসব, এগুলা ĕ-sȧbḍ, ĕ-gulā)	এঁরা, এঁয়ারাঁ(ঁ)rã, এনারা ĕnãrã, ইহারা ihãrã
Oblique	এ, ইহা ĕ-, ihã- (earlier এহা ĕhā)	এঁ, এঁয়া, এনা ĕ-, ĕã-, ĕnã-, ইই ihã-	এদিগ ĕdigã-, এদের ĕdĕr-, ইহাদিগ, দের ihãdigã-, -dĕrḍ	এঁ-, এঁ(য়া)দিগ ĕ(ã)digã-, -dĕrã, এনাদের ĕnãdĕrã, ইহাদিগ, -দের ihãdigã-, -dĕrḍ

566. In Vedic and Sanskrit there are two pronouns to indicate the near demonstrative = this, this here: [i] the pronoun « ĕ-ta- », (nom. sg. masculine « ĕ-ṣah », feminine « ĕ-ṣã », neuter « ĕ-tad ») which is a combination of a base « ĕ- » (= Avestan « aĕ- », < Indo-Iranian « *ai- » < Indo-European « * ei-, *oi- ») plus the third personal bases « *to-, » (« * so- ») ; and [ii] the composite pronoun which is in the nom. sg. masculine « ayam », feminine « iyam », neuter « idam », and which is made up of the four defective pronominal bases: « a- » (as in Sanskrit « a-smãi, a-sya, a-syãi ; ã-bhyaḥ, ã-sãm », etc.), « an- » (as in « an-ĕna,

an-ayōḥ »), « i- » (« i-y-am, i-d-am »; in *guṇa* forms « *ai-, ē- », as in « ay-am », Vedic « ēnā = *ai-nā, ayā = *ai-ā », ēbhiḥ, ē-ṣām, ē-ṣu = *ai-bhis, " ai-ṣām, *ai-ṣu », etc.), and « im- » (as in « im-am, im-ām, im-āḥ, im-ān » etc.). In OIA. dialects other than those which formed the basis of the literary speeches (Vedic and Sanskrit), it is not impossible that each of these bases, namely, « a-, an-, i- (ai- > ē-, ay-), im- » existed in their entire declensions.

The basis or root form of the Bengali proximate demonstrative is « ē- », dialectally « i-, ī- »: the affix « -ha » of the oblique is genitival, and the nasalised forms, or forms in « -n- », were originally plural genitives. The older form for the nominative seems to be « ē ». The Caryās know « ē » (*e.g.*, Caryā 6, « ē bana cchāḍī » *abandoning this forest*; 28, « ē bana hiṇḍaï » *wanders in this forest ;* 33 « ē tailōē » *in this threefold universe*; 39, « ē jaga » *this world*), beside « ēha » (Caryā 43, « ēhu sahāva » *this nature*), and « ēhu » (Caryā 22, « ja ēhu jaati » for « *jē ēhu jugati* »: cf. Comm., « ēṣā hi yuktiḥ »). The eMB. of the ŚKK. also shows « ē », in the forms like এ, এআ, এহা, এই, এহি, এসি, এহাএ, এহাক, এহাত, এহার, এহো « ē, ēā, ēhā, ēi, ēhi, ē-si, ēhā-ē, ēhā-kā, ēhā-tā, ēhā-rā, ēhō » occurring some four score of times, while a solitary « i- » form occurs in ইহার « ihārā ». In the NB. Standard Colloquial « ē » also is the word, « iha » belonging to the literary language and to the dialects.

The source of the Bengali « ē » would thus seem to be the OIA. base « ēta- ». The *guṇa* form of the defective pronoun « i- », as « *ai- > ay-, ē- » can of course be equally the source of a NIA. « ē ». But MIA. remains do not register a fully declined « i- » demonstrative : Aśōkan Prakrits and Pali both show that the base « im- » was the one most widely current in the First MIA. period, with the simple « i- » and « a- » bases considerably restricted in use. The same thing is noticeable in Second MIA. as well. The « i-, im- » bases seem to have continued in the Western Apabhraṅśa of literature, specially in the form « īya- », beside « ēya-, ēa- = « ēta- ». In the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, however, it seems that only the base « ēta- > ēa- » (genitive « ētasya > * ēaha ») was current,

which gave the Bengali « ē, (ēhā) ». The base « ima- » of MIA. is not represented in NIA. in which its expected development would be « *iẁa- ».

Saurasēnī Apabhraṅśa as written in Eastern India (in the Buddhist Dōhās shows numerous instances of the nominative « ēhu » (=ēṣaḥ). What exactly was the nominative of the « ēta- » base in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa cannot be determined. The Māgadhī Prakrit forms are « ēśē, ēśā, ē(d)aṁ ». The « -ś- » apparently dropped through influence of the neuter and of the oblique. The genitive « ēha » was strengthened to « ēhā » in Early MB. The genitive plural « ētānāṁ (= ētēṣām) > ēāṇa(ṁ) » is the source of oblique honorific bases « ēnā-, ēhā-, ē̃- » etc. The NB. honorific nominative ইনি « ini » presents a parallel case with তিনি « tini » (p. 823): Early Bengali employed ইহঁ, ইহেঁা, এহেঁা « ihā̃, ihõ, ēhõ », which we occasionally find written in MSS. as ঞিহঁ, ঞিহেঁা, ঞেহেঁা « ñihā̃, ñihõ, ñēhō ».

The alternation of « i, ē » is a commonplace thing in NIA. phonology. The « i » forms developed in Bengali quite early: the solitary ইহার « ihā-rā » in the ŚKK. shows that it goes back to the 14th century at least, and ইহার, ইহাতে, ইহাকে « ihā-rā, ihā-rē, ihā-kē » etc. are common enough in MB. The Late MB. prose preferred these « i- » forms, whence the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » took them up. Oṛiyā preserves the earlier broader vowel, like Standard Colloquial Bengali: « ē, ēhā, ēhi ». In MB. and dialectal Bengali we find a form ইহাঁন « ihāṅa », honorific genitive singular, = « ihā » + « -na » of the plural. In Assamese we have singular nominative « i », oblique « iyā- », plural « i-hāt- »: the honorific is « ēo » = MB. « ēhā »; and there is a feminine form in Assamese, « ēi », corresponding to « tāi » she (supra, p. 825), which seems to be based on the MIA. feminine genitive « ētāē, * ēdāē, * ēāē », agreeing with « tāē » for « tasyāḥ ».

The Bihārī dialects show « I, i » for the nominative, and « ēh-, ē-, ēhi- » for the oblique; and corresponding to « ēhā-, ihā- » of Bengali are to be found in Maithilī « hina-k < *inha-ka » (honorific oblique), and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā « inh- » (plural base).

567. The OIA. « ēta- » base is found to be represented in most other NIA. Typical forms are given below :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	I, yū (=ēhū)	in, ē	ē-, ēh-, ēhi-, yāhi-	in-
Hindōstānī	yah, yŏh, yih (< *ēaha)	same as Singular	is-	in-, inh-
Brajbhākhā	yah, yih (< *ēaha)	yē, yaŭ	is-, yā- (= *ēaha)	ini-, in-, inhaŭ-
Panjābī (Eastern)	ih, ēh	ih, ēh	ēs-, is-, ih-	ēh-, inh-
Lahndī	ē, ēh, I	ē, ēh, nēh, in, I, ih	is-, ih-, ī-	inhā-, inhē-
Sindhī	hI, hē, hIu, hIa	hI, hē	hina-	hine-, hinane-
Rājasthānī	yō, yā (ō, ā)	yai, yē, (ē, āĭ)	aĭ-, in(i)-, ī-, aṇi-	inā-, aṇā-, in-, yā-, ā-
Gujarātī	ē	ēō	ē-	ēō-
Marāṭhī	hā [m.], hī [f.], hē [n.]	bē, hyā, hI	hyā- (vā-), hī-(I-)	hyā- (yā-)
Khaskurā	yō	ina, in(i)	yes-, yas-	ina-, in(i)-

Of the above forms, the oblique singular in « -s- », as in Western Hindī (Hindōstānī, Brajbhākhā), Panjābī and Lahndī, as well as in Khaskurā (and the Western Pahāṛī dialects), is based on the OIA. « ētasya » (genitive of the « ēta- » base), which seems to have become « *ētissa » in First MIA. (cf. « ētisa » in Aśōkan the Shahbazgarhi : a similar change of the original vowel to « -i- » we note in the instrumental « *ētina < ētēna », which figures in the Second MIA., Māgadhī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, as

« ĕdiṇā » and « ĕiṇā » respectively) : « *ĕtissa < *edissa > *ĕissa » would be the development in Later MIA. It is quite likely that like « kissa, kiśśa, kīsa » = OIA. « kasya » which from the Early MIA. period was specialised from its genitive employ, and became almost an indepen dent form (cf. Bengali কিসে, কিসের « kise, kise-rɔ̷ » *by what, of what* : see *infra*, under 'Interrogative '), « *ĕissa » also was specialised, first as an ablative, and then as an oblique. This « *ĕissa » could easily be the source of the NIA. « is-, ĕs-, yes-, yas- » etc. In East Bengali (Dacca) when one is at a loss for a word the expletive ইসে « isĕ » is frequently used (= *namely, this er, what*): this « isĕ » seems to be the equivalent of the W. Hindī « is- » in Bengali (cf. the similar use of « ĕthi » in Bhojpuriyā: p. 834). The normal genitive form in « -ha » gave the oblique in the other NIA. dialects, and in many cases this oblique was shifted to the nominative. The nominative plural « yai, yĕ, ĕ », as in Western Hindī, in Rājasthāni and in Panjābī, possibly represents the instrumental « *ĕĕhi = ĕtĕhiṁ = ĕtāiḥ ». In Gujarātī « ĕ » has taken up the sense of the remote demonstrative, and « -ŏ » is its normalised plural affix. The nasal « ṇ » (or nasalisation of the vowel derived from the nasal) in the Rājasthānī oblique singular comes from the OIA. pronominal base « ĕna- » *he, she, it*, which was continued in MIA. (Pischel, § 431); but it is not preserved elsewhere in NIA. In the Apabhraṅśa source of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, the « ĕta- » and « ĕna- » bases were merged into this demonstrative (Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 89). The Sindhī oblique *e.g.*, « hina » is probably similarly to be explained. The prothetic « h- » in Sindhī is peculiar, but it may be by metathesis, from the genitive oblique « *ĕaha > * ĕha > hĕ, hī » : « ᵘ, ᵃ » are recent masculine and feminine affixes. The Marāṭhī forms present some obscurities (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 162, 208): but can it be that in the formation of Marāṭhī « hā » etc. there was a blending in Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṅśa of forms like « ĕha- » (=ĕṣah, ĕtasya) and « āa-, āya- » (= ayam), such as we find in the Western Apabhraṅśa? Gujarātī also has « ā » *this*, which is derived from « āya-, āa- » as found in Jaina Apabhraṅśa of the West, = Second MIA. « aya- » < OIA. nom. masc. « ayam ».

Sinhalese has the bases « ū, ē (ĕ) » for the third personal pronoun : of these, « ū » corresponds to the Remote Demonstrative of Bengali, and is cognate with it (see *infra*), and « ē (ĕ) » is traced by Geiger to « ayaṃ » of MIA. The proper demonstrative bases of Sinhalese are « ma- » *this*, which is derived ultimately from the OIA. and MIA. « ima- », and « ara » *that*, representing the OIA. stem « āra- » *far* (' Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 66, 67).

568. The differences in gender have not been inherited in NIA. In Bengali and other Magadhan, a possible instrumental « *ēĕ, *ē » (=ētēna) seems to have merged into the nominative and oblique, and also a possible plural instrumental > nominative, such as we find, for instance, in the Brajbhākhā « yai, ē, yā ». An expected locative in OB. and MB. would be « ēhĩ, ēhi » : this seems to occur in NB. as এই « ēi », as in এই যে « ēi jē » *here it is*, এইখানে « ēi khānē » *here*, এই হেথায় « ēi hēthāy » *here at this place*, etc.

Corresponding to the form তথি « tăthi », OB. seemed to have possessed « *ēthi ». We have « ēthi » in Oṛiyā, in the oblique, as an equivalent of « ēhā » ; and « ēthi » occurs in Bhōjpuriyā as an expletive like ইসে « isē » of dialectal Bengali. Connected with this possible OB. « *ēthi » we have the form ইথে « ithē » *in this* in MB. (from the ŚKK. downwards).

569. Dialectal Forms for this pronoun agree in general with those for the Third Personal pronoun.

S.-W. Bengali has nominative এউ « ēu », really an emphatic form, = « ē+hu ». The expected plural forms of the type of « ē(u)nē, ē(u)mēnₔ-kārₔ, ē(u)nnē-kārₔ » do not feature in the LSI.

West Rāḍha agrees with the Standard Colloquial in having এ « ē », but the vulgar dialect has a preference for ই, ঈ, « i, ī », owing to contiguity with Bihārī ; and the full forms ইহার, ইহাকে, ইহারদের, ইহাদিগে « ihā-rₔ, ihā-kē, ihārₔ-dērₔ, ihādigē » etc. occur in it.

In North Bengali, ই « i » as well as এই, এও « ēi, ēo » figure for the singular, and ইমরা, ইমরাক, ইমরার « imₔrā, imₔrā-kₔ, imₔrā-rₔ » etc. for the plural, corresponding to তামরা « tāmₔrā » etc. (p. 828).

In East Bengali, we have এ « ē » in the singular, plural এরা « ē-rā », genitive plural এরার এরগো « ērār̤, ēr̤-gō », and ইনি « ini » is singular, with plural এম়ানরা, এনারার « ēānr̤-rā, ēnā-rā-r̤ » etc. for the honorific. The full « -n- » rather than the nasalisation is preferred.

570. Like সে, সেই « sē, sēi », এ « ē », with its emphatic এই « ēi < ēhi » is used as a demonstrative adjective.

[E] THE REMOTE OR FAR DEMONSTRATIVE ও, উহা « ō, uhā ».

571. The forms in Bengali are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural from Singular	Double Plural from Old Plural
Nominative	ও ō (earlier ওহা ōhā)[neuter উহা uhā]	উনি uni (earlier উই uhā, ওই ōhā)	ওরা ōrā, উহারা uhārā (ওসব, ওগুলা ō-sb̤b̤, ō-gulā >	ওঁরা ōrā, ওনারা ōnārā, উহঁারা uhārā
Oblique	ও ō-, ওহা ōhā- উহা uhā-	ঊ ঁ- (ওহা ōhā-), ওনা ōnā-, উহঁ uhā-	ওদিগ ōdig̤b̤-, ওদের ōder̤, উহাদিগ uhādig̤b̤, etc.	ওঁদিগ, -দের ō-dig̤b̤, -der̤, ওনাদের ōnāder̤, উহঁা-দিগ uhādig̤b̤, etc.

572. In Indo-Iranian, there were the following demonstrative bases which gave the remote demonstrative in the Indic and Iranic languages : [i] a base « *ava- » (= Indo-European « * owo- »: Old Church Slav « ovŭ »), giving the Iranian pronoun « ava » *that* as in Old Persian and Avestan (which has become « ō, ū » in New Persian = *he, that,* as opposed to « ē-, ı- » *this* < Old Pers. « ai-ta- » = Skt. « ē-ta- », and « í̄n » *this* = Skt. « ē-na- »). In Indo-Aryan, this base seems to have been current dialectally, although in the Rig-Veda alone it is preserved only in the genitive and locative dual form « avōḥ »; [ii] a base « am-ū (am-ŭ), am-ı » which is characteristic of Vedic and Sanskrit. It is obscure in origin, and seems to be an extension of « a-m », the accusative of the simple pronominal base « ă- » (= Indo-European «* ə̆, *ŏ »), with « u » and « ı » particles,

into « am-u-, am-ı- » which was established as a pronoun (cf. Vedic « tam-u, idam-u ; also cf. « imam » < « im », accusative of a pronoun « i-», *plus* particle « -am ».) This base « amu, amī » is not found outside India. [iii] For the nominative masculine and feminine, Indo-Iranian had the forms « * să-u, * sā-u », a combination of the third personal nominative pronouns « să, sā » *plus* the particle « -u », beside a neuter « tad- u ». (These are found in the Old Greek as « ho-u-, *hā-u-, * tod-u- < tou- » as in « hou-tos, hau-tē, tou-to ».) The masculine « * să-u » and the feminine « *sā-u » apparently were used one for the other. In Iranian these became « *hă-u, *hā-u », and Old Persian generalised the masculine (as « hauv ») for both genders, and Avestan the feminine « hāu ». In Indo-Aryan also, the feminine form was taken up for both the genders ; and there was prothesis of the pronominal base « ă- », giving « ă-sā-u ». (The proper masculine form from Indo-Iranian « * (ă-)să-u » would have been « * asō » in Sanskrit.) For the neuter, a new formation « ad-as » (= neuter pronominal « a-d », cf. « ta-d, ya-d » etc., and a suffix « -as ») was created in OIA.

Leaving aside the nominative « asāu, adas », it is clear that in OIA « amū-, amŭ-, amī- » formed the base for demonstrative, with a possible « ava- » base which is not noticed in Vedic and Skt. except in the dual form « avōḥ ».

The base of this pronoun in Bengali is « ō, ōhă », and not « u », which is later, and dialectal (cf. the case of « ē, ēha » and « ı » of the near demonstrative). The ŚKK., however, shows « ō » only in the genitive ওআর « ōhă-ră » (twice), and it is « ū, u » in the nominative (thrice). The West Rādha dialect even now prefers « u » to « ō ». There is no instance of this pronoun in the Caryās. The ordinary demonstrative « sē, tāhā » seems to have been more popular than the « ō (u) » demonstrative in OB. and MB. This was certainly the case in some other forms of Magadhan, *e.g.*, Assamese and Oṛiyā, which use « sē, sēi » (in Assamese = [xi, xei]) and « sēhi », and do not possess the « ō » form. In the case of some of the pronominal derivatives, Bengali, too, prefers the bases « sē-, tă- » to « ō, ō > ă » : thus, সেখান « sē-khānă » beside ওখান » ō-khānă » *there*, NB. তবে

« tâbĕ » rather than MB. तबे « âbĕ » *then*. In the Ŝaurasēnī Apabhraṅŝa, however, as well as in the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' and of Vidyāpati and others (cf. p. 91), « ō » is found : *e.g.*, Hēma-candra (verse 45, under Apabhraṅŝa) « jaï pucchahu ghara vaḍḍāï, tō vaḍḍā ghara ōi » *if thou askest about big houses, then big houses are there* (« ōi » = « *avĕ »*, locative of « *ava »* : Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 432) ; verse 97, « ō gōrī-muha-nijjiaü baddali lukku miaṅku », *that moon, more beautiful then even Gaurī's face, is hid in the cloud;* 'Prākṛta Paiṅgala' (ed. Bib. Ind.), p. 139, « ō bakkala, ō pasu, ō pāsāṇa » ; p. 348, « sasi ō » (=ŝaŝī saḥ) ; Vidyāpati (Kīrtti-latā) — « bāla-canda, Vijjāvaï-bhāsā, duhū nahī laggaï dujjaṇa-hāsā : ō Paramēsara-Hara-sira sōhaï, I niccaya nāara-maṇa mōhaï » *the scorn of bad men cannot touch these two —the young moon and Vidyāpati's language : that adorns the crest of the Supreme Deity Hara, this certainly pleases the mind of gallants*; etc. In the Apabhraṅŝa which is connected with Gujarātī, as in the Jaina writers, the « ō » demonstrative does not occur : neither is it found in Marāṭhī.

The source of NIA. « ō » (and its variants in the different languages, as below) would seem to be the OIA. base « *ava », which looks like having been current in the spoken dialects, although ignored by the literary speeches—Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali and the various Prakrits—and came to its own only in Late MIA. literature through occurrence in the popular poetry in Apabhraṅŝa. The base « amu- » is quite popular in Pali, it is common enough in Second MIA, : its development in Late MIA. and NIA. would have been « *aʷu-, *aü- » : this may have existed in Late MIA., but it gave place to the colloquial « * ava- > ō- ». The « ava, ō » pronoun has always been a living one in Iranian, and it occurs in Dardic (*e.g.*, Ŝiṇā) : it can well have been a living one in some OIA. and MIA. dialects.

The oblique, honorific and secondary plural forms run parallel to those for « ē », and there is the alteration between « ō, ū (u) » similar to that between « ē, I (i) ». In the Bihārī dialects, « ū, ŭ » are the nominative, and « ōh-, ō-, uh- » are found for the oblique : and corresponding to the honorific « uni, uhā- » etc. of Bengali, Maithilī has « huna-k < *unha-ka », and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā have « unh- ».

573. The « ava- » base is thus represented in some of the otner NIA. speeches :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	ū, wai	on, un, ō	ō-, ohi-, ōh-, wahi-	on-, un-
Hindōstānī	wah, wŏh, wuh	wē	us-	un-
Brajbhākhā	wah, wuh ,wō	wē, wai	wis-, wāhi-, wā-	un(i)-, win(i)-, unhaū-(winhaū-)
Panjābī	uh, ōh	uh, ōh	us-, uh-, ōs-	ōh-, unh-
Lahndī	ō, ū, ūh	ŭ, ū, ō, ōh, ūhē	us-, uh-, ū-	unhā-, unhē-
Sindhī	hū, hō, huā	hū, hō, hōē	huna-	hune-, hunane-
Rājasthānī	wō, u, wŏh, wā	wăĭ, vĭ, wai	waĭ-, ū,- uṇ(ī)-, waṇī-	un-, uṇā-, waṇā-, wā-
Khaskurā	u	una, uni, un	us-	una-, uni-, un-

The oblique singular « -s- » forms of Western Hindī, Panjābī and Lahndī, and Pahāṛī (Khaskurā), are apparently based on the old genitive « *avasya » > MIA. « *avussa », paralleling « ētasya > ētissa », « kasya >kissa ». The plural nominatives, Western Hindī «wē», Lahndī «ubē», Rājasthānī «wai, wăĭ, vĭ », would be from an instrumental nominative plural, «*avahi, hī- > *avēbhiḥ ». The « -ṇ-, -n- » in the Rājasthānī and Sindhī singular oblique would appear to be by the analogy of the Near Demonstrative. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī do not possess a form corresponding to this « *ava- > ō, ū ». Sinhalese has « u », equally derived from « ava» (Geiger : see *supra*, p. 834).

574. There is a NB. locative adverb ओइ « ōi » *there*, which represents either a Māgādhī Apabhraṅśa « *ōi »<« *avē » as in Hēma-candra, *supra*, p. 837), or the locative in « -hi » (*ōhi = OIA. ava + -dhi). ओइ « ōi » is

commonly written অই « ăi », but that does not alter its « ō » pronunciation.
There is no « -thi » form in Bengali as a substitute for the oblique (cf.
তথি, ইতে « tăthi, ithē », *supra*, pp. 825, 834), which we see in the Bihārī
dialects (*e.g.*, Bhōjpuriyā « ōtthu, ōthuă » *that*, Maithilī « uthī, uthī »).

575.   Dialectal forms for « ō, u » run parallel to those for « ĕ, i »,
with only substitution of the back vowels proper to this pronoun, and it is
unnecessary to describe them. In many of the dialects, for instance in parts
of West Rāḍha as well as E. Bengal, as a characteristic phonetic habit,
অ « ă » is substituted for ও « ō ».

576.   The emphatic ওই « ōi » < ওহি « ōhi » (frequently written অই
« ăi ») =*that, that there*, is used as a demonstrative adjective.

577.   There is a superficial resemblance between the NIA. demons-
trative bases and those of Dravidian, which has the bases « i- » for the proxi-
mate, « a- » for the remote and a less common « u- » for the intermediate
demonstrative (or « iv-, av-, uv- »: C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, 'Madras
University Dravidic Studies,' I, 1919). But that resemblance is only
accidental : the NIA. forms can be easily traced back to OIA., and Dravidian
influence here is extremely problematic. The Kōl demonstrative pronouns
are more complicated in their construction and employment (cf. Santali, in
LSI., IV, pp. 43-44), and here the question of influence is even more unlikely.
The question of Tibeto-Burman influence seems to be still more remote.

[D] THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

578.   The forms are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	যে jē [neuter যা(হা) jă(hă)]	জেই jēhă, জিই jihă, যিনি jini	যা(হা)রা jă(hă)ră	যা(হা)রা jă(hă)ră
Oblique	যা(হা) jă(hă)-	যা(হা) jă(hă)-, যেনা jēnă-	যা(হা)দিগ jă(hă)-digă-, যা(হা)দের jă(hă)dēră-	যা(হা)দিগ jă(hă)-digă-, যা(হা)দের jă(hă)dēră-

The pronoun is written with য « y=j » in NB., but in OB. and MB. ঝ « j » was preferred, although য was also used in MB. through Skt. influence (the OIA. source of the word in Skt. « ya- » being well-known).

579. The source of this pronoun is the OIA. relative « ya- ». The nominative যে « jē » = Māgadhī « yē », OIA. « yaḥ », has developed like « sē » from « sa, saḥ »: Assamese has « ji » [zi]. A plural nominative « jē » (« *yahi=*yēhi », MIA. instrumental plural : cf. W. Hindī « jē » plural of « jō ») may have merged into the singular. The honorific is based on the plural genitive « yāna(ṁ), yāṇa(ṁ) » = « yēṣām » : the « ē, i » vocalism in জেহ, জিহ, যিনি « jēhā, jihā, jini » may be due to the nominative. The oblique is the strengthened form of a genitive « jāha ». In Assamese, the neuter oblique has the « i » vowel, being based on the nominative (masc. nom. « ji », oblique « jā- » : neuter nom. « ji », oblique « ji-hā »).

Oṛiyā and Bihārī in the main agree with Bengali : thus—

	Old Singular	Old Plural=Honorific	New Plural
Oṛiyā	jē, jāhā-	jēū, jāhā-	jē-mānē
Maithilī	jē, jāhi, ja-	jani-k (genitive)	jē-sabh
Magahī	jē (jaun), jēh-	jinh- (oblique pl.)	jinh-ak-an-ī
Bhōjpuriyā	jē (jawan, jaun), jēh-	jinh-(oblique pl.)	jinh-kā

Eastern Hindī (e.g., Awadhī, Chattis-gaṛhī) shows « jē » in the nominative, representing the vocalism of Ardha-Māgadhī. The form « jaun » (cf. « taun » for the 3rd personal pronoun) agrees with « kaun » (see infra, under ' Interrogative '). The OIA. « ya- » is preserved in other NIA., exceptingSinhalese, which has adopted the Dravidian device of employing adjectival relative participles instead of the relative pronoun, and this pronoun has consequently dropped off.

580. OB. forms :

Nominative : « jē jē āilā tē tē gēlā » those who came went away (Caryā 7) ; « jē jē gēla » he who (or those who) went (Caryā 15) ; « ja ēhu jaati » (= « *jē ēhu jugati », following the Commentary : Caryā 26): « jē bham-anti » (plural, < « *jahi, *yēbhiḥ » : Caryā 22) ;

Accusative : « jā ēthu `cāhāma » (the printed text has « vāhāma » :
cf. Commentary, « yam paśyāmy atra » : Caryā 21) : « jā laï acchama »
(Comm. = « gṛhītvā tiṣṭhāmi » : Caryā 29) ;

Instrumental : « jē ajarāmara hōi » (Caryā 3) ; « jēna (archaic) tuṭaï
avaṇā-gavaṇā » (Comm. = « tēna yātāyātaṃ trutyati » : Caryā 21) ;

Genitive : « jā, jāhēra » (see *supra*, p. 752) ;

Locative : « jahi » (Caryā 31).

Besides, there are numerous (some dozen) instances of the Western Ap.
nominative « jō » in the Caryās, and one or two instances of the corresponding
Western genitive « jāsu » (in one case, as « jasu » in Caryā 40, it is used for
the locative). This « jō » figures in Brajabuli poetry, and « jāsu, jasu »
occur there as যছু « jāchu » (see *supra*, pp. 473-474).

The locative « jahi » is used as the oblique base in MB., esp. in
the genitive, *e.g.*, যহির « jāhirā » : cf. Oṛiyā neuter « jāhī » = masculine
and feminine « jā(hā) ». Corresponding to « tāthi » (see p. 825), MB. has যথি
« jāthi », as in locative যথিত « jāthi-tā », genitive যথির « jāthi-rā » (see
supra, p. 297).

581. The dialectal forms correspond to those for the demonstratives.
The relative, with its emphatic form যেই « jēi (< jēhi) », is used as an
adjective.

[G] THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

582. The following are the forms for the masculine and feminine :

	Old Singular	Old Plural > Honorific	Old Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	কে kē [adj. কোন্ kōnā]	কেই kehā, কিনি kini	কা হা রা kā-(hā)-rā	কা(হা) রা kā(hā)-rā
Oblique	কা হা) kā(hā)-	কা হা) kā(hā)-	কা হা দিগ kā-(hā)diga-, কা হা দের kā(hā)dērā-	কা(হা দিগ kā(hā)-diga-, কা হা দের kā(hā)dērā- (কেনাদের kēnādērā)

The neuter has a separate form :

Singular Nominative কি, কী ki, kī (adj. =কোন্ kōnạ) ;

        Oblique কি ki, কিসে kise (from base « kīsa- ») ;

        Genitive কিসের kisērạ ;

Plural : কি-সব, কি-সকল, কোন্-গুলা ki-sabạ, ki-sakalạ, kōnạ-gulā, etc.

583. The nominative কে « kē » is the form which characterises all Eastern speeches, Eastern Hindī included. Assamese also shows « kē » instead of the expected « *ki » < Māgadhī « kē », and Oṛiyā also has « kē ». The neuter « ki », from common OIA. « kim » (not « kad », corresponding to « tad, ētad, yad »), is a characteristic form, and this apparently brought about the introduction of « kē » for the masculine.

কোন্ « kōnạ » was originally indefinite, and in its emphatic form কোন, কোনো, কোনও « kōnạ, kōnō, kōnạō < kōnạ-hō » the indefinite sense still survives. The pronoun is found as « kauṇ, kōṇ, kaun, kōn » in most NIA., and has its parallel in the other bases, like « taun, jaun ». It occurs is Western Apabhraṅśa as « kavaṇu, kavaṇa- ». Hoernle derives « kavaṇu » from an Apabhraṅśa quantitative pronoun « kēvaḍu » (' Gauḍian Grammar,' p. 291): but this is inadmissible. Pischel traces it to an OIA. diminutive or pejorative base « kava- » (from the old pronoun « ka- », and from « ku- » *bad* as well) which we find in Skt. forms like « kava-patha » *bad way*, « kavōṣṇa » *slightly warm* (' Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 428). The « -ṇ- » remains obscure still. But « kaun, jaun, taun » apparently form one group : and there is no pejorative sense in this indefinite form. It seems likely that the source of the « -vaṇa, *-vuṇa, -un » forms is the OIA. indeclinable « punaḥ » : «kaḥ punaḥ», apparently regarded as one group from Early MIA. times, « *ka-puna- » > Second and Late MIA. « *kavuṇa- > kavaṇa ». It is a noteworthy fact that « kaun, kōn » is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī : thus the genitive of কোন্ « kōnạ » in Bengali is কার « kārạ », in Hindōstānī « kis-kā », but in Gujarātī it is « kōṇ-nō » and in Marāṭhī « kōṇā-cā »). In the ŚKK., the forms are কোণ, কোণ «kauṇa, kōṇạ », beside কোমণ « kōmạṇạ = kõṼạṇạ », and emphatic কোণেহো, কোহো

« kōṇō-hō, kōnhō ».   It seems that in the Early MB. of the ŚKK. there was a confusion between the uncontracted কমণ, কমন « kåmåṇå, kåmånå = kåẁåṇå » and the interrogative pronominal adjective কেমন, কেমন্ত, কেমত « kē-månå, kē-måntå, kē-måtå » (see *infra*). Early Middle Bengali কোণ « kåuṇå » has its counterpart in Oriyā « kåuṇå-si » *only, some*; and the equivalent of « *kåẁåṇå » of MB. (in MB. it is always an adjective) in Oriyā is « kååṇå, kåṇå » = *what*.

584. The oblique « kā(hā)- » is based on the « -ā(ha) » genitive; and the honorific is the genitive plural, MIA. « kāṇa(m) » for OIA. « kēṣām », with vocalism from the nominative.

The neuter base কিস « kisa- » goes back to the Early MIA. genitive « kissa » (which is already present in Pali) or « kiśśa » (as in Māgadhī) (= OIA. kasya).   The « -i- » vowel seems to have been due to the influence of the neuter base « ki- » (« *kisya > kissa, kiśśa »: cf. Pali locative « ki-smiṁ, ki-mhi », beside « ka-smiṁ, ka-mhi »). During the Early MIA. period, this form extended its sense to the ablative (in addition to the dative), and became stereotyped into the neuter nominative as well, in the sense of *what* : and « kissa, kiśśa > kīsa, kīsa » was loosely compounded with a following noun (especially in the ablative), in Second MIA. (cf. Pischel, § 428).   It seems that on the analogy of « kissa », other forms like « *tissa, *ētissa, *yissa » etc. were built up, which ultimately gave the oblique singular forms of the pronouns in Western Hindī and Panjābī.   Of these, the base « kīsa- » alone occurs in Standard Bengali : it is found in OB. independently, without an affix : *e.g.*, Caryā 6, « acchahū kīsa » *in what am I* ; Caryā 29, « kāhērē kiṣa (= kīsa) bhaṇi maï dibi piricchā » = « kasya kim uktvā mayā siddhāntaḥ pradātavyaḥ » as the Commentary explains; ibid., « Luï bhaṇaï, bhāïba (= bhāẁiba) kīṣ (= kīsa) » = « Lūyī-pādaḥ siddhācaryō hi vadati, mayā... kiṁ bhāvyaṁ ».   In the ŚKK, we have post-positional forms, like কিসক, কিসকে, কিসে (also কীষে), কিসের, কিসেরে « kiså-kå, kiså-kē, kise (kīṣē), kisērå, kisērē ».   The base form occurs in Oriyā as « kīså » ; Assamese has it as « kihå » (< kiså), neuter pronoun (beside a neuter « jihå » < « jiså = yasya »).   The Bihārī dialects do not, however, show the « kīsa » base.   The oblique of « ki » is « kiså- » in NB.

but in eMB. we have also the oblique use of « ki » (*e.g.*, কিকে « ki-kē » in the ŚKK).

585. The honorific is based on MIA. « kāṇa(ṁ) = keṣām » : the genitive কাহান « kāhā-nā » is found in MB. In Maithili, it is the honorific base, « kan-ikẹ ». The « -n- » oblique occurs as usual in other NIA. as well.

586. The locative কহিঁ, কহি « kahĩ, kahi » of OB., and MB., is found in NB. in the form কই « kăi » *where* : in the Standard Coll., কই « kăi » is used in response to a statement or question, but in E. Bengali, it is a general word for *where*. The use of « kăhi » as the oblique base is found in MB. : *e.g.*, কহির « kăhi-rā » *of where = whose* ; also in Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, « kăhi-rā ». The other locative adverb কথি « kăthi » is found in MB., also as an oblique base : *e.g.*, (ŚKK). কথির « kăthi-rā » *whose*. As « kathi », it also forms the locative base of the neuter in the Bihārī dialects (especially Maithilī).

In NB. there is the form কয় « kăy » (in the standard language also as ক' « kă ») *how many*, which is from OIA. « kati ».

587. The forms in OB. :

Nominative indefinite masculine « ke-hō » (Caryā 18) ; neuter « kāhi kariaï » *what is done* (Caryā 1 : locative-oblique used for nominative, < « kāha ») ;

Accusative : neuter « kiṣa, kiṣ=kīsa » (Caryās 6, 29) ; « kāh-ē » (Caryā 6) : « kā » (Caryā 39).;

Genitive : fem. « kāhari » (Caryā 10) ;

Dative : « kāhērē » (Caryā 29) ;

Locative : « kahī » (Caryās 7, 31, 49) ; « kăhi » (= « kăha » +locative affix : Caryā 43).

As an interrogative particle, « ki » occurs in OB. in some instances, *e.g.*, Caryā 33 « dubila dudhu ki bēṇṭē ṣāmāī » (see *supra*, p. 263) ; « bhăga (= bhăṅga) taraṅga ki sōsaï sāara » *can broken breakers suck up the sea ?* (Caryā 42). An archaic « kiṃ » is found in some instances (22, 34, 41). Besides there are the common Western forms—nominative « kō » (16, 29), indefinite « kōē, kōi » (as in 42, 43), genitive « kăsu » (23).

The dialectal forms do not call for any special comment.

[H] THE INDEFINITE PRONOUN.

588. কেহো, কেহ, কেউ « kēhō, kēhā, kēu » occurs only in the singular. It is a nominative Māgadhī form, coming from OIA. « kaḥ api » > Māgadhī «*kē' pi» > *kē' vi > *kē-va > «*kē-ẇa, kē-o » > « kēha, kēhō» (with influence from the emphatic particle « hu, hō »): cf. Oṛiyā « kēi » (= *kēvi). Assamese has « kēo, kēo », Magahī « kēu », Maithilī « kēo », Bhōjpuriyā « kēhū, kēū »; Eastern Hindī as a Prācya speech shows the « ē » vowel: « kēu, kēhū ». Western Hindī has the proper Śaurasēnī « kōī (< kō'vi, kō'pi »). The word « kēhō » occurs in Caryā 18 : « kēhō kēhō tōhōrē biruā bōlaī » *some call thee deformed.*

The oblique form of « kēhō, kēu » is « kā(ha)- » or « kā(hā)- » + case-affix or post-position + « hō, ō », or « kā(ha)-, kā(hā)- » + « hō, ō » + case-affix or post-position : *e.g.,* « kāhā- +-rā +ō » > MB. (ŚKK.) কাহ্রো « kārhō, kāhrō », NB. কারো, কার « kārō, kāru » *whose*; « kāhā-+ō+-kē » > MB. কাহোকে « kāhōkē » > NB. কাউকে « kāukē », beside literary কাহাকেও « kāhā-+-kē+ō » > colloquial কাকেও « kākēō » (and ŚKK. কাখো « kākhō » < « kāhā-+-kā+hō ») *whom.* For the plural forms, the « -ō, -hō » comes at the end of the inflected word : কারাও «kārā-ō », কাদেরও « kādērā-rō », etc. The NB. genitive has a peculiar form in the colloquial, কারুর « kārurā » (either = « kā-r-u » + additional genitive « -rā » ; or = « kā(hā)-+ō+-rā » > কাউর « kā-u-rā », with euphonic « -r- » : « kā-r-u-rā »).

589. The neuter indefinite is কিছু « kichu » which is found in other Magadhan (in Oṛiyā, however, as « kichi »). The OIA. « kim+-cid » occurs as « kimchi, kichi » (= kicchi) in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, with the aspirate « ch », as opposed to stop « kimci » of the South-West (Girnar). This aspiration, so old, is peculiar : was it due to the influence of a possible masculine indefinite « *kacchi < kaścid » ? The NIA. « kichu » also has the emphatic particle « hu » : « kiñchi-hu » (or « kiñci-hu » ?) > « kichu ». (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 465). The Oṛiyā « kichi » may represent the emphatic « hi » (< *kiñchi = kiñci + hi). The loss of nasalisation is very ancient. In Western Hindī, the form is

« kachu, kuch » (= « *kaṁ » used as neuter, +- « -cid, +hu=khu, khalu » ?), also « kichū ».

590. The relative যে « jē », যা « jā » is combined with কেহ কেউ, « kēhā, kēu » and কিছু « kichu » respectively to mean *whosoever, whatsoever.* This combination would seem to be recent in Bengali. The earlier way would be by periphrasis : *e.g.,* যে হউক সে হউক « jē hōukḍ sē hōukḍ » = NB. যে কেউ হোক « jē-kēu hōkḍ » *whoever it may be* ; or by adding the emphatic particle : *e.g.,* যেউ « jē-u », যেহো « jē-hō », as in the ŚKK.

[I] THE REFLEXIVE AND HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

591. OIA. « ātman » *self* changed to « atta- » in Early MIA. (Udīcya, Madhya-dēśa, Prācya). From « atta- » we would expect a neo-Māgadhī « *āta » : but this « atta », in Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, appears to have been overlaid by a cognate form « appa- » from South-Western MIA. (cf. « atpā » in Aśōkan Girnar : *ante,* p. 508). Pali shows only the basic Midland « atta- » ; and « atta- » is continued in the Second MIA. in Māgadhī and the rest, but by the Second MIA. period, the South-Western form established itself in the North and the East. The Second MIA. forms were :, singular nominative « appā », instrumental « appaṇā », genitives « appaṇō », pl. « appāṇa », besides other ones (cf. Pischel, § 401). The nasal of MIA. has been preserved in NIA. in most cases, owing no doubt, to the base being regarded as being, in a vague way, « appaṇa- ».

In the Caryās, we have the following instances of the reflexive use of « ātman > apā, āpana, āpana » :

3 : « āila garāhaka apaṇē bahiā »

The customer came, journeying all by himself ;

6 : « apaṇā mānsē harinā bairī »

Because of its own flesh, the deer is a foe ;

22 : « apaṇē raci raci bhava-nirvāṇā,

michē lōa bandhāvaē apaṇā »

Creating again and again being and extinction by himself,
For naught man binds himself ;

31 : « na jāṇami apā kahī gaï paiṭhā »

I know not where the self having gone has entered ;

32 : « apanē apā bujha tu nia-maṇa »

By thyself understand thou in thy own mind ;

39 : « disaï para-apyaṇā (= appaṇā) »

Other and self are seen.

In the Caryās, as can be seen from the above instances, « apā (= āpā) » is the nominative, « apaṇē » instrumental, « apaṇā » genitive and accusative. The OB. nominative « apā (= āpā) » is an extended form of « *āpa » = lMIA. « *ăppă », Second and Early MIA. «ăppā » =OIA. « ātmā ». The oblique forms are regular OB. derivations of the MIA. « appaṇa » stem. The OB. nominative « āpā, apā (= *āpă) » is now rather obsolete in NB., the « -n- » oblique having encroached upon the realm of the nominative : « āpẹ », without « -n- », meaning *self,* is preserved in the nominative in Oṛiyā (āpē). Instances of the old form আপ « āpẹ » *self,* however, are found in Bengali : *e.g.,* আপ ভালো তো জগত ভালো «āpẹ bhālō tō jăgătẹ bhălō » *if self is good, the world also is good* (cf. Hindī. « āp bhalā tō jag bhalā »); আপ চাইতে পরের উপর দরদ « āpẹ căitẹ părērẹ upărẹ dărăd » *anxiety for another more than for oneself* ; cf. also আপি আপি « āpi-āpi » *all by oneself,* in baby language (cf. Oṛiyā « āpē-āpē »). But in Eastern and Western Hindī, it has been extended to mean the honorific pronoun as well : *e.g.,* Awadhī, both nominative and oblique, singular « āpu » plural « āp » = *your honour,* beside nominative « āpu », genitive « āpan », oblique « apaṇē » = *self, of self* ; Hindōstānī nominative and oblique singular « āp » *your honour, his honour,* plural « āp-lōg, āp-lōgŏ̄-», beside reflexive « āp », oblique « apnē », genitive « apnā, apnē, apnī ».

592. The extension of the sense from the Reflexive to the Honorific (Second) Personal Pronoun is a recent thing in NIA. It is absent in MIA. It is not found in OB. and eMB., nor in the older literatures in the other NIA. tongues. In Early Bengali documents (*e.g.,* in the letter of c. 1555 A.C. from the Kōc king of North Bengal to the Ahom king of Assam, *supra,* p. 828), তুমি, তোমার « tumi, tōmārẹ » are used as respectful or honorific forms, not আপনি « āpăni » as in NB. or « āpuni » as in Assamese.

The Bihārī dialects employed, and even now employ, words like « āhā, ahā, ahaī; ais; raur; rauwā » (see *infra*), and Eastern Hindī also employed « raur », for the honorific of the 2nd person : these words correspond to the NB. মোশাই, মশায়, মহাশয় « mōśāi, maśāyạ̄, mâhâśāyạ̄ » and the Urdū « janāb, hugūr ». The use of the reflexive for the honorific second person is not an Eastern NIA. innovation : nor is it characteristic of the North-Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. : *e.g.*, Panjābī (Eastern and Western) uses « tus(s)ī », the ordinary plural, for the honorific, and « āp » is an imposition from Hindōstānī ; so Sindhī has « tavhī » (? = *tusī < *tussa- < *tuṣma-, yuṣma-), and the reflexive « pāṇa » (= appaṇa < ātman-) is used as an honorific, as in the genitive « pāhₐ-jō », to mean *yours* as well as *yours and mine* ; and in some of the dialects of Rājasthānī, and in Gujarātī, the reflexive base « āpā, āpaṇ- » is used, not to mean *you*, but *you and we* (Gujarātī, however, has « āp » as an honorific second person = *your honour*, declined like a regular noun, but in the plural and in the second person : this use of « āp » is possibly the result of Brajbhākhā or Hindōstānī influence through the Rājasthānī dialects : to denote *self*, New Gujarātī has the base « pōta- » <« *pōpa » < OWR. « apōpa » < Apabhraṅśa « *appahu-appa- » : cf. Tessitori, ' Grammar of OWR.,' § 92) ; and Marāṭhī employs the base « āpaṇ » as an honorific for all the three persons, as well as to denote the inclusive personal pronoun (1st and 2nd persons), like Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Sinhalese partly agrees with the South-Western speeches in using the form « api, apa » (appa-) for the plural of the 1st personal pronoun, only it does not include the 2nd person. (The reflexive in Sinhalese is « tamā », a *sts.* form from « ātman » : Geiger, ' Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 67, 69). Honorific use of the reflexive seems to be absent in the Himalayan (Pahārī) speeches ; and it is not found in Gipsy dialects outside India.

The Eastern, Northern, Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. speeches thus do not seem to have developed in themselves the extension of the Reflexive for the Honorific of a special pronoun : in the last two groups, the reflexive was used as an inclusive 1st personal pronoun. On the other hand, we find that the Midland speech, Western Hindī, uses the reflexive

base for the honorific of both the 2nd and 3rd persons. It is exceedingly likely that the Eastern and other speeches borrowed this use of the reflexive from the Midland dialects, and the Magadhan speeches especially restricted it to the 2nd person only, as they possessed an honorific form for the third. Probably this borrowing is not older than two centuries from now.

593. The forms for the base আপন « āpān- » in Bengali are:

	OB.	Early MB. (ŚKK.)	NB. (Standard Coll.)
Nom.	apā (āpā), apanā, appanā	আপনে, আপুণী, আপুণি āpānē, āpuṇi, -ī	আপনি āpani, আপুনি āpuni
Acc.	apanā	আপনে, আপনাক, আপনা, আপন āpānē, āpānā-kā, āpānā, āpānā	... ...
Ins.	apanā	(as Nominative)	আপনি āpani
Gen.	apanā	আপন, আপনা, আপনার āpānā, āpānā, āpānā-rā	আপন, আপনার, আপন- কার āpānā, āpānā-rā, āpānā-kārā
Dative	...	(as Accusative)	... ...
Oblique base	...	আপনা āpānā-	আপনা āpānā-.

The nominative « āpani » as an honorific has its final vowel through analogy of « tini, ini, uni, jini » etc.: otherwise we would expect « āpānē », and this form does occur dialectally. The plural is made in NB. by adding « -rā, -digā, -dērā » etc. to the oblique, as in the other pronouns. There is a base form, e.g., আপন পর « āpānā-pārā » *self and others*. The genitive আপনা « āpānā » (beside « āpānā ») has the definitive « -ā ».

594. There is the form আপস « āpās » used in the plural, = *among themselves, mutually*, which is found also in W. Hindī and other NIA. The form is obscure, but it can be from a MIA. genitive « *appassa » (< *ātma-sya = ātmanaḥ), as Beames suggested (Comp. Grammar, II, pp. 330-331). It is used in Bengali in the locative as well as the genitive, but in a locative expression only: e.g., আপসে « āpāsē », আপসের মধ্যে « āpāsērā madhyē » *among themselves (ourselves, yourselves)*. Can it be affiliated to a MIA. locative plural « appasu = ātmasu », as a solitary survival of a loc. pl. form in NIA. ?

595. A blend of « āpa » and the Skt. « ātma- », pronounced [ātto], has given the M.B. and N.B. আৱ « āptā » *of self*, which has quite a currency in some compounds, *e.g.*, আৱ-জন « āptā-janā » *relations*, আৱ-সুখী « āptā-sukhī » *seeing to one's own happiness*, আৱ-নারী « āptā-nārī » *one's own wife*, আৱ-গরজে < গরজিয়া « āptā-gōrjē < -gārāj-iyā » *selfish* (Perso-Arabic garz, cf. Pers. xᵛud-garzī), etc.

596. Among dialectal forms for this pronoun may be noted only the S.E. Vaṅga (Chittagong) আঁওনে, আঁওনা « āõnē, āõnā », or আঁনে, আঁনা « ānē, ānā », with rather long « ā », which show the nasalisation of the NIA. « -p- » : « -p- > « -w- » > « w̃ ».

597. The *ts.* word নিজ « nijā, nijā » is used in N.B. to denote *self*. It is found as a *tbh.* « nia » in the Caryās in some 3 places, but the *ts.* « nijā » is established in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

598. The Bihārī forms « rāur-, raur ; rāuwā ; āis-, ais- ; āhā-, ahā- » may be noted. These are used as honorific terms of address, and also as equivalents of *your honour*. « rāur » is found in Eastern Hindī, and is very common in Bhōjpuriyā : it is from a MIA. « lāüla », occurring, *e.g.*, in the 'Prabōdha-candrōdaya' ; the source is an OIA. « rāja-kula- » or « rāja-kulya- » *royal* (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 447) : the Western equivalent of this word is « rāwal ». The word « rāuwā » is only an extended form of « rāū », which is from « rāja- ». The form « āis-, ais- » occurs in dialectal Maithilī ; the source may be a form like « ati-śa » *pre-eminent*, or « atīśa » *supreme lord* (cf. « Atiśa », or « Atīśa », the title of Dīpaṅkara Śrī-jñāna, the Buddhist scholar and saint of Bengal, c. 1000 A.C., whose original name was Candra-garbha : Sarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, pp. 50, 51, 60) : this can be compared with the use of « mahāśaya » in Bengali. The source of « āhā, ahā » is obscure : « ahā- » is found in Early or literary Maithilī, as nominative or vocative, and « ahā-, ahai » are the oblique bases, « -ā, -ai » of which are the genitive and instrumental plural forms. Connexion with the OIA. « bhavān », MIA. « bhavaṅ » presents some phonetic difficulties. The form « ahā, ahā-, ahai- » is used in Maithilī not for superiors

in age or status, but among equals: and it is very likely that the OIA. « āyuṣmān » > MIA. « āyasmā » (as in Pali) is the source: this would give an Apabhraṁśa « *āaṁha, *āṁha, āhā ». There is no form corresponding to « āhā, āhaï-, āhā- ; ahā, ahaï-, ahā- » in Bengali, but it is possible that the personal affix « -ēhē̃, -ē » for the second person of the verb is connected with it (see *infra*, under Verb: ' Personal Affixes ').

[J] PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES, ADJECTIVE AND ADVERB.

[I] Adjectives of Quality or Manner in মত- « -mătǎ », মন « -mănǎ ».

599. These are : তেমত, তেমন « tē-mătǎ, tē-mănǎ » *in that way, like that* ; এমত, এমন « ē-mătǎ, ē-mănǎ » *in this way, like this*; ওমত, অমত, অমন « ō-mătǎ, ă-mătǎ, ă-mănǎ » *like that, in that way* ; যেমত, যেমন « jē-mătǎ, jē-mănǎ » *like that, in the way that*; কেমত, কেমন « kē-mătǎ, kē-mănǎ » *like what? in what way?*. The affix is added apparently to the nominative bases of the various pronouns: for the 3rd personal pronoun the oblique base has influenced the form, though we have সেমত « sē-mătǎ » which is rather rare. For the remote demonstrative the form ও- « ō- » has been broadened to « ă ». The « -m- » in this affix is often pronounced as [w̃].

The source of « -mătǎ » in NB. and MB. is OB. « -manta » < OIA. « -mant-, -vant- » : cf. Vedic forms implying likeness or size, like « ētā-vant-, tā-vant- » *so great*, « yā-vant- » *as*, « I-vant- » *so great*, « kI-vant » *how far*, and Vedic and Sanskrit quantitatives like « i-yat, ki-yat » *so much, how much*. The « -manta » affix in this employ seems to be peculiar to the eastern Magadhan speeches only. Oṛiyā, as being more archaic than Bengali-Assamese, preserves the full form in the adjectives « tē-măntă, ē-măntă, jē-măntă, kē-măntă ». The group « -nt- » changed to « -t- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 502). The Oṛiyā adverbs « ti-măti, ē-măti, ji-măti, ki-măti » also show the « -t- < -nt- ».

The « -mănǎ » forms of Bengali and Assamese are irregular. It seems that quite early in the OB. period, when the full form « -manta » was current, through contamination with the pronominal adjectives of quality in « -hana » (see *infra*, p. 853), « -manta » came to have a variant « *-mana, *-maṇa ». It is already well-established in the ŚKK., so much

so that the proper « -mătă » affix is much restricted, কেমণে, কেমনে, কেমৎ, কিমণে « kĕ-mănē, kĕ-mănē, kĕ-mănạ, ki-mănẹ », for instance, occurring some 20 times, and কেমতে « kĕ-mătē » only twice. In NB., the « -t- » forms are archaic, even for the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and the colloquial knows only the « -n- » forms.

Bengali has also a form মতন « mătăn̄ » *like, similar to* (see next para), which is a blend of « -mătă » and « -mănă ».

This affix « -mătă, -mănă, mătăn̄ » quite early came to be regarded as a separate word in Bengali and Assamese, through confusion with the Skt. « mata, manas < √man » : *e.g.*, আমার মত(ন) « āmără mătă(n̄) » *like me*, তোমার মত(ন) « tōmără mătă(n̄) » *like you*, পুরানো মত(ন) « purānō mătă(n̄) » *like old, oldish*. As a separate word, মত « mătă » is now frequently written মতো « mătō » (< « *-mantaw̌a, manta + ka »), following the pronunciation. The independent use of « mătă, mănă » is fairly common in the ŚKK., where it generally occurs after and strengthens the pronominal adjective of quality in « -hănă, -hnă, -nă » : *e.g.*, কেন মণে, মনে, মতে « kĕnă + mănē, mănē, mătē » *in what way*; এহি মতে « ēhi mătē » *in this way*; যেহ মনে « jēnhă mănē » *in such a way that*; NB. poetic হেন মতে « hēnă mătē » *in this way*.

Early Assamese had the « mătă, mănă » forms : *e.g.*, Śaṅkara-dēva, « hŕdi-sthită huā tumi jēnă kărābāhā swāmi, Hŕṣīkēśă, kăribă tēmănă » *remaining in my heart, just as you will make me do, Lord Hŕṣīkēśa, so shall I do* (Dēvēśwar Chalihā, 'Asamīyā Sāhityar Burañji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, p. 123) ; « cări dină sēhi mătē thākiyā Īśwără » *in that way, the Lord, staying for four days* (ibid., p. 133). Early Assamese also has forms like « jēntē, tēntē » etc. = « jēw̌āntē, tēw̌āntē < jēmăntē, tēmăntē ». In Modern Assamese, the full « -m- » or the altered « -w̌- » forms no longer occur, but contracted ones, « ēnē, jēnē » < « *ēmănē, jēmănē », pronominal adverbs, which seem to have merged into the « -hănă, -hēnă » forms (see *infra*).

With addition of the instrumental « -ē » we have corresponding adverbs : এমতে, এমনে « ēmătē, ēmănē » [æmote, æmone] *in this way*, কেমনে « kēmănē » [kæmone] *how?* etc.; but the adverbial use of the simple « mătă, mănă », without the « -ē » affix, is also found. There is in NB. also a locative use of the « -măn-ē » forms, in which the « -ē » is certainly the locative affix :

কমনে « kåmånē » *where?*, যমনে, যেমনে « jåmånē, jēmånē » *in the direction that*, এমনে « ēmånē » *in this direction*, etc. (the forms « kå- » etc., rather than « kē- » etc., are probably due to the analogy of কই « kåi » etc., for which see *supra*. Contracted forms of these adverbs of direction are found in dialectal Bengali: *e.g.*, EB. কনে « kånē » (< kåōnē, kåŏnē, kåmånē); এনে, এয়ানে « ēnē, ēånē » (< ēmånē) etc. Oṛiyā also has similar forms—« ēnē, tēnē » etc.

[II] Adjectives and Adverbs of Quality in হন, হেন, হ, ন « -hånå > -hēnå > -hnå > -nå ».

600. NB. has the following: হেন, যেন, কেন « hēnå, jēnå, kēnå », dialectally যেনে, কেনে « jēnē, kēnē » (with instrumental « -ē » affix). Besides there is a rare তেন « tēnå ». Of these, হেন « hēnå » alone is used as an adjective: *e.g.*, হেন কাজ « hēnå kājå » *such work*; cf. also যেন তেন উপায়ে « jēnå tēnå upāyē » *in any way possible, by some means or other*. কেন, কেনে « kēnå, kēnē » simply means *why* < *in what way*, and যেন, যেনে jēnå, jēnē » is also a conjunction = *so that, in order that*.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), the corresponding forms were (এ)হেন, তেহেন or তেহু, যেহেন or যেহু, কেহেন or কেহু « (ē-)hēnå; tē-hēnå, tēnhå; jē-hēnå, jēnhå; kē-hēnå, kēnhå », and these were adjectives as well as adverbs—the instrumental « -ē » affix being commonly used for the adverb: *e.g.*, কি নাম তাহার, কেহেন তার রূপ « ki nāmå tāhārå, kēhēnå tārå rūpå » *what is her name, what is her beauty like* (ŚKK., p. 11). In NB., the adjectives in « -måtå, -månå » have practically ousted the « -hēnå, -hnå, -nå » forms from adjectival use.

The eMB. « -hēnå » forms correspond to the Maithilī « ē-han, tē-han, kē-han » (< « *-hana »: the Bengali change of « *-hå- » to « -hē- » is due to the influence of the preceding bases « ē-, jē-, kē-, tē- »).

The Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa source of the Maithilī and Bengali forms would be « *aïhana- (or ēïhana-?), *taïhana-, *jaïhana-, *kaïhana- »; which would represent Second MIA. (Māgadhī) « *ēaïsana-, *taïsana-, *jaïsana-, * kaïsana- » (see *supra*, pp. 95, 555). OIA. has pronominal adjectives in « -dṛśa »—« tādṛśa-, ētādṛśa-, yādṛśa-, kīdṛśa- »

etc. This « -dṛṣa- » affix became « -disa-, -diṣa- », and then « -isa-, -iṣa- » through loss of interior « -d- » in MIA. With a pleonastic adjectival affix « -na » (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 1223 g, 1245 f), this affix was extended, either in dialectal OIA. or in MIA., to give « yaïsaṇa (jaïsaṇa), taïsaṇa (taïsaṇa) » etc., beside « jaïsa-, taïsa- » etc. The OIA. vocalism of the pronominal bases has been regularised in MIA., through what process we do not know. The change of the sibilant to « -h- » in Maithilī and Bengali is peculiar and unexplained. Early Oṛiyā shows forms like « jĕ-sănă », and Old Bengali like « aïsana ». The « -s- » forms occur in Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, and in E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and in most forms of NIA. besides. The presence in OB. of the sibilant in these adjectives (as in « aïsana, kaïsĕ̃, jaïsō, taïsō, aïsa, kaïsē » in the Caryās) is certainly due to Western Apabhraṅśa influence (see *supra*, p. 115). Similarly in Early Maithilī we have the Western « -s- » forms side by side with the native « -h- » ones. Through the Brajabulī dialect the « -s- » forms were once more introduced into Bengal through W. Hindī influence, and from the 16th century onwards, the « -s- » was written ছ « ch » : *e.g.*, যৈছন « yăïchănă = jăïsănă », অইছন ঐছন « ăichănă = ăisănă », কৈছে « kăichĕ » = Hind. « kăisē », কৈছন « kăïchănă = kăïsănă ». The forms without « -n- », corresponding to the Western Hindī « aïsā, aïsī ; aïsē » etc., do not seem to occur in East Magadhan.

In the ŚKK. occurs the correlatives জৈসাণে, তেসাণে « jăisāṇĕ, tĕsāṇĕ », as in জৈসাণে রতি জাণবো, তেসাণে কাহ্ন আণিবো « jăisāṇĕ răti jāṇăbŏ, tĕsāṇĕ Kānhă āṇibŏ » *when I shall understand love's sport, then I shall bring Kṛṣṇa* (p. 21). These correspond with Early Asamese « jăisāni » (ŚKK., Comm., p. 447) : and they are Śaurasēnī «-s-» forms borrowed in OB. which persisted with the earlier literary tradition in MB. and Early Asamese : probably some sort of confusion with a word like সময় « samaya = saẅaya » also existed here.

[III] Nouns and Adjectives of Quantity in ত « -tă » or তো « -tō ».

601. They are তত (তেত), এত, অত, যত (যেত), কত < *কেত « tătă, (tĕtă [tæto]) ; ĕtă ; ătă ; jătă (jĕtă = [ʤæto]) ; kătă < *kĕtă », also তেতক,

এতেক, [অতেক], যতেক, কতেক « tătēkɚ, ētēkɚ, ătēkɚ, jătēkɚ, kătēkɚ », with pleonastic « -ēkɚ » affix, as in Maithilī.   These agree with Oṛiyā « tētē, ētē, sētē, jētē, kētē », and Assamese « tētē(k), ētē(k), kētē(k) » etc.   Early Assamese also had forms in « -tă, -tō » like Bengali.   Corresponding forms occurs in other NIA. speeches : *e.g.*, Hindōstānī « titnă, tittā ; itnā, ittā ; utnā, uttā ; jitnā, jittā ; kitnā, kittā ».

As sources of these in MIA., we have in Western Apabhraṅśa « tēttiu, ēttiu, jēttiu, kēttiu », Second MIA. « tēttia, ēttia, jēttia, kēttia », and First MIA. (Pali) « tattaka, ēttaka, kittaka ».   These MIA. forms are derived from, or are connected with, Vedic quantitatives in « -yant- », like « i-yant- » *so much*, « ki-yant- » *how much*.   It seems that formations made up of the pronominal base + the affix « -yant- (-yat-) » + an adjectival « -tya, -tiya » (cf. Pischel, ' Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 153) gave in Early MIA. forms[1] like « i-yatta-, *a-yatta- (*i-yat-tiya, *a-yat-tiya-) ; *ki-yat-ta- (* ki-yat-tiya-) ; *ya-yatta- (* ya-yat-tiya-) » etc., which were regularly altered into the Pali (with a pleonastic « -ka » as in « ētta-ka, kitta-ka »), Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa forms.   The source-forms of Bengali would seem not to have had the « -ia » ending as in Western Apabhraṅśa (« ēttia, kēttia » etc. should give « *ētī, *kētī » in NIA.), but rather « -a-ka » ending, as in Pali (ēttaka > ēttaa > OB., MB., ētaẇa, ētă > NB. ētă, ētō [æto]).   In Caryā 35 we have « ēta-kāla » (see *supra*, p. 808).

The above forms are also used as nouns in Bengali, as in other NIA., and as such for the genitive they take not the simple ৰ « -ră- » affix, but the affix কাৰ « -kărɚ », or the archaic form কেৰ « -kērɚ ».

In Bengali, the form কতক, কতোক « kătăkɚ, kătōkɚ » has an indefinite sense (= kătă + ō, hō + -kă pleonastic : cf. kēu, p. 845).   MB. has the emphatic কথো « kăthō » (= kătă + hō, hu), which corresponds in formation to the Maithilī « kathū ».

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[1] OIA. ' -(t)tya ' would be expected to become ' cc ' in MIA. ; but a *sts.* ' tt ' treatment is not unknown, cf. ' āditya-vāra > MIA. āītta-vāra > NIA. (Hindī) āit-wār, it-wār' *Sunday*.   In the present case, the form with intrusive ' -i- ' (*e.g.*, ' *ya-yat-tiya > yettia, jettia ') certainly helped to prevent palatalisation of a corresponding ' *ya-yat-tya-.'

[IV]   Adverbs of Time in বে « -bĕ ».

602.   These are তবে, এবে, যবে, কবে « tăbĕ, ĕbĕ, jăbĕ, kăbĕ » ; « ĕbĕ » is archaic and poetic for NB., and it is also found as ইবে « ibĕ », অবে « ăbĕ », dialectally in NB. and occasionally in MB.   In OB., they were respectively « tabĕ, ĕbĕ, jabĕ, *kabĕ, *abĕ (?) »—the first three actually occurring in Caryās 46, 35 and 21 respectively.   Equivalents in Oṛiyā are « tĕbĕ, ĕbĕ, jĕbĕ, kĕbĕ », while « ăbĕ » is not found.   The difference in the vowel of the pronominal base between Oṛiyā (tĕ-, jĕ-, kĕ-) and Bengali (tă-, jă-, kă-) is to be noted.   Modern Assamese does not possess these forms, but Early Assamese did, and the Early Assamese forms agree with the Oṛiyā ones.   In Early and Modern Maithilī « taba, tabĕ, tabŭ ; aba, abĕ, abŭ, ābĕ ; jaba, jabĕ, jabŭ ; kaba, kabĕ, kabŭ » are found.   In Western Hindī, the same forms are found as « tab, ab, jab, kab » (Hindōstānī), and as « tabai; abai, abĕ ; jabai; kabai » (Brajbhākhā).

The forms in « -ĕ, -ai » are palpably locatives, with the locative affix « -ĕ, -ai < -ahi, ahī ».   The source of the forms in Western Hindī and in the Māgadhan speeches would be Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa forms like « *tabba- (*tĕbba-), *ŏbba-, *jabba- (*jĕbba-), *kabba- (*kŏbba) », locative « *tabbahi, (*tĕbbahi), *ŏbbahi », etc.

In Vedic the indeclinable « ĕvá, ĕvā » originally meant *thus* ; in later Indo-Aryan ·it became merely an emphasising particle.   In the sense of *thus*, however, in later Vedic, the form « ĕvám » came in, and this « ĕvám » in all likelihood is but an extension of « ĕvá, ĕvā ».   In Second MIA., « ĕvám » became « ŏvvaṁ », in the sense of *thus*.   In MIA., « ŏvvaṁ » seems to have occurred also as « ŏbbaṃ, *ŏbbā » which further seems to have developed a temporal sense from a modal one, and this temporal meaning was strengthened by putting it in the locative (*ŏbbahī, *ĕbbahi).   Corresponding to « ĕvá, ĕvám > *ŏbbaṁ » which in the Apabhraṅśa stage easily affiliated itself to the pronominal base « ĕ- < ĕta- », it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved, like « *tĕvá(ṁ), *yĕvá(ṁ), *kĕvá(ṁ) », in Early MIA., which would become « *tĕvvaṁ > *tĕbbaṁ » etc.; or « *tavvaṁ > *tabbaṁ »

etc. through substitution of the pronominal bases in « -a- », namely « ta-, ya-, ka-». Thus all these are on the basis of « ēvá, evám > ŏvvaṁ ». The form « ab-ē, ab » would seem to be merely a weakening of « ēbai, ēbĕ ».

Western Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra actually has forms which would presuppose the new formations « *tēva, *yēva, *kēva » on the model of « ēva » : and these forms show MIA. nasalisation of « -v- » : « eṁva = ĕw̃a ; temhva = tĕw̃a, tiw̃a » ; jemhva = jŏw̃a, jiw̃a ; kemhva = kĕw̃a, kiw̃a » (cf. Pischel, ' Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261). NIA. representatives of these adverbs of manner are now found (see infra, p. 860). Locative forms of these occurred as adverbs of time in Western Apabhraṅśa: Hēma-candra actually cites « ēw̃ahī = idānīṁ » (Pischel, § 261). This « ēw̃ahī » of course cannot give the Bengali « ēbŏ > ēbĕ », or the Maithilī « abŏ », and Western Hindī « abai » ; but a parallel MIA. formation « *ŏvva- > ŏbba-, ŏbbahī » alone can.

[V.] Adverbs of Time in খন « khân̐ ».

603. These are তখন, এখন, যখন, কখন « tă-khân̐, ē-khân̐, jă-khân̐, kă-khân̐ » = then, now, when, when ?, besides an অখন < ওখন « ă-khân̐ < ō-khân̐ » then, at that time which is used as a sort of indefinite addition after future verbs (e.g., দেবোঅখন দেবো-খন, দেবে-খুন « dēbō-ăkhân̐, dēbō-khân̐, dēbō-khun̐ » I shall give at some future time, দেবে-অখন, দেবে-খন, দেবে-খুন « dēbĕ-ăkhân̐, dēbĕ-khân̐, dēbĕ-khun̐ » he will give: this influenced the past formations in the Standard Collo-quial like দিলুম্-খুন « dilum̐-khun̐ » = I gave then, and I gave: see infra, Verb, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). The « khân̐ » is from the OIA. « kṣaṇa », which occurs in Bengali as a sts. ক্ষণ « [khæːn, (k)khon] : « tat-kṣaṇam > takkhaṇa, tăkhân̐ » etc., with irregular absence of lengthening. This form of temporal adverb occurs in all the Magadhan languages: Cf. 'Prākṛta Paiṅgala' (Bib. Ind. ed.), p. 304, « jakkhaṇa vīra Hamīra calĕ » when Hamīr the warrior marches; p. 318, « Kāśī-rāa jakkhaṇa calĕ » when the king of Kāśī marches.

[VI]   Adverbs of Place in থা « -thā ».

604. We have তথা (সেথা), হেথা, হোথা, যেথা (যথা), কোথা « tāthā (sēthā) ; hēthā; hōthā; jēthā (jāthā) ; kōthā », which have also locative forms তথায় (সেথায়), হেথায়, হোথায়, যেথায় (যথায়), কোথায় « tāthāy (sēthāy), hēthāy, hōthāy, jēthāy (jāthāy), kōthāy ». The Bengali সেথা « sēthā » is a new formation with a generalised « -thā » base added to the nominative form « sē », and « hēthā, hōthā » are for « ēthā, ōthā » with prothetic « h- » (see *ante*, p. 556). OB. gives « ēthu », a form influenced by W. Apabhraṅśa, in Caryā 15.

These « -thā » forms are based on MIA. « tattha, ĕttha (*ŏttha), yattha > jattha, kuttha (*kŏttha) » which|already occur in Pali, and thus date from the First MIA. period. The corresponding OIA. forms are « ta-tra, *i-tra = a-tra, *ava-tra, ya-tra, ku-tra ». The aspiration in the MIA. forms presents a difficulty. This may be due to the « -r- » (see *supra*, p. 438). Pischel refers « ĕttha » to the Vedic « itthā » (in Skt. « ittham ») = *thus* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 107), and the rest apparently would follow analogically. But W. Geiger derives these from the « -tra » forms ('Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' §§ 9, 62), and cites cases from Pali where we have « -tth- < -tr- », like « sŏtthiya, sŏttiya = śrōtriya », and « ubhayattha = ubhaya-tra ». Can it be that we have the OIA. « √ sthā » here, in original forms like « *tat-stha, *yat-stha » etc. ?

Old locatives of these « -tha » forms like তথি « tāthi », যথি « jāthi » are used as oblique bases for their corresponding pronouns : see *supra*.

The MIA. forms were strengthened with the definitive « -ā » in OB. The « -thā » forms do not occur in Assamese and in Oṛiyā : the latter has « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi, kēṭhi » ; and corresponding « -ṭh- » forms occur also in the Bihārī dialects (see *infra*, § 607).

Assamese has as adverbs of place « tāt (tātē), jāt (jātē), kāt (kātē) », which correspond to the Maithilī « tatay (tatē), jatay (jatē), katay (katē) », besides « ĕtay (ĕtē) » and « ŏtay (ŏtē) » ; and W. Hindī (Brajbhākhā) has « tita, kita (kata), jita » and « ita, itai, ītai » and

« uta ». The Maithilī forms occur in Brajabuli also. They are connected with the Western Ap. locatives like « tĕttahĕ, ŏttahĕ (tĕttahī, ŏttahī) » etc., noted by Hěma-candra : « tĕtta, ŏtta » etc. are apparently the OIA. « tatra, *itra = atra » etc., altered in MIA. in some Western dialect, without the aspiration which we find preserved in Pali « tattha » etc. and Bengali সেথা « hěthā » etc.

[VII]   Adverbs of Place in থানে « khānĕ », etc.

605. Like সেখানে, এখানে « sĕ-khānĕ, ĕ-khānĕ » etc. These are late formations, being compoundings of « sĕ, ĕ, ŏ, jĕ, kŏnŏ » and the noun থান « khānŏ » *place* (< « khaṇḍa », see *supra*, pp. 365, 779 : there seems to have occurred some contamination with the Skt. « sthāna » as well as Pers. « xānah », both meaning *place*).

606. There are similar compounds with থার, থারে « -dhārŏ, -dhārĕ » = *side, edge, bank, limit, line* (*e.g.*, এথারে « ĕ-dhārĕ », ওথারে « ŏ-dhārĕ »), agreeing with the Hindōstānī « i-dhar, u-dhar » etc., and with Bhōjpuriyā « ihar, uhar » with weaking of « -dh- » to « -h- ». (Hoernle derives these latter differently : cf. p. 315 of 'Gauḍian Grammar'). The Maithilī « em-har, jem-har » etc. are connected.

607. Dialectal Bengali (W. Raḍha) shows ইঁদে, উঁদে « indhĕ, undhĕ » *here, there*, etc. which agree with the Bihārī (Maithilī) « indĕ » « undĕ » or « inda, unda » etc. They seem to be connected with the Hindōstānī « yahā̃, wahā̃ » etc., which are old MIA. ablatives, from Western Apabhraṅśa « *ĕahā̃, *ōhā̃ » < Second MIA. « *ĕamhā̃, *ōamhā̃ » < OIA. « ĕtasmāt, *avasmāt » etc. From Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa forms similar to those of Western Apabhraṅśa, the new Magadhan dialects could easily have « ihā̃, uhā̃, inha, unha » and then « indha, undha », locative « indhĕ, undhĕ » etc.

608. Dialectal Bengali preserves also some locative forms in « ṭhi, -ṭi », *e.g.*, সেঠি, এঠি, জেঠি « sěṭhi, ĕṭhi, jĕṭhi » as in South-West Bengali ; ইটি, সেটি « iṭi, sěṭi » in North Bengali. This « ṭhi » seems to come from an OIA. « sthāman » place (see *supra*, under ঠাই « ṭhāi », p. 762).

Oṛiyā also has it, both as « ṭhi » and as an extended « ṭhā-ra- » with the genitive affix.

609. The New Bengali correlatives যাই—তাই « jāi, tāi » *when—then, as soon as—immediately* are from the OIA. « yadā-hi, tadā-hi ».

610. OB. as in the Caryās shows some adverbs of manner in « -ma », unquestionably pronounced « -ŵa » : *e.g.*, jima » (Caryās 13, 19, 29, 30, 31, 41, 43) and « tima » (Caryās 9, 43), and also probably « kima » (Caryā 39). These are Western Apabhraṅśa forms borrowed in OB. Cognate forms in other NIA. speeches are—Eastern Hindī « jimi, timi » etc.; Western Hindī « jyaũ, tyaũ ; jyõ, tyõ ; jyũ, tyũ ; jũ, tũ » etc.; Gujarātī « jēm, tem » etc. These are derived from Western Apabhraṅśa « jeṁva, teṁva, keṁva = jēŵa, tēŵa, kēŵa » etc., which are nasalised modifications of OIA. « *yēva, *tēva, *kēva », formed on the analogy of « ēva » (see *supra*, p. 857. Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261 ; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 98 [3]).

CHAPTER V

THE VERB

[A] Conjugation of the Verb in Indo-European, in OIA., and in NIA.

611. The elaborate conjugation of the verb such as we find in Vedic and in Greek did not obtain in Primitive Indo-European. The conjugational system was exceedingly simple in the oldest period. There was no distinction of tenses as such, and the subjunctive and optative moods were just evolving out of the indicative. The verb root (in simple, extended, or reduplicated form), in the active voice, took up certain personal affixes, either added direct to the root, or with certain *themes*, or syllables like « -*o-, *-nu-, -*so-, -*to-, -*sko-, -*dho- » etc. which were added as links joining the root and the personal termination ; and sometimes there was a nasal infix, « -*ne-, -n- » which came in and modified the form of the root. The force of the affixed themes was to indicate the *aspect* or nature of the action, whether it was progressive or transitory, iterative or intensive, or indefinite. To express a state attained, as the result of a completed or perfected action, the verb root underwent a special modification in itself and further took up certain other personal terminations, slightly different and curtailed forms of the ones mentioned above. The conjugation of the verb in Primitive Indo-European thus fell into two parts, taking in view the kind of action (whether it was completed or not) and the kind of pronominal affixes it adopted accordingly. The paradigm of a root thus falls into two divisions—or *systems*— which have been named (i) the *Present-Aorist*, and (ii) the *Perfect*. These systems did not indicate time relation, but only the action in the present time, incomplete or perfected. If past time were to be emphasised, an adverbial particle « é », called the *augment*, which was always stressed, was placed before the verb form. In course of time this particle became loosely attached to the verb, and the combined

« *ĕ » (> Indo-Aryan = « ā́ ») and verb form resulted in the imperfect and aorist (as well as the ' plu-perfect ') tenses of Vedic and Sanskrit.

The themes or affixes which were added in between the root and the personal terminations (e.g., Skt. « kar-ō-ti, krī-ṇā-ti, div-ya-ti, sah-a-tē, ga-ccha-ti < IE. *gʷ m-sko-ti », etc.) had in Prim. IE. each its special meaning or force, but in the later phase of IE., the earlier *nuances* were to a great extent lost, and in several cases they took up distinct and well-defined values not known before. Thus the « -s- » theme came to denote the past tense in Italic, Celtic and Slav, and developed into the aorist tense of Greek and Sanskrit; the « -so- » and « -syo- » themes developed into the future tense respectively in Greek and in Sanskrit and Baltic. The *Perfect System* gradually evolved into the perfect tense in most IE. languages : thus IE. « *√dṛk » *to see,* with a strong grade (*dórk), reduplicated (*de-dórk) and with the personal affix « -a », gave a form « *de-dórk-a », which was a present form,= *I am after completing the act of seeing,* form which easily developed the perfect or past sense of *I saw,* and the form became the perfect tense, as in Sanskrit (dadárśa) and in Greek (dédorka). The tense and mood forms of OIA. were developed in this way out of the simple *aspects* of IE. The tables below give the relation borne by OIA. tenses to the Prim. IE. forms :

(i) Indo-European Present-Aorist System.
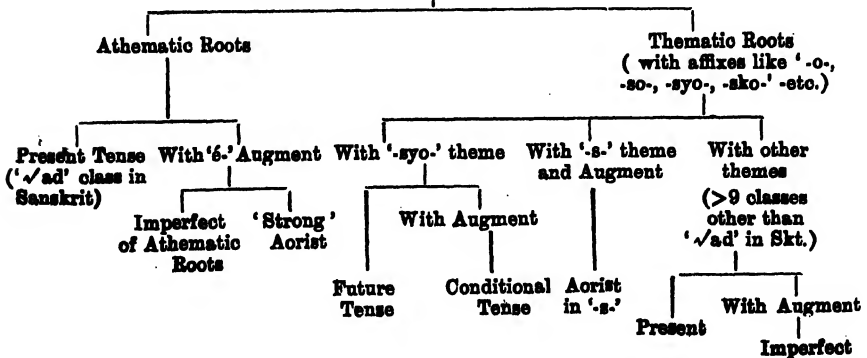
(ii) Indo-European Perfect System

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                        |
        ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
        |                               |
  Without Augment                 With Augment
 (=Original Present)             (=Original Past)
        |                               |
  Perfect Tense                 Pluperfect of Vedic
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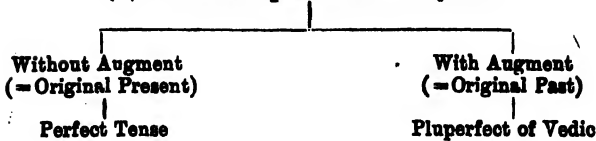
Originally in IE. there were two moods, the indicative and the imperative. From the indicative developed the conjunctive and the optative. The thematic vowels « *-ĕ-, *-ĕ-, *-ŏ-, *-ō- » which at first denoted some particular aspect of the action in the indicative, came to acquire the sense of a special mode, that of the conjunctive or subjunctive : and in some of the IE. languages they became well-established as modal affixes, deviating from their original aspect-indicating function. Similarly the affixes « *-yē-, *-yə-, *-ɪ-, *-oi- » came to be associated with the optative mood : originally (like the « *-ĕ-, *-ĕ-, *-ŏ-, *-ō- » above, and the « -s- » of what later became the aorist, as well as « *-sye-, *-syo- » of what was later changed to the future), « *-yĕ-, *-yə-» etc. indicated some aspect of the action, as much as « -nu-, -nā-» and the other *themes* which have not become specialised for a mood or tense and of which the proper force is no longer understood. And themes of the groups « *-yé-, *-yó- » and « *-éye-, *-éyo- » became respectively the affixes of the denominative and causative forms. The germs of these later modal and other developments in all cases existed in these aspect-indicating themes of Primitive IE.

612. Below is given a conspectus of all the conjugational forms of Vedic, from its own stand-point, and not in historical relationship to Prim. IE. :—the development and systematisation of the former from the latter has been of an intricate character.

This will indicate the extent of the losses sustained by Bengali, which is typical for all NIA.

A CONSPECTUS OF OIA. (VEDIC) VERB-FORMS.

Root: « car », or « cal » *to move, to walk.* (Finite forms given are of the 3rd person singular, unless otherwise stated).

I. The Present System.

A.   Indicative Mood:

(i)   With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Tense :

(a)   Active Voice . cár-a-ti (cár-a-si, cár-ā-mi, etc).

(b)   Middle Voice: (1)   Reflexive: cár-a-tĕ ;   (2) Passive : car-yá-tĕ.

(ii)   With Secondary Personal Affixes, preceded by the Augment = Imperfect Tense :

(a)   Active: á-car-a-t.

(b)   Middle: (1)   Reflexive: á-car-a-ta ;   (2) Passive : cf. á-hū-ya-ta.

(iii)   With Secondary Personal Affixes, without Augment = Injunctive :

(a)   Active: cár-a-t.

(b)   Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-ta ; (2) Passive: cf. sū-yá-ta.

B.   Subjunctive Mood :

With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Subjunctive:

(a)   Active: cár-ā-ti, cár-ā-t.

(b)   Middle: (1)   Reflexive: cár-ā-tăi, cár-ā-tĕ ;   (2) Passive : cf. bhri-y-á-tĕ, uh-y-á-tĕ.

C.   Optative Mood :

With Secondary Personal Affixes = Present Optative :

(a)   Active: cár-ē-t.

(b)   Middle or Reflexive: cár-ī-ta.

D.   Imperative Mood :

(a)   Active: 2 sg. cár-a, 2 pl.   cár-a-ta.

(b)   Middle: (1)   Reflexive: 2 sg., cár-a-sva ;   (2)   Passive : cf. 2 sg., hū-yá-sva.

E.   Participles of the Present System :

(a)   Active: cár-ant-.

(b)   Middle : (1)   Reflexive: cár-a-māṇa ;   (2) Passive : car-yá-māṇa.

II. The Aorist System, in Simple or Non-Sigmatic, Sigmatic (with « -s-, -sa-, -iṣ-, -siṣ- »), and Reduplicating forms of Roots.

A. Indicative Mood :

   (i) With Secondary Personal Affixes *plus* Augment = Aorist (past).

     (a) Active : á-cār-ṣ-ī-t, á-cār-ī-t, á-cī-car-a-t ; cf. á-ruk-ṣa-t, á-vid-a-t.

     (b) Middle : á-cār-ṣīṣ-a-ta, á-cār-a-ta, á-cī-car-a-ta ; cf. á-vid-a-ta, á-bud-dha, á-stō-ṣ-ṭa, á-sthi-ta ;
     Passive : 3 sg. only : á-cār-i.

  (ii) With Secondary Personal Endings, without Augment = Injunctive Aorist.

     (a) Active : cár-ī-t ; cf. dvik-ṣá-t, kār-ṣ-ī-t, bhū-t, dī-dhar-a-t, etc.

     (b) Middle : cár-ṣīṣ-a-ta, cár-a-ta, cī-car-a-ta : cf. 1 sg. sthō-ṣ-am ; páv-iṣ-ṭa ; 3 pl. hā-siṣ-ur ; vid-á-ta ; vṛ-ta, 3 pl. sī-ṣap-a-nta etc.

B. Subjunctive Mood :

   Subjunctive Endings added to Aorist Base, without Augment = Subjunctive Aorist.

     (a) Active : cf. stó-ṣ-a-ti, stó-ṣ-a-t ; kár-iṣ-a-t ; yá-siṣ-a-t ; vid-á-ti, vid-á-t ; kár-a-ti ; sī-ṣadh-á-ti.

     (b) Middle : cf.   stó-ṣ-a-tē ; 3 pl.   sán-iṣ-a-ntē ; vid-á-tē ; kár-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood :

   (i) Optative Endings added to Aorist Base = Optative Aorist.

     (a) Active : cf. vid-é-t ; bhū-yá-t ; vōc-é-t.

     (b) Middle : cf. bhak-ṣ-ī-ta, maṁ-sīṣ-ṭa ; jan-i-sīṣ-ṭá ; ar-ī-tá.

  (ii) Aorist « -s- » added after Optative Base « -yā-, -ī- » = Benedictive or Precative :

     (a) Active : car-yá-s : cf. gam-yá-s, bhū-yá-s.

     (b) Middle : car-ī-ṣ-ṭa : cf. pad-ī-ṣ-ṭa.

D.   Imperative Mood:

    (a)   Active: cf. 2 dual, mṛk-ṣá-tam ; 2 sg. nē-ṣ-a, av-iḍ-ḍhi, sad-á, kṛ-dhí, bōdh-í.

    (b)   Middle: 2 sg. dhuk-ṣá-sva; 2 sg. sák-ṣva; 2 dual, yā-siṣ-ṭám ; 2 pl. sad-a-dhvam ; 2 sg. kṛ-ṣvá, yuk-ṣvá.

E.   Participles of the Aorist System:

    (a)   Active: cár-ṣ-ant- ; cf. sák-ṣ-ant-, śuc-ánt-, gm-ánt-, kr-ánt-, sthá-nt-, etc.

    (b)   Middle: cf. śuc-á-māna, kr-āṇá, budh-āná, yam-a-s-āná, mand-a-s-āná, etc.

III.   The Future System.

A.   Indicative Mood.

    (i)   With Future «-syá-» Base and Primary Personal Endings= Future Tense.

      (a)   Active : car-i-ṣyá-ti.

      (b)   Middle : car-i-ṣyá-tē.

    (ii)   Augment Preterit of the Future, with Secondary Personal Endings = Conditional.

      (a)   Active: á-car-i-ṣya-t ; cf. á-bhar-i-ṣya-t.

      (b)   Middle: á-car-i-ṣya-ta.

E.   Participles of the Future System:

    (a)   Active: car-i-ṣyá-nt-

    (b)   Middle: car-i-ṣyá-māna: cf. stav-i-ṣyá-māna.

IV.   The Perfect System.

A.   Indicative Mood:

    (i)   Primitive Indo-European Present of the Perfect System= Perfect in Sanskrit.

      (a)   Active: ca-cár-a.

      (b)   Middle: cēr-é, cf. tēp-é, da-dh-é,

(ii) Augmented Perfect=Imperfect of the Perfect System=Vedic
   Pluperfect:

    (a) Active : cf. á-ca-cakṣ-a-t.

    (b) Middle : cf. 3 pl. á-ca-kri-ran.

(iii) Injunctive Perfect, without Augment :

    (a) Active : cf. ta-stambh-a-t.

    (b) Middle : cf. di-diṣ-ṭa.

B. Subjunctive Mood :

Subjunctive Inflexions added to Perfect Base=Subjunc. Perfect.

    (a) Active : cf. mú-mōc-a-ti, mu-muc-a-t.

    (b) Middle : cf. ta-táp-a-tē, jú-jōṣ-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood :

    (a) Active : cf. ja-gam-yá-t.

    (b) Middle : cf. va-vṛt-ī-tá.

D. Imperative Mood :

    (a) Active : cf. ci-kid-dhí.

    (b) Middle : cf. va-vṛt-svá.

E. Participles of the Perfect System :

    (a) Active : cf. ca-kṛ-váṁs, ja-gm-i-váṁs.

    (b) Middle : cf. tēp-āná, ja-gm-āná.

V. Participles.

A. Active and Middle, as under the various Tense Systems above.

B. Past or Passive Participle : car-i-tá ; cf. lī-ná, kṛ-tá.

C. Perfect Participle : car-itá-vant (a late formation).

D. Future Passive Participles and Adjectives : cár-ya,   car-áyya,
   car-ēṇya, *cár-tva, car-tavyà, car-i-tavyà, car-aṇ-íya.

E. Indeclinable Participle or Conjunctive : car-i-tvá, car-i-tví ; -cár-ya ;
   cf. kṛ-tvā, kṛ'-tya.

VI. Verbal Nouns and Infinitives :

cáras, car-ásē ; cár-i-tu-m, car-i-tav-āí, cár-i-tav-ē, cár-i-tō-s ;
car-í, car-áy-ē ; car-i-ty-āí ; car-ádhy-āi ; cár-am ; -cár-a-m ; car-áṇ-i ;
car-í-tra ; car-á-tha ; cf. also bhár-maṇ-ē, dā-ván-ē, dhūr-van-ē, sā-táy-ē.

VII.   Periphrastic Forms.

A. Perfect Active : car-ay-ām + ā́sa, -babhū́va, -cakā́ra.

B. Future : caritā́, 1 sg. caritā́smi.

VIII. Secondary Conjugations.

A. Passive : car-yá-tē (Present), á-cār-i (Aorist 3 sg.).

B. Causative : inflected forms like cār-áya-ti, cār-áya-tē, á-cār-aya-t, cār-ay-iṣyá-ti, cār-áy-ē-t, cār-áya-tu, á-cār-ay-i-ṣy-a-t, cār-yá-tē ; etc. ; Active Present Participle cār-áy-ant-, Passive cār-yá-māṇa, etc.

C. Denominative : cār-āyá-tē, cār-āyá-tē, etc.

D. Desiderative : cí-car-iṣ-a-ti, cí-car-ṣ-a-ti ; á-ci-car-ṣ-īt ; ci-car-i-ṣyá-ti ; Causative-Desiderative—ci-car-iṣ-áya-ti ; etc.

E. Intensive : Indicative cár-car-ī-ti ; also Optative, Imperative, Imperfect Indicative, etc.   Present Active Participle, cár-i-car-ant- ; Passive Participle—cár-car-āṇa (cf. kán-i-krad-ant-, jár-bhur-āṇa), car-cūr-yá-māṇa.

613.   Compared with the above elaborate system, that of the NIA. speeches shows a very great simplification.   And Bengali (with Assamese) is perhaps more simplified than any of its sisters and cousins—the distinction in number for verb forms, which obtains in almost all NIA. speeches, the inflected passive, the « karmaṇi » and « bhāvē prayōgas » of W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the negative conjugation of Khaskurā, etc., are all absent.   The curtailment of the OIA. system has been carried out along the lines indicated below, to give that of Bengali :

    I.   The Present System : the OIA. *themes* have been in a few instances retained in the root in NB.

A. Indicative Mood :

   (i) The forms for the Present Tense alone have been retained :

OIA. calati	> NB. cálē :	OIA. calanti	> NB. cálēṅ ;
calasi >	cáli-s :	calatha >	cálā, cálō.
calāmi >	cáli :	(calāmaḥ >	cálō).

D. Imperative Mood :

3 pers. calatu > câlâu > câlu, câlu-k¢; calantu > câlun¢;

2 pers. cala   > câl¢ ;   calata   > câlâ, câlō.

E. Participles :

> (a) Active : calant- > calanta > câlântâ, câlit- (= the base of
> the Conditional or Habitual Past).

> (b) Passive or Middle : calamāna > câlānâ (with Causative
> influence).

II.   The Aorist System : entirely lost.

III. The Future System :

A.   The Indicative future in « - syá- » was inherited in OB., but NB.
retains only the forms for the 2 person as a Future Precative, or
Imperative with Future implication : «caliṣyasi > câlis, caliṣyatha
> câlihâ > câliō > cōlō ».

IV.   The Perfect System : entirely lost.

V.   Participles :

The Past Passive Participle in « -tá, -itá », fortified in Late MIA.
by the pleonastic « -illa » affix, gave the Past as well as Adjectival
Base of Bengali, in « -ila », and also the Conditional Gerund
in « -il-ē » ; without the « -ila », this OIA. « -(i)tá » participle in
the source of the Bengali Verbal Voun in « -â ».

The Future Passive Participle in « -(i)tavya » was altered into the
Bengali Future Base in « -ibâ », and of the Verbal Noun in « -ibā ».

The Conjunctive Participle affix « -ya » of OIA. lives in the Bengali
Conjunctive affix « -i-yā ».

VI.   Verbal Nouns :

Some have been preserved : « câl¢, câl¢, câl-ân¢ » etc.

VII.   Periphrastic Forms—not preserved.

VIII.   Secondary Conjugations :

The Causative, in the MIA. form of « -āpa- », and the Denominative,
are partially represented in the Bengali affix « -â- ». The original
ablaut grade of the Causative has occasionally been maintained.

The above are thus the comparatively few forms inherited by Bengali as a NIA. language. In MB. and OB. a few other relics of OIA. forms are found which are already tending to became obsolete. The losses have been to a great extent made good by newer formations (*e.g.*, by the development of compounded verbs; and the use of particles and help-words). The syntax too has altered, to help in fixing the language in its new and altered environment.

[B] BENGALI VERB-ROOTS.

[I] HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION.

614. The number of Sanskrit verb-roots, according to the grammarians, comes up to some 2,000 (1961, according to N. L. Westergaard's lists in O. Böhtlingk's 'Pāṇini,' Leipzig, 1887, pp. 62*-84*). Of these, only slightly over 800 have been found in literature (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, the Epics, and Early Sanskrit works), employed their conjugated forms. Of this number, again, some 200 belong to the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas alone, about 500 occur in both Vedic and Sanskrit, and less than 150 are found in the later literature alone (W. D. Whitney. 'The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,' German ed., Leipzig, 1886, p. 244). OIA. as in the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas has consequently registered less than 700 roots which were in living use as verbs, apart from those occurring only in nominal and other derivatives. This number, 700, can by no means be said to exhaust all the verb-roots in the speech of the OIA. period, but considering the extent of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic literature, and fact that this literature touches upon almost all the aspects of the life of the times, the number of roots not represented cannot be very many.

Many of the 800 roots actually used in OIA. literature (Vedic and Early Sanskrit) are merely extensions of primitive roots, and in some cases, as we advance into the MIA. stage, are but Prakritic modifications of OIA. roots. The number of primitive roots inherited from IE. by OIA. will necessarily be rather small. Be it as it may, the absence of some 200 Vedic roots in Sanskrit shows that this inheritance was not retained

intact by the Aryan speech in India. Old roots changed their meaning, and went out of fashion; and the losses were made good by building up anew with the old materials, and in a few rare instances by possible borrowings from the non-Aryan speeches. The MIA. vernaculars employed a large number of derived forms as new roots. The spoken language reacted on the literary speech, Sanskrit, and numerous MIA. forms were adopted into Sanskrit in a slightly altered form, and were gradually accepted by the Sanskrit grammarians, and given an equal place with the primitives. There could be no rule to guide the caprice why some Prakrit roots were taken up and others rejected by Sanskrit: thus « bruḍ < buḍḍa, hiṇḍ, hikk, khēl, kaṭṭ, lag, piṭṭ » and a number of others have found a place in both the « dhātu-kōṣa » and the literature of Sanskrit, but other equally good Prakrit roots like « kaḍḍha < kṛṣṭa, lukka, cukka, phiṭṭa, cagh, bhar <smṛ, ghūl < ghūrṇa » were rejected. The grammarians of later ages (from the Second MIA. period) seen to have encouraged this practice to some extent. Sanskrit the language the Gods and the *Riṣhis* was the mother of all language, and this was apparent from the vernaculars of Northern India; consequently, vernacular words and roots must necessarily originate from those of Sanskrit: when the grammarians were agreed on this principle, at a time when the historic development of forms by phonetic and other changes was not fully understood, the Sanskrit « dhātu-kōṣa » began to grow in extent by the accession of new roots foisted on it by grammarians. Of the roots in the current « dhātu-kōṣas » a small number may even have been the creations of grammarians to explain words of doubtful etymology; but the bulk of them may legitimately be regarded as having been in actual use in IA., though not in its oldest period. Thus in addition to the aristocratic roots of direct IE. origin like « as, bhū, sthā, gam, yā, ad, mṛ, dṛś, dram, cal, pat, dhā, div, mṛj, snih, duh » etc., the « dhātu-kōṣas » give as good Sanskrit humbler roots of late and obscure origin, like « 'gu(ṇ)ḍi' vēṣṭanē, cūrṇīkaraṇē'pi; 'ḍipa' kṣēpē̤; 'bha(n)ḍi' paribhāṣē; 'kha(ṇ)ḍi' manthē; 'capa' kalkanē; 'juḍa' prēraṇē; 'caha' pari-kalkanē; 'khiṭa' uttrāsanē; 'lōḍṛ' unmādanē; 'jimu' adanē; 'huḍṛ, hōḍṛ' gatāu; 'ḍīpa' vibhāyasa-gāmanē; 'muṭa'

saṁcūrṇaṅ; 'dhakka' ṇāśaṅ; 'bukka' bhāṣaṅ; 'kaṇa' nimīlaṅ; 'kaḍḍa' kārkkaśyē; 'laḍa' vilāsē; 'aḍḍa' abhiyōgē; 'aḍa' udyamē; 'ṭuṭa' alpa-bhāvē», ʼetc., etc., which have in almost all cases NIA. equivalents, and can in the majority of cases be explained easily as secondary formations from words derived from primitive Aryan roots; the origin of quite a number of them, however, remains obscure.

615. The number of verb-roots in Bengali is 1,056, according to the excellent grammar of Paṇḍit Nakuleśwar Vidyābhūṣaṇa (4th ed., Calcutta, Bengali year 1315). This includes original or primitive roots, causatives, and a number of denominatives used chiefly in literature, and excludes onomatopoetics. A Bengali « dhātu-kōṣa » of about 1,500 roots has been easily compiled by me on the basis of Jñānêndra-Mōhan Dās's dictionary (see *supra*, p. 218): this includes onomatopoetics, and a number of obsolete roots not used in NB., beside a large number of Sanskrit denominatives used in high literature. The number will be much larger if proper *tbh.* roots in early Bengali literature and in the present-day dialects are all brought together.

Roots in Bengali, as in other cognate IA. speeches, can be classified on the lines indicated below, taking into consideration their origin, and partly also their function:

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                    ┌─Primary Roots inherited from OIA. (tbhs.):
                    │    (a) Simple Roots, (b) Prefixed Roots.
                    ├─Primary Roots from Causatives in OIA.
1. Primary  Roots──┤─Primary Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit
                    │     (tss. and stss.)
                    └─Primary Roots of doubtful origin (dēśī ?)

                    ┌─Causatives in «-ā-».
                    │                        ┌─Native   ┌─(a) Early(inherited)
                    │                        │  (tbh.)──┤
                    ├─Denominatives──────────┤          └─(b) MB. and NB.
2. Secondary Roots──┤                        ├─Tatsama.      (coined)
                    │                        └─Foreign.
                    ├─Compounded and Suffixed (tbh.)
                    ├─Onomatopoetic.
                    └─Doubtful.
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(1) Primary Roots.

616. Primary Roots in Bengali, at a rough computation, number about 300. Strictly speaking, denominatives derived from MIA., which number about 100, may be classed under primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Bengali and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from OIA. (*e.g.*, a root like কাড় « kāṛ » *snatch away* < « kaḍḍha = kṛṣṭa ») : these might have been denominatives in MIA., but the nouns or adjectives which were their sources are in many cases obsolete in Bengali.

617. There are a little less than 200 roots in Bengali which can mostly be traced right up to primary roots of OIA. (Vedic and Sanskrit, and in some cases only to the early Prakrits). Examples are, of unprefixed roots : « আছ āch (MIA. acchati, IE. *es-sko-ti) ; ইছ ich (icchati) ; কষ kaṣ *tighten* (kṛṣ) ; কর kăr (kṛ) ; কাঁদ kǎd *weep* (krand) ; কাঁপ kǎp (kamp) ; কাট kāṭ (kṛt) ; কিন kin (krīṇāti) ; কুঁড় kūd (kūrdati) ; খন khǎn (khan) ; খা khǎ (khǎd) ; খুঁজ khǔj *seek* (? kṣudyatē) ; খেল khêl (khêlati) ; গাঁ, গুণ gǎn, guṇ (gaṇ) ; গিল gil (gil, gir) ; চর cǎr *graze* (car) ; চল cǎl (cal) ; চি ci *awaken* (cit, cf. cêtayati) ; চু cu (cyav) ; চুন (cinôti) ; চুম cum (cumb) ; ছা chǎ (chǎd) ; ছাড় chǎr (chard) ; ছিঁড় chǐr (chiṇḍ, chindati) ; ছেঁচ chêc (sic, siñc) ; জপ jǎp *persuade* (jalp) ; জাগ jǎg (jǎgṛ) ; জি ji (jīv) ; জিন jin (jināti) ; জ্বল jwǎl = জল jǎl (jval) ; টান ṭǎn (tan) ; টুট ṭuṭ (truṭ) ; †দহ dǎh (dah) ; ঢাক ḍhǎk (MIA. ḍhakk) ; তর tǎr (tṛ) ; তাজ tǎj (tarj) ; তুল tul (tul) ; †দগ dǎś (damś) ; দল dǎl (dal) ; দুল dul (cf. dôla) ; দুহ duh (duh) ; দুষ duṣ (duṣ) ; দে dê (dǎ) ; দেখ dêkh (MIA. dekkh < dṛkṣ) ; ধর dhǎr (dhṛ) ; ধ্বস dhwǎs = ধস dhǎs (dhvas) ; ধা dhǎ (dhǎv) ; ধো dhô (dhǎv) ; †ধুন dhun (dhvan) ; নাহ nǎh (snǎ) ; নে nê (nī) ; নু, নো nu, no (nam) ; পচ pǎc *to get rotten* (pac) ; †পি pi (pibati) ; পিঁজ pǐj (piñj) ; পুছ puch (prcchati) ; পূজ pūj (pūj) ; কাট phǎṭ *split* (OIA. sphǎṭ < *sphḷt) ; ফুট phuṭ (ibid) ; বাঁট bǎṭ *distribute* (vaṇṭ) ; বট bǎṭ *remain, be* (vṛt) ; বর bǎr (vṛṣ ?) ; বাচ bǎc *live* (vañc) ; বোল bôl (brū) ; বস bǎs (vas) ; বহ bǎh (vah) ; বাধ.bǎdh (bandh) ; বিঁধ bǐdh (vyadh) ; বুঝ bujh (budh) ; বুল bul *wander about* (val) ; ভজ bhǎj (bhaj) ; ভর bhǎr (bhṛ) ; ভাজ bhǎj *fry, roast* (bhṛjj) ; ভাঁজ bhǎj *fold*

(bhañj); ভূষ bhūṣ (bhūṣ); মহ māh *churn* (math); মজ māj *sink, get juicy* (majj); মিস miś (miśr); মিল mil (mil); মাড় māṛ (mṛd, mard); মাখ mākh (mrakṣ); মল māl (mard); যা jā (yā); যাচ jāc (yāc); যুঝ jujh (yudh); রাখ rākh (rakṣ); লহ lāh (labh); লখ lākh (lakṣ); লাগ lāg (lag); লাজ aj (lajj); লাল lāl (lal); লুঠ luṭh (luṇṭh); শুষ śuṣ (śuṣ); শুন śun (śṛṇōti); শুক śūk (śuṅgh); শো, সো śō, *lie down* sō (svap); সহ sah (sah); সর sār (sṛ); সি si (sīv); সিঝ sijh *be boiled* (sidh); শোহ, সোহ sōh (śubh); হের hēr *scrutinise, gaze* (cf. ākheṭa *hunting*) », etc., etc.

Of prefixed roots, examples are « আ ā (ā-yā); আস, আইস ās, āïs (ā-viś); আওজ āoj *make half-shut* (ā-vṛj); আঁচ āca (ā-cam); আন ān (ā-nī); আছাড় « āchāṛ » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chard); উছল uchāl *overflow* (ut-śal); উঠ uṭh (ut-sthā); উতর utār *reach* (ut-tṛ); উপেখ upēkh (ut-pra-īkṣ); উই ui *rise, as the sun* (ud-i); উজা ujā *flow up, as a river* (ud-yā); উপচ upāc *flow over* (ut-patyatē); উপজ upāj (ut-padyatē); উলহ, উল, উর ulāh, ul, ur *descend* (ut-labh); নিবা, নিভা nib(h)ā (nir-vā); নিরখ nirākh (nir-īkṣ); নিসর nisār (niḥ-sṛ); নিহাল, নিহার nihāl, nihār (ni-bhāl); নিবৃ nibār *finish* (nir-vṛt); নেউট nēuṭ *return* (ni-vṛt); পাখাল pākhāl (pra-kṣāl); পরখ pārākh (pari-īkṣ); পরস pārās *serve food* (pari-viś + sparśa); পর < পহির pār < pāhir (pari-dhā); পরিহর pārihār (pari-hṛ); পস, পইস pās, pāïs (pra-viś); পোঁছ pōch *wipe* (pra-uñch); পোহা pohā *dawn* (pra-bhā); বস, বইস bās, bāïs (upa-viś); ভিজ bhij *get wet* (abhi-añj); বিক bik *sell* (vi-krī); সাঁতর sātār *swim* (sam-tṛ); সামাল sāmāl *gather up, save* (sam-bhāl); সাপ, সোপ sāp, sōp (sam-arp) »; etc., etc.

618. The primary roots have all come to Bengali through the MIA., and as such they bear the stamp of the phonetic modifications of the various periods. The ten classes (gaṇas) into which the Sanskrit grammarians have arranged OIA. verb-roots, taking into consideration their *themes,* became levelled down to one in Apabhraṅśa, and all original thematic affixes which were added to the root in the present system were lost in MIA., being either dropped or incorporated with the root. In some instances, however, a characteristic theme could not be dropped; and the presence of the « -ya- » theme is indicated by the result of its assimilation with the consonant of the root. Bengal

primary roots inherited from OIA. have preserved only a few traces of these themes : thus—

1. « -ya- » theme: *e.g.*, « সিঝে sijhē (sidh-ya-ti); নাচে nācē (naccaï, nṛt-ya-ti); যুঝে, জুঝে jujhē (yudh-ya-ti); শুষে śuṣē (śuṣ-ya-ti); বুঝে bujhē (budh-ya-ti); সমুঝে samujhē (sam+budh-ya-ti); টুটে ṭuṭē (truṭ-ya-ti); মানে mānē *honours* (man-ya-tē) » ; etc.

2. « -nō- » theme : « চুনে cune *culls, selects* (ci-nō-ti); শুনে śunē (śṛ-ṇō-ti); ধুনে dhunē (dhu-nō-ti) » ;

3. « -nā- » theme : « কিনে kinē (krī-ṇā-ti); জিনে jinē (ji-nā-ti) » ; (cf. জানে jānē = jānāti) ;

4. The « -cch- » theme (= IE. * -sko-), not recognised by Sanskrit grammarians, occurs in the roots « আছে āchē (acchati, * es-sko-ti); ইছে ichē (icchati); †পুছে puchē (pṛcchati); পহুঁছে pāhūchē (pahuñcaï, pahucchaï, * prabhucchati, *pro-bheu-sko-ti) ».

Original Passive forms, with « -yā- » affix of the Passive, *e.g.*, « উপচে upācāy *overflows* (utpatyātē); †উপজয় upājāy (utpadyātē); OB. dīsaï (dṛś-yā-tē) ; রোচে, রুচে rōcē, rucē *is pleasing* (rucyātē) », etc., may be noted here.

The « -n- » infix of OIA. remains as a nasalisation of the root vowel in Bengali forms like « ছিঁড়ে chīṛē (chiṇḍ-a-ti, chi-n-d-a-ti); ভাঁজে bhāñjē (bha-ñ-j-a-ti) », etc. Cf. « বাঁধে bādhē (*bandh-a-ti); রাঁধে rādhē (randh-aya-ti) ».

619. Apart from phonetic modification and decay, and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in the stem seeking to marshal the roots under one head, primary roots underwent certain modifications in MIA which would appear erratic and inexplicable. These have been described by Hoernle in his paper on Hindī Roots (JASB., 1880, Part I, p. 35ff.). Phonetic changes which altered « samarpayati » to « sāpē », « vismarati » to « bichurē », « upaviśati » to « bāsē », « svapiti » to « sōy », « abhyajyatē »' to « bhijē » « profichati » to « pōchē, mōchē » are sufficiently clear: and the analogical tendency levelling down the diversities in the forms of roots is plain enough. The striking thing is that in MIA., the bases

of active roots are frequently derived, not from the active form in OIA., but rather from the passive one, and in some cases apparently from the future base rather than that of the present. Causative bases of OIA. also supplied the simple root forms of MIA. and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA. can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved, and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes : *e.g.*, « abhyajyatē » *is anointed* > *anoints oneself* > ভিজ « bhijē » = *gets wet* ; « tapyatē » > MIA. « tappaï » *is heated* > *heats oneself*, > তাপ « tāpē » *gets hot* ; « namyatē » *is bent, gets bent, bends* > নাম « nāmē » *descends* ; « brūyatē » *is said* > « *buryati > bōllaï » > বোলে, বলে « bōle, bālē » *says* ; etc. A number of derivatives from passive participles are similarly used actively. Certain roots in OIA., ending in « ś, ṣ » (also other consonants —« c, j, h »), change the final consonant to « k » before the « -sya- » in the future, resulting in « -k-ṣya- » for the future base. The MIA. change of « -k-ṣya » was « -kkh- » or « -cch- ». In some instances, it seems that on the model of MIA. bases like « puccha = OIA. prcch, gaccha, pēccha = pra + īkṣ, accha, yaccha, *pahuccha, *pahuñca = NIA. pahŭch- », certain roots employed for the present their future bases in « -ccha- < -k-ṣya- ». (Hoernle, *op. cit.*). Thus OIA. « ā + krak-ṣya-ti », from « √kṛṣ », would give « ā + kacchaï > ā-acchaï, *ayacchaï, *āyañcaï » in MIA., which apparently was the source of Hindī « aiñcai, aĩcai » *draws*, Bengali ট্যচ্ড়ায় « h-ăc-ṛ-ā-y » *drags* (with prothetic « h- », and « -ṛ- > -ḍ- » extension). Such future > present bases do not, however, seem to have been as numerous in MIA. and NIA. as Hoernle makes them out to be (*op. cit.*).

620. There are slightly over 50 roots in Bengali which were originally causatives in OIA. The old ablaut modification (guṇa) of the root vowel is preserved in Bengali, and the meaning has in many cases been slightly modified. These old causatives have become primary roots in Bengali, and a regular causative form with the « -ā- » affix has been built up both from this causative-primary and its basic root : *e.g.*, « patati » > পড়ে « pāṛē » *falls*, « pātayati » > পাড়ে

« pāṛē » *causes to fall, fells, gets a thing down* ; whence new formations in
« -ā- »—পড়ায় « pāṛāy » *causes to fall,* and পাড়ায় « pāṛāy » *causes to
fell, causes to get something down from high.* The root পাড় « pāṛ » has become,
so far as NB. is concerned, an independent form, with the sense of
taking down a thing. Examples of these causatival formations :
উঘারে « ughārē » (udghāṭayati) ; উপাড়ে, উপাড়য় « upāṛē > upāṛāy »
(utpāṭayati) ; গালে « gālē » *strains, causes to flow off* (gālayati),
beside গলে « gálē » *melts, slips through like water* (galati) ; MB. গোঁওাঁএ
« gõẁãē » *passes time* (gamayati) ; চাবায়, চিবায় « cābāy, cibāy » *chews*
(carvayati) ; চালে « cālē » *causes to move* (cālayati), beside চলে « cálē »
walks (calati) ; ছোঁড়ে « chõṛē » *casts, throws from a distance as a ball,*
beside ছুটে « chuṭē » *runs* (Dhātupāṭha=√chuṭ—choṭayati *splits, cuts*) ;
টানে « ṭānē » *pulls* (caus. < √tan) ; তারে « tārē » *saves* (tārayati),
beside তরে « tárē » *crosses, is saved* (tarati) ; তাপে, তাওরে « tāē, tāẁē »
(tāpayati) ; ধারে « dhārē » from earlier উধারে « udhārē » *borrows, remains
a debtor* (uddhārayati), besides ধরে « dhárē » *holds* ; থোয় « thõy » *places*
(sthāpayati) ; MB. নোঁওেঁ « nõẁē », NB. নোয় « nõy » *bends* (« nāmayati »,
confused with « namati ») ; পায় « pāy » (« prāpayati », in the sense
of « prāpnoti ») ; পসারে « pásārē » *extends, spreads out* (prasārayati) ;
পারে « pārē » *is able, succeeds* (pārayati) ; পুরে « pūrē » (pūrayati) ; ফাড়ে
« phāṛē » *splits* (sphāṭayati) ; বাহে, বায় « bāhē, bāy » (vāhayati) ; বাটে
« bāṭē » *pounds (spices) with a stone roller* (vartayati) ; বারে « bārē » *shields,
stops* (vārayati) ; MB. ভায়ে « bhāẏē » *appears* (bhāvayati), beside MB.
হোএ « hõē » (bhavati) ; মারে « mārē » *kills, strikes* (mārayati), beside
মরে « márē » (*marati = mriyatē) ; মাপে « māpē » *measures* (old *sts.* =
*māppēi < māpayati : cf. Hindī nāpe *measures* = nāppēi = jñāpyatē) ;
মোহে « mōhē » (mōhayati) ; রাঁধে « rãdhē » *cooks* (randhayati) ; টালে
« ṭālē (ṭālayati), beside টলে « ṭálē » (ṭalati) ; সারে « sārē » *repairs* (sārayati
arranges, nourishes) besides সরে « sárē » *moves, goes to* (sarati) ; হারে « hārē »
is defeated (hārayati) beside হরে « hárē » *takes away, steals* (harati) ;
cf. *dēsī* ঢালে « ḍhālē » *pours* beside ঢলে « ḍhálē » *reels* ; etc., etc.

621. A number of roots, which do not at all look like
secondary formations, cannot be traced to any OIA. (Sanskrit) form ;

although it is extremely likely that they are in most cases *tbhs.* Analogous forms occur in the « dhātu-kōṣas » in some cases, but that is no help in determining the origin. A few resemble Dravidian roots of similar meaning, and these may be of Dravidian origin : *e.g.,* এড় « ঊṛ = ōḍ » *give up*; নড় « naṛ = naḍ » *move, walk* (< OIA. nṛt *dance* > MIA. naṭ, naḍ ?); কুদ « kud » *leap* (cf. Skt. kūrd); মুড় « muṛ = muḍ » *fold, wrap*; dialectal শাপড় « śāpāṛ = śāpaḍ » *eat, gobble up, finish* (*e.g.,* ভাত শাপড়ান « bhātś śāpaṛāna » *finishing one's meal of rice*) : roots exactly similar in form and meaning to all of the above are found in Tamil. Roots that would come under this group of obscure etymology would be, among others—

« আঁচ āc *guess*; আঁট āṭ *tighten*; কাচ kāc MB. *dress*, NB. *wash clothes*; কুড় kūṛ *pound*; কুদ kud *carve*; খস khās *slip off*; খাট khāṭ *work, labour, put money on a trade,* or *lend at interest* (in the last sense a late Skt. « √khaṭṭ » has been found: see Jñānēndra Mōhan Dās's Dictionary, under খাটান); খুঁট khūṭ *scratch, rub, rub gently with the finger-tips or nails, peck with the beak*; খুল khul *loosen, open, open bolt*; গাদ gād *ram in*; ঘির ghir *surround*; ঘুচ ghuc *come at an end, be finished,* cf. Assamese ঘচ gus *enter*; চট cāṭ *be angry, get ruffled or cracked*; চাহ cāh *look at, ask* (OIA. « cakṣ » ?: cf. Aśōkan « caghati » = *strives, wants* < OIA. « *cagh » = IE. root?); চাঁচ cāc *scrape*; চাট cāṭ *lick* (OIA. caṣṭa. √cakṣ ?); চাপ cāp *press*; ছাক chāk *strain*; ছাঁট chāṭ *clip off*; ছাপ chāp *print, press*; ছিপ chip *hide*; ছুট chuṭ *run*; জোখ jōkh *measure*; জুট juṭ, জুল jul *meet together*; ঝল, ঝুল jhāl, jhul *hang*; ঝুঁক jhūk *lean out*; ঝাঁপ jhāp *plunge*; ঝাল jhāl *mend a metal pot, clean a well*; ঝুঁজ jhūj *ooze*; টস ṭās *drip* (onomat. ?); টাঁস ṭās *be finished, die*; টাঁক, ṭāk, টেঁক ṭāk, টিক ṭik *endure, repair*; টাক ṭāk *taste* (cf. টাকরা ṭākṛā *palate*); টিপ ṭip *pinch with the fingers*; ঠেল ṭhēl *push*; ডাক ḍāk *call, shout*; ডুব, ডুব ḍub, buṛ *sink, drown*; তাড় tāṛ *hustle, pursue*; থুড় thur, thur *mince* (cf. thurv *kill*); পট pāṭ *be in agreement*; পিঞ pīj *card cotton*; পুড় puṛ *burn* (cf. Skt. √puṭ); পুত, পুত put, pūt *bury*; ফির phir *turn*; বাঁচ bāc *live* (Skt. vañc); বাছ bāch *select, choose*; বিহা, বিআ bi(h)ā *give birth to*; ভাস bhās *float* (< Skt. bhās *shine*

> *appear ?*); বৃহ *r̥hh remain* (? arh); রট *r̥t spread* (*as a rumour*); বৃঢ় *r̥ṛ run*; লৃট় *lā̐ṭ fight*; লুস, লুষ *lus, luṣ gorge oneself*; সা঺ট় *sā̐ṭ ibid*, also *tighten*; হাঁট় *hā̐ṭ walk* (cf. Skt. hiṇḍ, Gujarātī hē̐ḍ-vū) ; etc.

622. MIA. borrowings from Sanskrit may be included under the inherited or the proper *tbh*. element of Bengali. After Bengali emerged from Māgadhī Ap., as a distinct speech, and literature began to be produced in it, the habit of borrowing from Sanskrit obtained a greater impetus. A practice grew up in Bengali literature from very early times of adopting Sanskrit roots bodily into the language, like the adoption of *ts.* nouns and participles. This practice received a fresh support during the age of Vaiṣṇava renaissance in the 16th century, and again in the 19th century, in the hands of modern poets like Madhusūdan Datta. This use of Skt. forms, even when their *tbh*. counterparts were in actual use, is not peculiar to Bengali alone : we find it in the medieval vernacular poetry of all Aryan India. It was the inevitable effect of a revival of classical studies—in grammar, literature, law, theology and philosophy, the results of which were brought to bear upon the vernaculars. The revival of Brahmanic studies strengthened the position of Sanskrit, which had throughout retained a living touch with the vernaculars as their natural feeder. We thus find from Middle Bengali times *ts.* roots or bases like « আস্ব āhwa, কীর্ত্ত kīrtta, গর্জ garja, চুম্ব cumba, তিষ্ঠ tiṣṭha, ত্যজ tyaja, ধ্যা dhyā, ধ্বন dhwan, নম nam, নির্ম্মা nirmā (*sts.*, নিরমা nirāmā), নির্ণি nirṇi, নিশ্চি niści, প্রণম praṇam, বদ bad (vad), বন্দ banda (vand), বর্জ barja (varj), বর্ত bārta (vart), ভঞ্জ bhañja, ভর্ৎস bhartsa, ভিদ bhid, মর্দ marda, যজ yaj, রাজ rāj (the last two may be *tbhs.*), শোভ śobh, সেব sēb (sē・a), স্মর smar, হিংস hiṅsa » etc., etc. to be in common use, side by side with *tbh.* equivalents in many cases. These *ts.* roots, although understood by most people, figure mainly in literature, and only a few have been adopted in the colloquial, like তিষ্ঠ « tiṣṭha » (cf. তিষ্ঠাইতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhāite dēwā > Standard Coll. তিষ্ঠুতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhutē dēwā=*let one remain at peace*), বর্ত « barta » (cf. বাচিয়া বর্তিয়া > বেচে-বর্তে থাকা bā̐ciyā-bārtiyā > bē̐cē-bōrtē thākā *to remain alive and well*, বর্তিয়া > বর্তে যাওয়া bārtiyā > bōrtē jāwā *to feel saved, to get a new existence*). The number of such common *ts.* roots comes up to some 100 ; but it is often difficult to determine

whether they are *ts.* roots, or denominatives, as frequently the base in Bengali shows « guṇa » of the Skt. root characteristic of noun forms.

(2) Secondary or Derivative Roots.

623. The Causatives are the most characteristic of this class. They have the affix « -ā- » which comes from the Second MIA. « -āva- »=First MIA. « -āpa- », which is only a generalisation of the « -pa- » affix found in the causative of some OIA. roots ending in « -ā », *e.g.*, √dā > dā-pa-ya-, hā > hā-pa-ya-, mā > mā-pa-ya-, yā > yā-pa-ya-, sthā > sthā-pa-ya-, snā > snā-pa-ya- », etc. Their verbal nouns as well as infinitives and passive participles have the affix আন, আনো « -ānā̆, -ānŏ ». Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in « -ā- ». A number of denominatives (especially in the case of bases in three syllables, ending in ড় « -ṛ- », original or affixed) have become obsolete, their places being taken by causative formations which are used without causative meaning : *e.g.*, আঁকাড় « ăkāṛ » *embrace, hold with both hands* (aŋka-ḍa : cf. aŋka-pālikā *embrace*), proper verb form আঁকারে « ăkārĕ », causative extension * অাঁকাড়াএ > আঁকড়ায় « ăkāṛāĕ > ăkᶁrāy » ; উখাড় « ukhāṛ », উখাড়ে « ukhāṛĕ » > *উখাড়াএ, উখড়ায়, উখড়োয় « *ukhāṛāĕ > ukhᶁrāy, ukhᶁrōy » *roots out* ; উজাড় « ujāṛ » *desolate*, উজাড়ে « ujāṛĕ » > *উজাড়াএ « *ujāṛāĕ », উজড়ায়, উজড়োয় « ujᶁrāy, ujᶁrōy » *makes desolate, ransacks* ; উগার « ugāṛ » > উগারে « ugārĕ », *উগারাএ « *ugārāĕ » > উগরায় উগরোয় « ugᶁrāy, ugᶁrōy » *vomits* ; তাকে « tākĕ » *gazes* (tarkayati) > তাকায় « tākāy » ; হাঁকাড়ে « hăkāṛĕ » *shouts, hits* > *হাঁকাড়াএ « *hăkāṛāĕ » > হাঁকড়ায়, « hăkᶁrāy, *beside* হাঁকরায় « hăkᶁrāy » *belabours* ; etc., etc. The causatives present a numerous class in Bengali, the proper « -ā- » causatives numbering some 400.

624. Denominatives are made up from nouns and participle adjectives, these nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots. A vowel ending the noun or participle base is dropped. IA. developed early this habit of making roots out of nouns and adjectives, without adding the denominative-forming affix « -aya- ». According to the Skt. grammarians (who doubtless were guided by vernacular Prakrit usage in

this respect), any noun-stem could be used as a verb-stem. With the decay of inflected past forms, the past participles became, after the present base, the most important. In some cases there was a very great difference in form between these two outstanding parts of the verb. The levelling tendency in MIA. simplified matters by making the passive participle the basis of a new present formation, which in course of time ousted the old present : since in Late MIA., the latter often appeared (from point of view of MIA.) irregular and peculiar. Equally frequently the reverse process took place. Thus, OIA. « upaviśati » and « upaviṣṭa- » gave MIA. « uvaïsaï » and « uvaïṭṭha », but « uvaïṭṭha » assumed the function of the present, so that in NIA. (Hindōstānī) we have present « baiṭhē » (rather than « baisē »), and pass. participle « baiṭhā » ; and in the OIA. group « śr̥ṇōti, śruta » > MIA. « suṇaï, sudō > suō », « suṇaï » made « suō » obsolete by bringing about the creation of a new form « suṇiō », so that in Hindōstānī we have present « sunē » and pass. part. « sunā ». The simple « -a » verbal noun, as presenting the root in a very intelligible form, also often supplied a basis for the new conjugation.

The Kōl and Dravidian speeches might have been responsible for the wide development in IA. of the practice of forming denominatives. Anyhow, it was a late MIA. characteristic which has come down to Bengali. Denominatives in « -ā- » are now freely formed, even from foreign nouns and adjectives.

625. As for the *tbh* (and *dēśī*) denominatives of Bengali, absence of literary records does not allow us to fix with certainty when they were first employed as verbs—whether in the pre-Bengali period, or in later times. The forms without « -ā- » seem to be earlier. Examples are : « উঠ ugē *rises* (uggaa, udgata); উজাড় ujāṛē *clears* (*ujjhāḍa, * ud-jhāṭa *with trees cut down*); MB. উনাও unāē *gets hot* (uṇha, uṣṇa); উঠে, উব ub(h)ē *is volatile* (ubbha, ūrdhva ; ubbhaa, udbhr̥ta); MB. উমাও umāē *steams* (umha, uṣma); কহ, কম kahē, kay (kahēi, kathāyati); কাড় kāṛē *snatches away, robs* (kaḍḍha, kr̥ṣṭa); কামায় kāmāy *earns, shaves* (« kamma, karma » : Second MIA. « kammaï » *cuts* ; connexion with Pali « kappēti » *trims*, as suggested by R. Morris, 'Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit

Etymology,' Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists,
London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, not likely); কালায় kālay̐ *gets black,
blackens* (kāla); কুড়ায় kuṛāy *gathers* (kūḍa, kūṭa); খোয়ায় khōẘāy *gets lost*
(*khaẘa, khaa, kṣaya); গাড়ে gāṛē *buries* (dēśī gaḍḍa: ? < garta); গাবায়
gābāy *vaunts* (gabba, garva); গাহে, গায় gāhē, gāy *sings* (gāhēï, gāthayati <
gāthā); গুছায় guchāy *arranges* (guccha); ঘোলে ghōlē *mixes thoroughly*
as liquids (ghōlla = ghūrṇa); ঘামে ghāmē *sweats* (gharma); চিনে cinē
recognises (cihna); চোরায় cōrāy *steals* (cåura); চেতায় cētāy *comes to senses*
(cittāvēï, citta-); চিরে cirē *slits, pie rces* (cīara, cīvara); ছাঁদে chåndē *grips,*
holds tight, binds (chanda); ছিনে chinē *snatches away* (chinna); জিতে
jitē *wins* (jitta < jitá); ছিটায় chiṭāy *sprinkles* (chiṭṭa-,? kṣipta); জুতে, জোতে
jutē, jōtē *hitches ox or horse to vehicle* (jutta, yukta); টকে ṭakē *gets sour*
(ṭakka=takra); ঠাটায় ṭhåṭāy *stiffens* (ṭhaḍḍha < * ṭhaṭṭha : stabdha ?);
দাঁড়ায় dåṛāy *stands* (daṇḍāyatē); তাকে tåkē *gazes* (takkēï, tarkayati);
তাতে tātē *gets hot* (tatta, tapta); তিতে titē *gets wet* (tinta, √tim); থামে
thāmē *comes to a standstill, stops* (thambha, stambha); থিরায় thirāy
(sthira) থিতায় thitāy *subsides as a residue* (sts. ? < sthitá); দুখায় dukhāy
pains (dukkha, duḥkha); ধুঁয়ায়, ধোঁয়ায় dhũāy, dhõāy *smokes* (dhūẘa, dhūma);
পাকে pākē *ripens* (pakva); MB. পতিয়াএ, পইতায় påtiyāē, påitāy *believes*
(sts. < pratyaya); পইঠে påiṭhē *enters* (païṭṭha, praviṣṭa); পিটে piṭē *beats*
(piṭṭa, piṣṭa); বাঁকে bånkē *bends* (baṇka = vakra); বাখানে bākhānē *explains, praises*
(bakkhāṇa, vyyākhāna); বাজে bājē *is played, as music* (vajja, vādya);
মাগে, মাঙ্গে mā(ṇ)gē *begs* (maggaï, maggēï, mārgati, mārgayati); মাতে
mātē *becomes intoxicated* (matta); মূতে mūtē (mūtra); মুদে mudē *closes,*
as eyes (mudrā *seal*); রুঠে ruṭhē *angers* (ruṭṭha, ruṣṭa); রুধে rudhē *prevents,*
forbids (ruddha); সুখায় sukhāy *dries* (suṣka); সৈতায় s̐tāy *gets wet* (* sinta,
sitta < sikta) », etc., etc. *Tadbhava* derivatives of NIA. origin in Bengali
can be exemplified by forms like « আঁধারা å̐dhārā (andhakāra); আউলা,
আলা, এলা āulā, ållā, ēlā *make dishevelled* (ākula); আলগা ālagā *loosen*
(ālagga, ālagna); আঁতকা å̐takā *be seized with a sudden fright* (āṭaṇka);
ইটা iṭā *stone, hit with pellets* (iṣṭaka); উঁচা ũcā *raise, level as a weapon*
(ucca-); আগুআ, আগুয়া, আগা, এগা āguā, å̐gā > ēgō *advance* (agra+uka);
কষা kaṣā *tighten* (karṣa); কাঁধা kå̐dhā *to shoulder* (skandha); কিলা kilā

give blows with the fist (kilś fisticuff); খেঙ্‌রা khēŋrā strike with a broom; খেপা khēpā become mad; গালা gālā abuse (gāli=garhikā); চাপড়া cāpåḍå pat (cāpåṛå patting with the flat of the palm); ঘনা ghanā deepen (ghana); ঘুমা ghumā sleep (ghumś sleep: see p. 482 supra); গৌজা gōjā tuck inside (cf. gōjś a peg); চড়া cåṛā slap (cåṛś a slap); ছোঁচা chōcā wash after evacuation (śåuca); জুতা jutā strike with the shoe (jutā shoe); ঝাঁটা jhātā strike with a broom; ঢেউআ ḍhēuā dash water in a tank or stream (ḍhēu wave); তলা tålā sink deep (tala); তাস tāsā play cards (slang: tāsś playing cards); তেওড়া tēoṛā make deformed (tri-vṛta); দাঁতা dåtā gnash teeth, show teeth (danta); MB. নিন্দা nindā sleep (nidrā); পাদা pādā break wind (parda); পাছুআ > পেছো pāchuā > pēchō fall back (paścāt); বিষা bi-å fester as a wound (viṣa); ভাঙা bhāŋ(g)ā break (bhaŋga); রাঙা rāŋ(g)ā redden (raŋga); লাঠা låṭhā belabour with sticks (lāṭhi < yaṣṭi ? < *lak-ṭhi=*lak-, *lag- [cf. lak-uṭa, lag-uḍā +yaṣṭi); শাণা śāṇā whet (śāṇa); হাতা hātā receive in hand to one's advantage (hasta); MB. হুমা humā (hōma) », etc., etc., The noun base not infrequently ends in « -u »: thus আওয়া > এগো «āg-u-ā > ēgō » advance, পাছুয়া > পেছো «pāch-u-ā > pēchō » recede, পারুআ > পেরো «pār-u-ā > pērō » cross, etc.

The tbh. derivatives convey mainly an instrumental or acquisitive sense.

Common tbh. roots of this class number some 200 in Bengali.

626. Sanskrit denominatives, in ts. or sts. forms, like Skt. roots and participial forms, occur from the oldest Bengali onwards. Almost any Sanskrit noun, preferably in « -a », which is not the name of a concrete object, can be used as a root in the language of Bengali poetry. About 100 denominatives of this class are in common use in the Bengali. A few of this have developed characteristic vernacular or sts. forms from MB. onwards, e.g., তেয়াগ « tēyāgå » < « tyāga », বরণ « bårånå » < « varna », দরশ « dåråśå » < « darśa », পরশ « påråśå » < « sparśa » etc.

Examples of ts. demonstratives: « agrasara, ādara, ādēśa, ākula, āghāta, ānanda, ālāpa, āśiṣa, ucchēda, uttāpa, uddhāra, unmōca, ulaŋga citra, trasta, dvēṣa, dvandva, dāna, dīpa, nāda, nīrava, niścaya, niṣphala,

nistāra, parihāra, pradāna, praṇāma, pramōda, prasāra, prasāda, praśama (*ts.* root, pra + √śam?), puraskāra, bhāti, bhāva, vikāsa, vighōṣa, vināśa, vistāra, vēṣṭa, rāga, yōga, lēpa, saṁhāra, santōṣa, stuti » etc., etc.. we have even a word like « prati-vidhitsā » turned into a denominative root, প্রতিবিধিৎস « prāti-bidhitsā- », in poetry (*e.g.,* in Madhusūdan Datta and in Giriś Chandra Ghōsh).

627. Foreign denominatives number barely 20. They are almost all from the Persian (or Perso-Arabic): *e.g.,* অর্শা « ārśā » *be entailed as property* (ʿarsah); কবলা « kāblā » *make agree or accept* (slang : < qabūl) ; কুলুপা « kulupā- » *lock up* (qufl = *lock*) ; খতা « khātā » *cast accounts, estimate* (xatt) ; খামচা, খিমচা « khāmcā, khimcā » *pinch* (Ar. xams = *five* : *pinch with the five fingers* ?); গুঁতা « gūtā » *butt with horns* (ġutah *plunge*) ; গুজরা « gujrā » *pass time* (guẕār) ; জম « jām » *gather,* জমা « jāmā » *collect* (jamʿ) ; MB. তপাস « tāpās » *seek* (tafaḥḥus : see *supra,* p. 213, footnote 2); তোয়া « tōā » *flatter* (? tawā-jah); দাগ, দাগা « dāg, dāgā » *mark* (dāg); নরমা « nārmā » *be soft* (narm); গরমা « gārmā » *be hot* (garm) ; ফস্কা « phāskā » *slip from hold* (fasx); বদলা « bādlā » *change* (badl) ; MB. মানা « mānā » *forbid* (manʿ); সাবাশা « sābāśā » *cry bravo* (śābāś < śād-bāś) ; etc., etc.

There are no denominatives proper from the other foreign sources, Portuguese and English. English verbs like *edit, manage, quote, note, agree,* etc., as well as nouns and adjectives, are freely compounded with Bengali roots like « kār, dē » to form verbs, in the familiar speech of persons educated in English, but such words by themselves are not used as verb roots, with or without the « -ā- », as in the case of Persian words. Slang is responsible, however, for one or two genuine denominatives, *e.g.,* in student slang in Calcutta one can hear পাসানো, পেস্নো < পাসুয়ানো « pās-ānō, pēsunō < pās-u-ā-nā » *to pass* < English *pass.*

628. Compounded and Suffixed Roots.

There are over 125 roots which are derivative, being made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root (primary or denominative)

modified by a suffix. Instances of the first type (two roots combined) can be easily analysed. The second root which is suffixed is commonly আসা, আইসা « ā(i)sā » *come.* Thus, we have দেখসে, দেখসা « dēkhā-sē, dēkhā-sā » *come and see* found from early MB. times, = দেখ + আইস « dēkh+āïs » *see and come,* and ŚKK চড়সা « cɑṛ̆āsā » *come and mount* (√cɑṛ + √āïs). We have also occasionally a similar combination with গা from গিয়া « gā < giyā » (করগা, খাওগা « kɑrā-gā, khāo-gā » *go and see, go and eat*). We have beside a combination of রহ « √rɑh » *to remain* and সহ « √sɑh » *to endure,* in the imperative only—contemptuous র'স্ « rɔsⱥ », ordinary রোসো « rōsō » < « rɑhⱥ sɑhⱥ » *wait,* in the Standard Colloquial. The above forms strictly speaking are not roots,—they are merely compounded forms, contracted and stereotyped. Besides, they do not occur in all persons and tenses, but only in the imperative. Of the second type (noun or adverb and root) are found some instances, also from eMB., like আগুছা « āguchā (< *āgusā, āgu+√āïs) » *advance,* রাকাড়া > রাকড়া « rā-kɑṛⱥ >rākɑṛā » *shout, raise a shout,* and the negative forms নার « nār < nā+pār » *fail, not succeed,* নহ « nɑh < na+√*ah, hⱥ » *not be.*

The periphrastic forms composed of a noun (*tbh., ts.* or foreign) and a root like « kɑr » *do,* like দর্শন করা « dɑrśɑnⱥ kɑrā » *to see,* গমন করা « gɑmɑnⱥ kɑrā » *to go,* do not come under this.

629. The bulk of these secondary compounded roots are suffixed. We have these suffixes: (i) ক « -k- », (ii) ট « -ṭ- », (iii) ড় « -ṛ- », (iv) র, ল « -r-, -l- », and (v) স, চ « -s-, -c- » (cf. G. A. Grierson, 'On the Irregular Causals in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JASB., 1896, Part I). These modified the meaning of the original root or denominative base in various ways,—as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximative affix. Corresponding forms occur in the other NIA. speeches. These roots may again be described as denominatives from nouns ending in « -k-, -ṭ-, -ḍ- (-ṛ-), -r-, -l-, -s-, -c- ».

630. Of these affixes, (i) ক « -k- » in Bengali indicates, generally, the suddenness of the action, or its continuity: it is thus an intensive. Its origin has been discussed before (see *supra,* pp. 679 ff.). Examples in Bengali: চুক « cuk » *be at an end* (*cyut-kṛ); কোঁচকা « kōc̆kā »

wrinkle (kuñc); খিঁচকা « khīcᵃkā » *pull, nag* (cf. খেঁচ khẽc *pull* : ?
« krakṣyati < √kr̥ṣ », whence MIA. « kacchaï, kañcaï », vowel
influenced by « ā-krakṣati > *ākacchaï > ʒyañcaï > NIA. aīcai »); চলকা
« cᵃlᵃkā » *spill, as water from a vessel full to the brim* (cal); চুলকা
« culᵃkā » *scratch* (√cal ? cf. চুলবুল cul-bul *wander*); চানকা « cānᵃkā »
glance, make eyes, draw the eyes as in a picture ; (? *cayaṇa-kka, cētana-);
চুমুকা « cumukā » *sip, touch vessel with lips* (cumb); ছিটকা « chiṭᵃkā »
sprinkle (chiṭᵃ = drop, sprinkling); so চমকা « cᵃmᵃkā » *be bright, dazzle,
be startled as at a sudden flash or noise* ; ঝমকা « jᵃmᵃkā » *be showy* ;
টপকা « ṭᵃpᵃkā » *jump over*; টসকা « ṭᵃsᵃkā » *drip, run out*; ঠমকা
« ṭhᵃmᵃkā » *caper, walk with a dancing gait*; ঢুলকা « ḍhulᵃkā » *wave
a fly-flap*; তড়কা « tᵃṛᵃkā » *be in fits*; থমকা « thᵃmᵃkā » *be at stand-
still*; থকা « thᵃkā » *ibid*; থাকা « thākā » *remain*; দমকা « dᵃmᵃkā » *come as a
gust of wind*; ধমকা « dhᵃmᵃkā » *rebuke*; নড়কা « nᵃṛᵃkā » *move about*; বখা
< বহকা « bᵃkhā < bᵃhᵃkā » *be borne away* > *go astray*; ভড়কা « bhᵃṛᵃkā » *be
confused, fear* (bhraṣṭa); মচকা « mᵃcᵃkā » *break with a noise, sprain*; মুচকা
« mucᵃkā » *smile, wrinkle*; লটকা « lᵃṭᵃkā » *hang*; সটকা < সড়কা
« sᵃṭᵃkā < sᵃṛᵃkā *slink away* (sr̥ta); হড়কা « hᵃṛᵃkā » *slip one's foot,
be slippery*; হেঁচকা « hẽcᵃkā » *drag*; etc.

A few words of other origin have come in line with these « -k- »
denominatives : *e.g.*, আঁতকা « āt̃ᵃkā » *be filled with sudden
fear* (sts., < ātaŋka, ā-√tañc); উসকা « usᵃkā < ukᵃsā » *trim a
lamp, incite* (? utkarṣa); কড়কা « kᵃṛᵃkā » *rebuke* (cf. « kaḍakkha- =
kaṭākṣa- », whence NIA. [Hindī etc.] « karᵃkhā » *war-song < challenge <
glance of contempt* : confusion with, or influence of কড়া « kᵃṛā » *stiff* likely);
কসকা « phᵃsᵃkā » *slip*, from the Persian (see p. 884); চটকা « cᵃṭᵃkā » *rinse
by metathesis from* কচটা, কছটা « kᵃc(h)ᵃṭā » (next para.); etc.

631   The affix (ii) ট « -ṭ- » is the « -ᵃṭᵃ- » affix (No. 41), noted at pp.
684 ff. *supra*. It indicates continuity of the action. Examples : কচটা, কষটা
« kᵃchᵃṭā, kᵃṣᵃṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); ঘষটা « ghᵃṣᵃ-ṭā » *rub along*
(gharṣa-varta-); চিপটা « cipᵃṭā » *press down*; so ঝাপটা « jāpᵃṭā » *embrace,
hold with both arms*; ঝাপটা « jhāpᵃṭā » *struggle* (MIA. *jhappa, jhampa);
দাপটা « dāpᵃṭā » *be aggressive* (darpa); পাশটা « pāsᵃṭā » *pass by* (pārśva-

varta-); রপটা « râpâṭâ » *gad about*; নপটা or লিপটা « lâpâṭâ, lipâṭâ » *stick on*, etc. Cf. MB. নেউটা « nëuṭâ » *return* (nivartt-) which is of different origin.

632. (iii) The ড় « -ṛ- » affix is the pleonastic ড় « -ṛ- », discussed before as Formative Affix No 46 (pp. 689 ff.)   The sense is sometimes intensive, but generally it is merely pleonastic.   In some instances the sense is continuative or approximative, and then the ড় « -ṛ- » would seem to be connected with « √vṛt », either as a phonetic modification of « -ṭ- < vaṭṭa, vṛtta » above, or it is the same ড় « -ṛ- » as Formative Affix No. 44 (pp. 687-688 *supra*): thus ঘেষড়া, ঘষড়া « ghêṣâṛâ, ghâṣâṛâ », দাবড়া « dâbâṛâ » beside ঘষটা « ghâṣâṭâ », দাপটা « dâpâṭâ » above; হেঁচড়া « hêcâṛâ » *pull*, see *supra*, p. 878 ; in আওড়া « âoṛâ » *repeat*, তেওড়া তোবড়া « têoṛâ, tôbâṛâ » *disfigure*, and MB. নিবড়া « nibâṛâ » *finish*, we have the OIA. « √vṛt ». Examples of « -ṛ- »: আঁকড়া «âkâṛâ» *embrace* (see *supra*, p. 880) ; আঁচড়া « âcâṛâ » *scratch*, (? √añc *wander, bend, curl* +-da-) ; কুঁকড়া, কোঁকড়া, কুঁচড়া, কোঁচড়া « kûkâṛâ, kôkâṛâ, kûc-, kôc- *crumple, wrinkle, be curly* (kuñc) ; খেদড়া « khêdâṛâ » *hustle* (cf. খেদা « khêdâ » *drive away*, Hindi and Bengali noun « khêdâ » ' *kheddah*,' *enclosure to which wild elephants are driven and caught*: sts., < « √khid » *torment* ?) ; খিঁচড়া « khîcâṛâ » *feel tense or annoyed* (see « khîcâkâ », *supra*, p. 886) : ঘাবড়া « ghâbâṛâ » *be frightened* (connected with ঘাপটা « ghâpâṭi » etc., p. 685) ; চাপড়া « câpâṛâ » *slap, pat* (carpaṭa) ; চিমড়া « cimâṛâ » *dry up, reduce to skin and bone* (√cip > *civ > *ciw̃, cim) ; চুমড়া « cumâṛâ » *flatter* (cumb), also চুমরা « cumâṛâ » ; জোবড়া, জাবড়া « jôbâṛâ, jâbâṛâ » *blotch* (cf. জবজবে « jâbâjâbe », *onomatopoetic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture*) ; তাংড়া, তামড়া « tâŋâṛâ, tâmâṛâ » *save up, store up* (Yōgeś Chandra Vidyā-nidhi, Bengali Dictionary, VSPd., gives a late Sanskrit « 'tryaṅgaṭa-' śikya-bhēdē », = Marāṭhī « tâgaḍ » *bind the feet*: Monier Williams, « tri-aṅgaṭa » *three strings suspended to either end of a pole for carrying ¹urdens*) ; থাবড়া « thâbâṛâ » *slap* (cf. থাবা « thâbâ » *paw*) ; থুবড়া « thubâṛâ » *give a blow, fall down on the face* (Dhātu-kōṣa √thurv *kill* : cf. থুর « thurâ » *pound, cut into small bits*) ; দাঁদড়া « dâdâṛâ » *be aggressive* (dvandva+ṭa), also দাঁদলা « dâdâlâ » ; দুমড়া « dumâṛâ » *bend, crumple* (< ?) ; দৌড়া « dâuṛâ » *run* (drava+-da) ; নিংড়া « niŋâṛâ » < niŋâṛâ » *wring wet clothes* (niñj) ; নেংড়া- « nêŋâṛâ- » *limp* (cf. লেঙ « lêŋ[g]â » *foot, kick*) ; নেবড়া « nêbâṛâ

smear (*sts.* < lēpa*); পাকড়, MB. পাখড় « pākạrḍ, -khạrḍ » *seize* (? parka
+-ḍa : √prc *mix, unite*); পাছুড় « pāch(u)ṛḍ » *dash, toss, clean corn* (< ?);
মুচড় « muc̣ḍrā » *wring* (cf. macḍkā, mucḍkā : onomatopoetic); মুষড়
« muṣḍrā » *be dispirited* (cf. muṣ *steal, rob* : cf. the expression « hanta
muṣitāḥ vayam » *alas, we are done for !*); রগড় « rāg̣ḍrā » *rub* (< *beat ?* cf.
late Sanskrit « drakaṭa, dragaḍa » *drum* ; Yogeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Beng.
Dictionary) ; হাঁকড় « hẫk̇ḍrā » *drive* (MIA. hakka *shout*); হাতড় « hāṫḍrā »
feel with the hand (hasta); হুমড় « huṁḍrā » *push through eagerness, fall
face forwards* (connected with হামা « hāmā » *crawl*); etc., etc. It would be
seen that the « -ṛ- » roots are mostly very obscure, and these suffixed
forms or roots, a most characteristic element inherited by NIA. from MIA.,
constitute a problem of prime etymological importance. From these roots
with the ড় « -ṛ- » affix are to be distinguished roots like আছাড় «āchāṛ» *dash,
throw down with force* (ā-chṛd); উজাড় « ujāṛ » (see page 881, *supra*, with a
variant আজাড় « ājāṛ » *empty a vessel*); উপাড় « upāṛ » (utpāṭayati); etc. :
but উখাড় « ukhāṛ » may represent « utkhāta +-ḍa ».

633. (iv) The affixes র, ল « -r-, -l- » represent the OIA. adjectival
and pleonastic affix occurring both as « -ra, -la » (see *supra*, pp. 697-698).
In compounded denominatives, the force is that of approximation or
resemblance, or connexion. The « -r- » form in some instances may be
a modification of ড় « -ṛ- » above; and in other cases it may be for « -ārḍ »
formative < -ākāra », implying resemblance (Affix No. 18, *supra*, pp. 668-
669). Similarly the « -l- » form may represent the adjectival « -ālḍ » (No. 19,
p. 669). Examples : আগলা «āg̣ḍlā » *watch* (arga-la-); উঁচলা, উঁছলা « ûc̣ḍlā,
ồchḍlā » *sift* (uñch); খোসলা « khōṣḍlā » *peel* (khōsā *skin of fruit*); চোমরা,
চুমরা « cōṁḍrā, cuṁḍrā » *flatter* (cumb); চোবলা « cōḃḍlā », ছোবলা
« chōḃḍlā » *bite as a snake* (cf. চোপ « cōṗḍ » *blow*: see p. 482 *supra*);
ঝাঁকরা « jhẫk̇ḍrā » *shake* (see p. 479 *supra*); ঝামরা « jhāṁḍrā » *be pale,
dry up* (p. 480); ঠাওরা, ঠাহরা « ṭhāorā, ṭhāḣḍrā » *look over, scrutinise,
examine a thing that is standing still* (ṭhāha, ṭhāwa < √sthā); ডুকরা
« ḍuk̇ḍrā » *shout, lament loudly* (cf. ḍāk̇ḍ *shout*); থেতলা « thēṫḍlā » *pound,
batter* (cf. থেঁত thēṫḍ *pounded*); নাগলা « nāg̣ḍlā » *reach* (lāga+-āla-);
দাদলা «dāḋḍlā » *swagger* (dvandva); পিকলা « pik̇ḍlā » *spit, squirt out*

(onomatopoetic); কুসলা « phusḍlā » *wheedle, lead astray by whispering in the ear* (onomatopoetic); কুকরা « phukḍrā » *shout out, lament loudly* (onomatopoetic: « phukka » *puffing, blowing*, cf. Hindī « pukār » *shout*); বাওলা « bāolā » *fan, winnow* (vāta); হাঁকরা, হাঁকারা « hāḳḍrā, hāḳārā » *shout, give a blow* (MIA. hakkāra *shout*); হামলা « hāmḍlā » *be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness* (cf. hammati *crawls*); etc., etc. This affixed « -r-, -l- » of course is not to be confused with original « -r-, -l- » in forms like আঙুলা « aṅgḍlā » *to use fingers* (aṅguli); †উভরা « ubhḍrā » *bring down, pour* (udbhārayati); নিকলা « nikḍlā » *get out* (niḥ + kr̥); বাতলা « bātḍlā » *explain* (from Hindōstānī, a causative in « -lā- »); etc.

634. (v) The affix স, চ « -s-, -c- » is the affix of resemblance (No. 55, p. 699). Examples with it are কপচা « kāpḍcā » *chatter like a bird* (klp); গুমসা « gumḍsā » *be stuffy* (< grīṣma?: cf. গুমট « gumāṭ » *stuffy weather*); so চকসা « cākḍsā » *become clear, as sky* (see p. 699); চুপসা « cupḍsā » *be lean, be hollow* (p. 699); ঝলসা « jhālḍsā » *roast* (see p. 479); লেংচা « lēṅgḍcā »*, নেংচা « nēṅgḍcā » *limp* (see p. 699); ধামসা « dhāmḍsā » *rummage as a bed* (cf. MB. ধামালি « dhāmāli » *horseplay, sport*); বালসা « bālḍsā » *get fever as a baby* (bāla); ভাপসা « bhāpḍsā » *smell fœtid* (bāṣpa); ভেংচা, ভাঙচা « bhēṅgḍcā, bhāṅgḍcā » *make faces* (bhaṅga); etc., etc.

635. Onomatopoetics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoetics Proper, and Roots Reduplicated or Repeated, which produce a jingle. Onomatopoetics Proper can also be either simple or reduplicated.

It is evident that in the early stages of IA., onomatopoetics were not so common. Compared with the Vedic, the MIA. dialects are specially rich in onomatopoetics.

Vedic has registered about a dozen onomatopoetics formed by repeating a root to produce a jingle, or by compounding an imitative word with a root of action or existence (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1091; see also *supra*, pp. 175, 200). Onomatopoetics were included in the category of *dēśī* words by Prakrit grammarians, as they cannot show counterparts in Vedic or Sanskrit. We have onomatopoetics

of two types in the speech of Ancient India (Vedic, Skt., and the Pkts.) : *simple*, like the Sanskrit nouns « jhaṇ-kāra, guñj-ana, kūj-ana », Pkt. verbs « jhaṇkārēi, *guñjaï, kūjaï » ; and *reduplicated*, like Late Skt. « khaṭ-khaṭāyamāna, maḍamaḍāyitā, pharpharāyatā », etc., Pali « halahalā, kiṇikiṇāyati, capucapu », etc., and Prakrit « caḍapaḍanta, cuhūcuhū, tharahara- », etc. It would be seen that in Sanskrit the onomatopoetics are treated as denominatives in « -āya- », but in MIA., we have the direct use of the stem as root.

Onomatopoetics of the reduplicating type are found in abundance in all NIA. languages. In Bengali, onomatopoetic reduplications are ordinarily used as adverbs, absolutely i.e., without any affix, and modify a verb of action : *e.g.,* চক্চক্ কর্ « căkḍ-căkḍ kărē » *glitters ;* or they are employed as gerundives in « -iyā », also standing in adverbial relation to the verb of action, *e.g.,* কন্কনাইয়া < কন্ক্'নিয়ে উঠে « kănḍ-kănāiyā > kănḍkōniē uṭhē » *gives a throbbing pain.* A group consisting of a reduplicated or simple onomatopoetic and a verb like কর্ « kăr » *to do* may be regarded as a compound verb formation.

There are over 125 common onomatopoetics in Bengali which are used as verb-roots. The list of onomatopoetics given in Rabīndra-nāth Tagore's ' Sabda-tattwa ' comes up to 651, which includes words of all kinds that would come under this head. By change of the vowel, the same consonant group can be made to take numerous forms, which are slightly differentiated in meaning. Thus টক্টক্ « ṭăkḍ-ṭăkḍ » *tick of a clock,* টিক্টিক্ « ṭikḍ-ṭikḍ » *tick of a watch, nagging in a mild way,* টুক্টুক্ « ṭukḍ-ṭukḍ » *gentle battering with a tiny hammer,* ট্যাক্ট্যাক্ « ṭyăkḍ-ṭyăkḍ » [ṭæ̃kṭæ̃k] *jangle, unpleasant remarks,* টিক্টাক্, টুক্টাক্ « ṭikḍ-ṭăkḍ, ṭukḍ-ṭăkḍ » *gentle blows with alternation of sound,* টক্াটক্ « ṭăkāṭăkḍ » *quick one after another,* etc. The proper significance and use of the onomatopoetic forms in the psychology and art of Bengali speech has been discussed by Rabīndra-nāth Tagore in ' Sabda-tattwa ' and by Rāmēndra-sundara Trivēdī in ' Sabda-kathā.'

Examples of Onomatopoetic Verbs in Bengali.

A.   Onomatopoetics Proper :

(i) Simple : চিল্লা « cillā » *shout* ; চুঁয়া « cũ̄ā » *scorch in cooking, be fried black* ; টুপা, টুসা « ṭupā, ṭusā » *drip* ; ফুক « phuk » *whiff, smoke, puff* ; ফোঁসা « phõsā » *hiss* ; হাঁক « hā̃k » *shout* (MIA. hakka) ; হাঁচ « hā̃c » *sneeze* (cf. OB. « bhāñji » as in Sarvānanda) ; etc.

(ii) Duplicated : কটকটা « kaṭaṛ-kaṭā » *sense of biting or breaking pain* ; কটমটা « kaṭaṛ-maṭā » *look with glaring eyes* ; কড়মড়া « kaṛaṛ-maṛā » *gnash one's teeth* ; কুড়মুড়া « kuṛaṛ-muṛā » *chew something crisp* ; ক্যাচক্যাচা « kyācaṛ-kyācā » *creak* ; খটখটা khaṭaṛ-khaṭā « *rattle, knock* ; গড়গড়া « gaṛaṛ-gaṛā » *roll* ; গোঁগা « gõgā », গেঙা « gẽ̄ā » *groan, have a dried-up throat or choked voice in speaking* ; চড়চড় > চচড়া « caṛaṛ-caṛā, cāccāṛā » *striking with a cane, sense of whipping pain* ; ঝলমলা « jhalaṛ-malā » *dangle, be bright* ; ঝমঝমা « jhamaṛ-jhamā » *make a hollow ringing noise, tinkle as anklets, patter as heavy rain* ; ঠকঠকা « ṭhakaṛ-ṭhakā » *knocking sound* ; তড়বড়া « taṛaṛ-baṛā » *clatter as gallupping horses, chatter* ; থিকথিকা « thikaṛ-thikā » *sense of teeming as with maggots* ; পিলপিলা « pilaṛ-pilā » *sense of being over-crowded* ; ফরফরা « pharaṛ-pharā » *flutter* ; বজবজা « bajaṛ-bajā » *sense of being moist and rotten* ; বিড়বিড়া « biṛaṛ-biṛā » *mutter* ; মচমচা « macaṛ-macā » *crackle in the mouth* ; সপসপা « sapaṛ-sapā » *sense of being wet and uncomfortable* ; হড়হড়া « haṛaṛ-haṛā » *sense of being slippery and uncanny* ; etc., etc.

B. Roots Repeated.

(i) Complete repetition : জলজলা « jal-jalā » *be brilliant* (jval) ; টনটনা « ṭan-ṭanā » *sense of binding pain* (ṭan = ṭān) ; টলটলা « ṭal-ṭalā » *be clear and ready to run off, as water* (ṭal) ; ধুকধুকা « dhuk-dhukā » *pant* (cf. dhŭk *pant, gasp*) ; সরসরা « sar-sarā » *feel creepy, as with an insect crawling over the body* (saḍ < sṛta) ; গলগলা « gal-galā » *ooze or flow out, as blood* (gal) ; গনগনা « gan-ganā » *burn brightly* (< gan < agni ? cf. Pali gini) ; etc.

(ii) Modified repetition, where another root of similar sense and assonance echoes the preceding one : চুলবুলা, চিলবিলা « cul-bulā, cil-bilā » *be fidgety, be eager to move away* (« cal, bul »: cf. চলাবুলা « calā-bulā » *wander about, move and walk*) ; টলবলা « ṭal-balā » *be shaky and moving* (ṭal, bal = bul < Skt. val) ; দলমলা « dal-malā » *shake and pat* (« dal, mal »: cf. দলাইমলাই « dalāi-malāi » *currying a horse*) ; etc., etc.

636. In addition to roots which easily affiliate themselves to one or the other of the above classes, there are a few roots of which the origin has not been found out, and which from their look are secondary formations : *e.g.*, কাঁচা « kā̐cā » *bring to a failure, make 'cutcha'.*; গজা « gâjā » *sprout*; MB. গাহা « gāhā » *cauker*; গুটী, গুড়া « guṭā, guṛā » *gather up, as a net or line*; গুঁড়া « gū̐ṛā » *pound*; জিরা « jirā » *cool one self, rest*; টাঙা « ṭāṅ(g)ā » *hang on high*; বিলা « bilā » *distribute*; হেদা « hēdā » *pine away*; লেলা « lēlā » *set a dog on a person*; etc. In some cases they appear to be *dēśī*.

In a number of *dēśī* and *tbh.* roots, we find a wide range of vowel change : চিপসা and চুপসা « cipǎsā, cupǎsā » *get shrivelled*; জাবড়া, জোবড়া « jābǎṛā, jobǎṛā » *smudge, blotch*; etc. This, as well as other variations, like nasalisation or the absence of it, and interchange of consonants, etc., have been noticed under *Phonology*. The dislocation of the MIA. tradition in Bengali spelling from the very beginning, through Sanskrit influence, has been responsible for the state of chaos which exists in the spelling of verb-roots (as of other forms) in Middle and New Bengali. Dialectal modifications are not properly discriminated and kept in their proper place. The result is that we have the same root spelt differently, *e.g.*, গোঁআ and গোঁয়া « gō̐ā, gō̐yā » (=gâñā) *pass* (gam-aya-), শ and সু « śu, su » *sleep, lie down* (svap), নেউটা and নেউটা « nēuṭā, lēuṭā » *return* (ni-vr̥t), আইশ, আইস, আস « āiś, āis, ās » *come* (ā-viś), etc., etc.

[II] Formal Classification of Roots.

637. The proper classification of roots in Bengali, viewed from the formal aspect, is not with regard to their affixes (because they are always the same—the Bengali verb presents only *one* conjugation, and apparent irregularities are only the result of recent phonetic changes), but with regard to the modifications of the root-vowels and also of the affix-vowel in the case of the causatives and denominatives. These modifications are the result of Epenthesis-cum-Umlaut and Vocalic Harmony (*supra*, pp. 375 ff.). Roots have [i, e, u, o] when the following affix has a high vowel, [i, u] ; and these are lowered respectively

to [e, æ, o, ɔ] in the case of a low vowel [e, o, a, ɔ] following; and [æ, ɔ] are changed to [e, o] through the influence of a following [i, u].

The principal parts of a Bengali verb, judging from these vowel modifications, can be taken to be (i) Inferior Imperative, which is identical with the Root; (ii) 3rd pers. Present; (iii) 3rd pers. Past; or 3rd pers. Future; (iv) Present Participle, and (v) Conjunctive in « -iyā ». All the variations a root can undergo are found in the above forms. To classify formally the Bengali verb, it is best to take the Standard Colloquial in which the phonetic advance has been the greatest. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » spelling does not consider the present-day vowel changes and contractions, and conjugation in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » means only a rigid and regular adding of a series of affixes.

Below are given in phonetic transcript the groups into which the Standard Colloquial verbs would range themselves: the spelling in Bengali is not uniform, as has been noted before.

Class I (a): Roots in « -ā- » [ɔ] closed by a consonant :

(i) [kɔr] *do*; (ii) [kɔre]; (iii) [kɔrle, kɔlle < *kɔrile; kɔrbe < *kɔribe]; (iv) [kɔrte, kɔtte] ; (v) [kɔre] ;

(i) [bɔl] *say*; (ii) [bɔle] ; (iii) [bɔlle; bɔlbe]; (iv) [bɔlte]; (v) [bɔle].

Class I (b): Roots ending in « -ā- » [ɔ], originally in « -āh » [ɔɦ] :

(i) [rɔ < rɔɦi] *remain*; (ii) [rɔɛ̆]; (iii) [rɔilo; rɔibe, rɔbe]; (iv) [rɔite]; (v) [rɔe];

(i) [ʃɔ < ʃɔɦi] *suffer* ; (ii) [ʃɔɛ̆]; (iii) [ʃɔile; ʃɔibe, ʃɔbe]; (iv) [ʃɔite]; (v) [ʃɔe].   Similarly [dɔ, bɔ < dɔɦi, bɔɦi] *burn, bear* ; etc.

(i) [ɦɔ < *ɔɦi] *be* ; (ii) [ɦɔɛ̆]; (iii) [ɦɔlo; ɦɔbe]; (iv) [ɦɔte]; (v) [ɦɔe].

Class II (a): Roots ending in « -ā » [a] :

(i) [kha] *eat* ; (ii) [khaɛ̆]; (iii) [khele, khelo; khabe] ; (iv) [khete]; (v) [kheɛ̆e];

Class II (b): Roots in « -ā- » [a] ending in a consonant :

(i) [mar] *beat* ; (ii) [mare] ; (iii) [marle, malle, marlo, mallo ; marbe]; (iv) [marte, matte] ; (v) [mere].

Class II (c) : Roots in « -ă » originally closed by « -h » [aḥ > a] :

(i) [ga < gaḥi] *sing* ; (ii) [gaě] ; (iii) [gaile ; gaibe] ; (iv) [gaite] ;
(v) [geěe < *gaiḥa, gaḥia].

Class III (a) : Roots in « -i » (rare, archaic) :

(i) [ℬi] *live* ; (ii) [ℬie] ; (iii) [ℬilo ; ℬibe] ; (iv) [ℬite] ; (v) [ℬie].
So [pi] *drink*, etc.

Clas III (b) : Roots in « -i- », ending in a consonant :

(i) [mil] *unite, be found* ; (ii) [mele] ; (iii) [millo ; milbe] ; (iv)
[milte] ; (v) [mile].

Class IV (a) : Roots in « -e » (irregular) :

(i) [de] *give* ; (ii) [dæě] ; (iii) [dile ; debe] ; (iv) [dite] ; (v) [die] ;
(i) [ne] *take* ; (ii) [næě] ; (iii) [nile ; nebe] ; (iv) [nite] ; (v) [nie].

Class IV (b) : Roots in « -e- » ending in a consonant :

(i) [khel] *play*, inferior imperative [khæl < *khɛlɔ] ; (ii) [khæle] ; (iii)
[khelle ; khelbe] ; (iv) [khelte] ; (v) [khele].

Class V : Roots in « -u- » ending in a consonant :

(i) [ʃun > ʃon] *hear* ; (ii) [ʃone] ; (iii) [ʃunle ; ʃunbe] ; (iv) [ʃunte] ;
(v) [ʃune] ;
(i) [khŭℬ > kbŏℬ] *search* ; (ii) [khŏℬe] ; (iii) [khŭℬle ; khŭℬbe] ;
(iv) [khŭℬte] ; (v) [khŭℬe].

Class VI : Roots in « -o » :

(i) [ʃo] *lie down* ; (ii) [ʃoě] ; (iii) [ʃulo ; ʃobe] ; (iv) [ʃute] ;
(v) [ʃue] ;
(i) [do] *milk* ; (ii) [doě] ; (iii) [duile ; duibe, dobe] ; (iv) [dute, duite] ;
(v) [due] ; (irregular ; « -o < -uh »).

Class VII : Causatives and Denominatives in « -ă » (see also *supra*,
under *Phonology*, ‘ Umlaut ’) :

(i) [kɔra] *cause to do* ; (ii) [kɔraě] ; (iii) [kɔrale ; kɔrabe] ; (iv)
[kɔrate] ; (v) [kɔrie] ;
(i) [ℬaða] *cause to go* ; (ii) [ℬaðaě] ; (iii) [ℬaðale ; ℬaðabe] ; (iv)
[ℬaðate] ; (v) [ℬaie].

(i) [ʤina > ʤena] *cause to recognise* ; (ii) [ʤinaš > ʤenaš] ; (iii) [ʤenale ; ʤenabe] ; (iv) [ʤenate] ; (v) [ʤinie].

(i) [dækha] *show* ; (ii) [dækhaš] ; (iii) [dækhale ; dækhabe] ; (iv) [dækhate] ; (v) [dekhie] ;

(i) [ʃona] *cause to hear* ; (ii) [ʃonaš] ; (iii) [ʃonale ; ʃonabe] ; (iv) [ʃonate] ; (v) [ʃunie].

[III] ROOTS AND VERBAL NOUNS IN BENGALI.

638. Although roots are essentially the creations of grammarians, conceived as the foundation of a number of words, there is always present, even among the uneducated speakers of an inflexional language, what may be called *root-consciousness*. Often the barest form, identical with the grammarian's root, is found to be in use in speech, even in highly inflected languages. Thus in Sanskrit, we see that « dŗś » means *a seeing, a seer* ; so « bhuj, bhū, pŗcch » are used as nouns ; and similarly « vŗt » is *that which turns*, and « vid » occurs as a noun in the sense of *knower*. The nominal inflexions were of course added in Sanskrit, although, as a result of phonetic decay, it would so seem that in the nominative singular the bare root itself without any formative affix added was the word. And in the modern IE. languages like English, French, Persian, Hindī, Bengali, what was originally a combination of root+affix has commonly been reduced to the bare root through phonetic decay. As a consequence in NIA. what at first sight looks like the root unmodified by any inflexion, features as a verbal noun, and also as the inferior imperative. Historical grammar will tell us that originally such forms ended in an affix, « -i » or « -a », which is now lost. In Dravidian, the simple root is used for the imperative singular : in modern Hindī and Bengali, we have the same thing resulting as the *finale* of a long history ; although it looks like an approximation to the Dravidian usage. Instances of such phonetically decayed *Root-Nouns*, as they may be called, are fairly common in Bengali. These occur either singly, or with another root-word of similar meaning, and are in the accusative or nominative relation to the verb with which they are employed : *e.g.*, গাছ « sāj$ » as

in সাজ করা « sāj̇ kårȧ » *array* ; ফাট «phāt̟ȧ» *crack* as in ফাট ধ'রেছে « phāt̟ȧ dhŏrĕchĕ » *it has got a crack* ; পচ « påc̟ȧ » *rottenness* ; চির, চিড় « cir̟ȧ, cir̟ȧ » *mark or line of a crack* ; পাক ধরা « pāk̟ȧ dhårȧ » *become ripe, tend to ripen* ; ডুব « d̟ub̟ȧ » *a dipping* ; তাক লাগা « tāk̟ȧ-lāgȧ » *gaze, be struck with wonder* ; খাখা করা « khā-khā kårȧ » *be eager to eat* (but cf. খাউ খাউ করা « khāu-khāu kårȧ », *supra*, pp. 678-679) ; চল « cål̟ȧ » *circulation* ; রহ-সহ or রহ-ঠহ করা « rȧ(hȧ)-sȧ(hȧ), rȧ(hȧ)-t̟hȧ(hȧ) kårȧ » *to wait and watch* ; ভাঙচুর « bhāṅ(g)ȧ-cur̟ȧ » *breaking and pulverising* ; ভুলচুক « bhul̟ȧ-cuk̟ȧ » *mistakes and omissions* ; তোলপাড় « tōl̟ȧ-pār̟ȧ » *raising and felling = turning upside down, agitating* ; মারধর « mār̟ȧ-dhår̟ȧ » *striking and seizing* ; ধর-পাকড় « dhår̟ȧ-pāk̟år̟ȧ » *seizing and catching* ; মারকাট « mār̟ȧ-kāt̟ȧ » *striking and cutting down* ; ভাঙ-গড় « bhāṅ(g)ȧ-går̟ȧ » *destroying and building* ; দেখ-মার « dĕkh̟ȧ-mār̟ȧ » *seeing and striking, attacking at sight* (cf. in a daily paper— জার্ম্মানী দেখ-মার নীতি অবলম্বন করিল « Jårmmānī dĕkh̟ȧ-mār̟ȧ nīti åbålåmbån̟ȧ kårila » *Germany has adopted the policy of 'hit at sight'*) ; so উঠ-বস « ut̟h̟ȧ-bås̟ȧ » *rising and sitting* ; হার-জিত « hār̟ȧ-jit̟ȧ » *lose and win* ; চল-বুল « cål̟ȧ-bul̟ȧ » *walk and wander* ; হাঁক-ডাক « hāk̟ȧ-d̟āk̟ȧ » *shout and yell* ; কাট-ছাঁট « kāt̟ȧ-chāt̟ȧ » *cut and trim (as of garments)* ; ফাট-ফুট « phāt̟ȧ-phut̟ȧ » *crack and split* ; etc., etc. These Root-Nouns also form compounds with other nouns : *e.g.*, ছাড়-পত্র « chār̟ȧ-påtrȧ » *passport*. See also under 'Verbal Nouns,' *infra*. For Root Imperatives, see under 'Moods,' below.

[C] KINDS OF VERBS : INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE.

639. Verbs in Bengali are either intransitive or transitive. In their outward form, however, there is no distinction between the two classes. Intransitive roots are chiefly primary ones, although those of secondary origin also occur. *E.g.*, « āch, kåd, kās, khĕl, gål, cål, cu, jwår = jår, jwål = jål, ji, jā, jujh, jhår, t̟ut̟, t̟al, mil, bil » etc. Also old denominatives like « pāk, rut̟h, tāt, båk, māt, phās, thām » etc. ; and new denominatives « kulā, ghumā, dār̟ā, bāhirā, śukhā, sŏtā » etc. All primary intransitive roots can be made transitive by adding the causative « -ā- ».

640. The initial stress of Bengali has in most cases obliterated the means of differentiating between the intransitive and transitive

(causative) forms of roots by making long the quantity of the root-vowel of the latter, and keeping short the quantity of that of the former. This means still obtains in the Bihārī dialects, and in Eastern as well as Western Hindī: *e.g.*, Bihārī « kǎṭab » *get cut*, causative « kāṭab »; « dīsab » *be seen*, « dīsab » *show*; « gǎṛab » *be interred*, « gāṛab » *inter*; Hind. « pǎlnā » *be reared*, « pālnā » *rear*; « nikǎlnā » *get out*, « nikālnā » *cast out*; etc.   These intransitives with a short vowel are frequently new forms in NIA., built out of the old causatives with a proper long vowel (cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Loss of Vowel-Alternation in Indo-Aryan,' in the 'Proceedings and Transactions of the 2nd Oriental Conference,' Calcutta, 1922, p. 492). But the «-ā-» affix is indispensable in Bengali for the causative, or transitive form of an intransitive root, and quantity of the root-vowel does not count.

641.   The transitive verb depends largely on its object.   In Bengali, as in other NIA. languages, only inanimate nouns can properly be said to have an accusative case,—i.e., only these do not take a dative affix like « -kē, -kō » etc.: *e.g.*, জল আনো « jalḍ ānō » *bring water*, ভাত খায় « bhātḍ khāy » *eats rice*, কাঠ কাটে « kāṭhḍ kāṭē » *cuts wood*, etc.   Animate nouns when really in the accusative case take the dative affix « -kē, -rē » in NB. when they are personal and definite: but they do not take the dative affix, and thus behave like inanimate nouns, when the object signified is general, vague or indefinite: গোরু চরায় « gōru cǎrāy » *grazes cattle*, but গোরুটাকে বাঁধো « gōru-ṭā-kē bǎdhō » *tie the cow*. The accusative apparently governed by an intransitive verb in Bengali is properly a dative, or a locative: *e.g.*, বাড়ী চলো « bāṛī cǎlō » *come home*; জলকে চল « jalḍ-kē cǎlḍ » *come to the water* (=*river, tank*); ঘরকে গেল « ghǎrḍ-kē gēlḍ » *went home*, etc.

The extension of dative the post-position to the accusative is a NIA. development.   The NIA. « bhāvē prayōga » or neuter construction of the transitive verb, in the past tense, as in Hindī « us-nē ghōṛī-kō dēkhā » *by-him with-reference-to-the-mare it-was-seen* (as opposed to the « karmaṇi » or passive construction, « us-nē ghōṛī dēkhī » *by-him·mare she-was-seen*), was not a characteristic thing in MIA.: it could be established only when the dative post-position came to be attached to the accusative for precision, as the inflexion of the latter was lost.   Bengali সে মানুষকে দেখিল « sē mānuṣḍ-kē dēkhilḍ » *he*

with-reference-to-the-man saw and সে মানুষ দেখিল « sē mānuṣ dēkhilā » *he man saw* are in their formation analogous respectively to the « bhāvē » and « karmaṇi » constructions of Hindī, etc., only the Bengali development has been to make them both active (with the proper nominative rather than instrumental), and definite in case of the post-positional form. The loss of OIA. affixes brought in the employment of post-positions for clearness and definiteness. The accusative did not possess any remarkable inflection—the OIA. « -am » had dwindled away to zero in Bengali and other NIA. When the dative post-position was taken up by the accusative, it was to supply this want of an affix ; and it brought in greater definiteness. In Apabhraṁśa and in Avahaṭṭha we have the accusative (for the animate noun) without post-position, *e.g.*, in the ' Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,'— « girivara-saaṇaṁ ṇamaha Haraṁ » *salute ye Hara dwelling in the noble mountain* (p. 313, Bib. Ind. edition) ; « gōla (= gōḍa)-rāa jiṇi » *having conquered the King of Gauḍa* (p. 423) ; « Bali chali » *having cheated Bali* (p. 586) ; etc. : but « rajja Suggivaha dijja » *gave the kingdom to Sugrīva* (p. 576), where we have the dative-genitive. In the OB. of the Caryās, we have the same thing : « guru pucchia jāṇa » *ask the guru and know* (2) : « sadguru pucchi » *asking the good master* (4) ; etc. In MB. and NB., in some cases the old accusative survives : *e.g.*, বন্দো মাতা সুরধনী « bāndō mātā surādhanī » *I worship mother S.* ; রাম ভজো মন « rāmạ bhajō manạ » *adore R., O mind.* But already in the ŚKK., we find the NB. characteristic of using the dative affix for the accusative established. Bengali in this respect came in line with the other NIA. languages which developed largely the neuter construction : thus রাধাক দেখিষ্আঁ « Rādhā-kạ dēkhiā » *seeing R.*, পুছিল রাধাকে «puchila Rādhā-kē » *asked R.* (p. 135) ; বড়ায়িক ছাড়ী কেঁহে হৈবো এক়াকিনী « baṛāyi-kạ chāṛī kēṅhē hạibō ēkākinī » *why should I be alone, leaving the old woman ?* (p. 147) ; etc.

642. One intransitive verb, compounded with a noun or adjective, behaves like a transitive in NB. : the verb বাস « bās ». Originally it meant *to feel, to like, to regard, to hold.* The source of it seems to the common OIA. root « vas » *to dwell,* with the long, or causative grade « vās, vās-aya » used as

active; but there seems to have merged in it also the other OIA. roots
« vaś » *desire, wish for*, and « vas » *love*, as |well as « vās » *put on garment*.
In NB., the words ভালো, বাসা « bhālō, bāsā » = *well* and *like* have formed
a compound verb-root, transitive, = ভানবাসা, ভালোবাসা « bhālā-bāsā, bhālō-
bāsā » *to love*. The compound মন্দ-বাস « māndā-bāsā » *dislike* also is heard in
NB. But in MB., বাস « √bās » was an ordinary root, which was used with
other nouns, or was used impersonally : *e.g.*, ভয় বাসি, ডর বাসি মনে « bhāyā bāsi,
dārā bāsi mānē » *I am afraid in my mind*; শরীরে বাসি বল « śārīrē bāsi bālā »
I feel strong in body; কৌতুক বাস কি « kāutukā bāsā ki » *do you think it as
queer?*; অদ্ভুত হেন বাসি « ādbhutā hēnā bāsi » *strange as it were it appears to
me*; না দেব কড়ি তোমার মনে বাসে « nā dēbā kārī, tōmārā mānē bāsē » *it
strikes you as if I shall not pay the money*; লাজ বাসে « lājā bāsē » *feels shy*;
কোপে না কহিলা মোর মনে বাসে « kōpē nā kāhilā, mōrā mānē bāsē » *appears
in my mind that he spoke not in anger*; বাসি ভাত ব্যঞ্জনে জিহ্বায় রস বাসে
« bāsi bhātā byāñjānē jihwāy rāsā bāsē » *the tongue feels moist (with relish)
with cold rice and curry*; আমার আগেতে নৃত্য করিতে বাস ঘৃণা « āmārā āgē-tē nртyā
kāritē bāsā ghṛṇā » *holdest in scorn to dance before me*; ধন্দ হেন বাসে
« dhāndā hēnā bāsē » *it seems as if it were a maze*; হাঁটিতে না পারে চাঁদ
পায়ে বাসে বাঁধা « hāṭitē nā pārē Cāndā, pāē bāsē bāndhā » *C. cannot walk,
feels as if fastened by the feet*; etc., etc. (the examples given above are
from the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vijaya-gupta, but instances abound in all
MB. writers). The nouns in apparent accusative relation with « √bās »
like ভালো, মন্দ, ভয়, ডর, বল, কৌতুক etc. above, are properly adverbial in
nature, rather than true accusatives.

[D] Moods: Optative, Subjunctive, Imperative.

643. NB. possesses but two moods, Indicative and Imperative.
The Imperative occurs in the second and third persons only, and in the
present tense. It is sometimes quite properly called the 'Imperative Tense.'
An old future for the second person is used as a Precative or Future Impera-
tive. For the Infinitive, there are some verbal nouns. The other moods
of OIA.— Subjunctive or Conjunctive, Optative, Injunctive, and Precative,
are entirely lost in Bengali.

644. In the well-known « āryā » or distich giving rules for working land-measures, attributed to the mathematician Subhaṅkara (under whose name the old Indian system of arithmetic and square and cubic measures as practised in the village schools in Bengal passes), we have an optative or precative form লিজ্জে « lijjē » : কুড়ূ বা কুড়ূ বা কুড়ূ বা লিজ্জে, কাঠায় কুড়ূ বা কাঠা লিজ্জে « kuṛubā kuṛubā, kuṛubā lijjē : kāṭhāy kuṛubā, kāṭhā lijjē » *kuṛubā* (= kuḍava, '*bighā*' *measure* = ⅓ *acre*) × *kuṛubā, take* (*the result*) *as kuṛubā* ; *kāṭhā* (= ¹⁄₂₀th *of a bighā*, ' *cottah* ') × *kuṛubā, take as kāṭhā*. Here « lijjē » *take*, is properly an optative or precative = *let one take*, representing a Late MIA. « *lahijjaï, lahĕjjaï* », which is made up of the optative form for the 3rd singular, « lahejja, lahijja » (= OIA. «*labh-yā-t, *labh-iyā-t* » for « labh-ɪ-ta »), *plus* the affix for the indicative 3rd present « -i » (< OIA. -ti). The OIA. « -yā- » optative or precative became « -ĕyya » in First MIA., which gave later MIA. « -ĕjja, -ijja », and assumed the personal terminations « -mi, -si- (also -hi), -ti > -i » etc. of the indicative, and sometimes « -tu > -u » of the 3rd person imperative (*e.g.*, ' Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' p. 427—« sō tuha Saṅkara dijjaü mōkkhā » *may he, Śaṅkara, grant you liberation*, where « dijjaü » = « dĕjja, dijja [< dadyāt] » + « -u [< tu] » of the imperative. Cf. Grierson, JRAS., 1910, pp. 162-163) ; and as a distinct tense form—the ' Optative Tense'—it existed in Late MIA. This optative in « -j- » is preserved as a respectful imperative in the Midland and Western NIA. languages—*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « kījiyē » *please do*, Gujarātī « marjē, mārjō », etc.; but it is not found in the Eastern languages, being conspicuous by its absence in the Caryās, and in MB. in general. লিজ্জে « lijjē » of Śubhaṅkara is only a stray form which has found a place in a technical verse. It is not unlikely however, that the « -ijja- » optative existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa. The ' Prākṛta-Paiṅgala ' verses with the « -ijj- » forms (see *supra*, p. 124) could from that assumption be connected with the East. There is a NIA. inflected passive in « -ɪj-, -ī-, -ij-, -i- », which is quite a different thing, being derived from the OIA. passive affix « -yá- ». A connexion between the MIA. inflected passive in « -ijja- < -yá- » and the MIA. « -ij-, -j- » imperative was suggested by Hoernle, but Tessitori has shown how this MIA. form is

only the old optative ('Comp. Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, §§ 480, 481, 499; 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' §120).

645. In M.B. the optative sense is expressed by the indicative with the pronominal adverb যেন « jēnă » used as a conjunction = *so that* (see *supra*, p. 853); and sometimes the instrumental of the pronoun যা « jă » *that*, যাতে « jātē » *so that*, is also similarly employed : *e.g.*, আমি যেন দেখি « ămi jēnă dēkhi » *so that I may see, may I see*; সে যাতে করে « sē jātē kărē» *so that he may do, may he do.* There is also a periphrastic form with the root পা « pă » *obtain* or পার « păr » *be able*: *e.g.*, যেন আমি দেখৃতে পাই, or পারি « jenă ămi dēkhtē pāi, pări » *may I see.* The conjunctives যেন, যাতে « jēnă, jātē » have no fixed place in the sentence. This idiom is found as early as the ŚKK.: *e.g.*, p. 168, সে যেহ আঙ্কাক বাহাএ দধিভার « sē jēnhă ămhā-kă băhāē dădhi-bhără » *may she make me carry the load of curds*; p. 186, সাবধানে লঅ যেহ না ছাড়াএ ঘোল « săbădhānē lăă jēnhă na chărăē ghölă » *take it carefully, that the whey may not scatter*; p. 211, কেহো কাহাকো যেহ না করে উপহাস « kēhō kăhākō jēnhă na kărē upăhāsă » *may no one taunt another.* In other M.B. works also this construction figures : *e.g.*, 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 204 (ed. Atul Krishna Goswāmī), মোর কাম্য— যেন দেখা পাই « mōră kāmya, jēnă dēkhā pāi » *my desired object—may I get a sight*; etc., etc. The conjunctive or adverbial participle in ইলে « -ilē » implies a condition, and it can be used with an optative force: *e.g.*, গেলে দেখা হয় « gēlē dēkhā hăy » *an interview might take place if one went.* In this idiom, however, the optative sense is not always implied: *e.g.* OB. Caryā 2, « răti bhaïlē Kāmaru jăi » *she goes to Kāmarūpa (would go, may go) when it becomes night*; ŚKK., p. 397, যে বুধি করিলে রহে আঙ্কার জীবন « jē budhi kărilē rahē ămhără jïbănă » *by doing such contrivance with which my life may endure* (or *will endure*), etc.

646. The Subjunctive Mood, which was of so great importance in Vedic, was dropped in Classical Sanskrit, although it lingered on in Early MIA. (cf E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 108). Bengali in common with other NIA. (except Assamese) possesses a Present Participle form which is used for the Past Subjunctive or Conditional, as well as Past Habitual: *c.g.*, (যদি) করিতাম (করিতে, করিত) « (jădi) kăritămă (kăritē, kărită) », Oṛiyā

« mu kărănti (tu kărăntu, sē kărăntā) » *if I (you, he) did,* etc. ; so Maithilī « ham karitahu, sē karitai », Wéstern Ḥindī « maĭ kartā, ham kartē » etc.

The subjunctive is formed in Bengaḷi with the help of the conjunction যদি « yadi, jădi » *if,* a *ts.* which has ousted the OB. *tbh.* « jaï ». Occasionally in early Bengali (as in early 19th century prose), the conjunction যে « jē » *that* is used. A similar use of « jaï » or « yadi » occurs in OB.: *e.g.,* Caryā 5, « jaï tumhē, lōa hē, hoïba pāragāmi » *if ye, O men, will be goers across* ; 41, « jaï tō mūdhā acchasi, bhāntī puccha-tu sadguru-pāva » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou about thy mistakes at the foot of the good master* ; in eMB., ŚKK., p. 137, যদি মোরে পুছে আইহনে « jădi mōrē puchē Āïhānē » *if Ā. were to ask me* ; p. 244, তোক্বা দেখি যদি মোর বিচলিল মনে « tōmhā dēkhi jădi mōrā bicălilā mănē » *if by seeing you my mind is moved* ; p. 289, আনল শরণ কিবা করিবো যদি না দিবে বচনে « ānălā śărăṇa kibā kăribŏ jădi nā dibē băcănē » *if you do not give word, I reck not I shall seek refuge in fire* ; p. 351, যদি কাহ্নাঞি কর পার, হএ মোর তবেসি নিস্তার « jădi Kānhāñi kără pārā, hăē mōrā tăbēsi nistără » *if you get me across, O Kṛṣṇa, then indeed may come my salvation* ; etc.

This use of « yadi, jaï » is common in the Apabhraṅśa and Avahaṭṭha : cf. 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' p. 211, « sēra ŏkka jaï pāvaü ghittā » *if I could get a seer of ghee* ; p. 465, « jaï ŏtthi digantara jāïhi kantā » *if the beloved one were to go to a foreign land even now* ; p. 430, « jaï jaḍḍā rūsaï, cittā hāsaï pēṭē aggī thappīā » *if cold rages, the heart contracts, and fire is put on the stomach* ; etc., etc.

647. The Imperative Mood, or 'Imperative Tense,' has the following affixes :

New Bengali :

First Person : Same as those for the Indicative Present.

Second person : Inferior (=Original Singular) has a form identical with the bare root : *e.g.,* কর্ « kăr-ɸ », চল্ « căl-ɸ »; Ordinary, used with inferiors and equals (= Original Plural) has root + « -ă » or « -ŏ » : কর, করো « kăr-ă, kăr-ŏ », চল, চলো « căl-ă, căl-ŏ ».

Honorific (= Originally 3-plural) = root + উন্ « -un&̱ » : করন্, চলুন্ « kȧr-un&̱, cȧl-un&̱ ».

Third Person : Singular, now also Plural : root + উক্ « u-k&̱ » : করুক্, চলুক্ « kȧr-u-k&̱, cȧl-u-k&̱ ».

Honorific (= Original Plural) : root + উন্ « -un&̱ » ; করন্ চলুন « kȧr-un&̱, cȧl-un&̱ ».

Early Middle Bengali :

First Person : Same as for Indicative Present.

Second Person : Singular and Plural অ, « -&̱ » ; অহ, হ « -&̱hȧ, -hȧ », and হা « -hā » : e.g., কহ « kȧh-&̱ », ল অ « lȧ-&̱ », সুত « sut-&̱ » (= sleep !), দে, নে < দেঅ, নেঅ « dē, nē < *dēȧ, *nēȧ »; করহ « kȧr-ȧhȧ », চিন্তহ « cint-ȧhȧ », জাহ, যাহ « jȧ-hȧ », দেহ « dē-hȧ », খাহ « khȧ-hȧ », নিষধহ « niṣȧdh-ȧhȧ », থোহ « thō-hȧ »; খাহা « khā-hȧ », যাহা « jȧ-hȧ ».

Third Person : Singular and Plural : উ, অউ « -u, -ȧu » with or without pleonastic ক « -k&̱ » (উক্, অউক « -u-k&̱, -ȧu-k&̱ ») : rarely, honorific অন্ত « ȧntȧ » : e.g., জীউ « jī-u », পসু « pȧsu = pȧïś-u », « dē-u », ধর « dhȧr-u », খণ্ডউ « khȧnḍ-ȧu », তেজুক « tēj-u-k&̱ < *tēj-ȧu-k&̱ »), থাকু « thāku (< *thā-u-k&̱ »); দেন্ত « dē-ntȧ » (only instance in the ŚKK.). (Also forms in ইউ « -iū », for which see infra.)

Old Bengali :

Second Person : (i) « -a » : « jāṇ-a (Caryās 1, 44); sun-a (2); cāl-a (3); phāl-a (4); bāha-a (13); bāb-a (14); mār-a (21); kar-a (28, 41); bindh-a (28); pēkh-a (30, 46); bhōl-a (37); dhar-a (38); pasar-a, bas-a (39); bhaṇ-a (40, 42); phuḍ-a (47); hēr-a, chāḍ-a (50); accha = āch-a (37) »;

(ii) « -a-tu » : « pucch-a-tu (5); bāh-a-tu (8); bujh-a-tu (38) »;

(iii) « -aha, -ha » : « bindh-aha (28); bhul-aha (15); chēv-aha (45); (bāhaa, Caryā 13 = bāh-aha ?) »;

(iv) « -hu, -u » : « lā-hu (1); hō-hu (6); lē-hu, jā-hu, lō-u
= lēhu, lē-u ? (32); dhahu = dhara-hu ? (38); jā-u
(38); chāḍ-u (50) »; .   ,

(v) « -hī » : « hō-hī, jā-hī » (5).

Third Person: « -au » : « kar-au » (22);

Passive Third Person: « -iu », as in, « ghōl-iu (12), marāḍ-iu ? (12),
saṁkēl-iu, jā-iu, (15); caṭār-iu ? (26) ».

648. OIA. employed the corresponding subjunctive forms for the
imperative 1st person : singular « -āni », dual « -āva », plural « -āma ».
These have not survived in MIA. and NIA. The OIA. imperative 2 sg. had
« -a » as well as « -hi ». This « -a » was continued through MIA. and
OB. down to eMB., after which it fell off from pronunciation: OIA.
« cal-a » > NIA. « cal-a » > OB. « cal-a » > eMB. « cāl-ă » > lMB., NB.
« cāl-ḍ »,. This old singular is now used as the inferior imperative, both
singular and plural : তুই, তোরা চল « tui, tōrā cālḍ ». This « -a » affix was
fairly common for the ordinary imperative, and in the general confusion of
numbers, it seems to have been extended to the plural as well from
the OB. period. The « -a » certainly assimilated with the root vowel,
when the root ended in a vowel, before the eMB. stage : witness ŚKK. দে, নে
= NB. দে, নে « dē, nē », < « *dēā, *nēā », inferior forms beside the
ordinary NB. দেও or দাও « dēo, dāo » and নেও, নাও « nēo, nāo » <
eMB. « dēā, nēā < dēhą, nēhā ». [1]

The affix « -hi » of OIA. seems to have been continued down to OB.
in the strengthened form « -hī », as in the Caryā « hō-hī, jā-hī » : and
possibly in a form like করী « kārī » in the ŚKK., as in প্রভু হইআ হেন নাহি
করী « prabhu hāyiā hēnā nāhī kārī » *do not do so, being the lord* (p. 236),

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[1] This loss of inflexional vowels occurring immediately after the root ending in a vowel
seems to have taken place in Old Bengali, and possibly earlier still. Thus, for example,
Tibetan tradition gives as an Old Bengali (or Old Magahī ?) sentence of the 11th century
'bhāiā hoo (= hōn ?), nāth(a) Atīśa, bhāt onā, bhāt onā (= bhāta anā < aṇā < MIA.
*ānāpaya = Skt. ānāyaya)' *may it be well, Master Atīśa, get (them) bring rice,* with which
a beggar-boy accosted Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa distributing alms and food at Vikramaśīla.
(Sarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, p. 50.)

we have traces of « -hī », or of its influence (but see *infra*, under 'Inflected Passive'). But this « -hī » is lost to NB. The « -hi (-hī) » affix for the imperative seems to have been foreign to the eastern speech, which preferred « -a ». In MB. we have one or two instances of this « -hi (-āhi) » affix for the imperative, as a relic from MIA.: *e.g.*, Kṛttivāsa (VSP., I, p. 497)— আপনি ধার্মিক তুমি ধর্ম বুঝাহি আনে « āpāni dhārmikṣ, tumi dhārmā bujhāhi ānē » *you yourself are a righteous person, you explain the* dharma *to another.*

The OB. forms in « -tu », like « pucch-a-tu », are cases of pure agglutination arising out of an emphatic employ of the pronoun « tu (< tvam) ». As a stereotyped form it was extended to the plural or honorific also (*e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jaï tumhē, lōa hē, hōiba pāragāmi, pucch-a-tu Cātila anuttara-sāmi », translated at p. 262 *supra*).

The OIA. affix for 2 sg. *ātmanē-pada* was « -sva ». This gave a vocalised « -ssu » in First MIA. (Pali), which was used even with *parasmāi-pada* roots (E. Müller 'Pali Grammar,' p. 107; W. Geiger, 'Pali-sprache,' in the Grundriss, § 126). From « -ssu » came the Second MIA. « -su ». Pischel, however, holds that the Second MIA. « -su » arose by analogy : the Indicative had in MIA. the singular forms « -mi, -si, -ti > -di, -i », plural « mō, -tha > -dha > -ha, -nti », and by the juxtaposition of the 3rd personal forms, Indicative « -ti > -i, -nti » beside Imperative « -tu > -u, -ntu », the 1st and 2nd person singular also came to have in the Imperative « -mu, -su » beside the Indicative « -mi, -si » (cf. ' Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 467).

The OB. forms in « -hu, -u » were used both for the singular and the plural, but probably they were singular at first, and it seems not unlikely that the « -hu, -u » affix originated from the « -su » form, in the pre-Bengali stage : « *cala-sva > cala-ssu > cala-su » might have given «cala-hu» in OB., with the obscure change of « -s- » to « -h- » remaining unexplained. Or a blend of *ātmanē-pada* « cala-su », *plus* « calāhi, calahi » (with *parasmāi-pada* « -hi » affix) may have given « calahu », and « calasu » + « cala » similarly may have resulted in « calu ».

The forms « calahu, jāhu, hōhu » etc. may equally be the original plural, with the « -ahu » affix, as in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, originating as follows : OIA. Indicative 2 plural « calatha » > MIA. Imperative « calaha, calahu »,

the « -a » changing to « -u » in MIA. probably through analogy of the 3rd plural « -ntu ».

This « -u » affix was also extended to the 2nd person of the other tenses—to the past in « -il- » and the future in « -ib- » in dialectal Bengali, and to the singular 2nd person of the present, simple past, habitual past, and future in Oṛiyā.

The « -u » imperative is quite common in Apabhraṅśa, e.g., 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' p. 463, « ē atthirā dĕkkhu sarīrā gharu jāṣ » see, all this is unstable,—the body, house, wife.

The Imperative 2nd plural affix in OIA. was « -ata ». This fell together with the Indicative 2nd plural « -atha » as early as the First MIA. period, and « -atha » became in Second and Late MIA. « -adha, -aha ». OB. inherited this as « -aha », and this অহ « -ăhă » continued down to eMB., and is even now used in NB. as an archaic, literary form (e.g., আপন পাঠেতে মন করহ নিবেশ « āpană pāṭhē-tō mănă kărăhă nibēśă » direct your mind to your own studies ; পশ্চাদ্ভাগ দেখহ « păścādbhāgă dĕkhăhă » see back, as in Calcutta tramway tickets a few years ago). The contraction of « -ăhă » to « -ă, -ă », however, took place in the spoken language as early as eMB., and this « -aha < -ă » did not coalesce with the root when it ended in a vowel, unlike the « -ă » of the original singular. Final « -ă > -ă » also occurs as « -ō » in NB., and is as a matter of fact written ও « -ō » after vowels : জাহ, জাঅ > জাও « jāhă, jăă > jāō » go ! ; খাহ, খাঅ > খাও « khăhă, khăă > khăō » eat ! ; নেহ, নেঅ > (নেও) ন্যাও > নাও « nēhă, nĕă > nēō [næo] > nāo » take ! ; so হও « hăō » be ! ; জীঅহ > জীহ, জীঅ > জীও « jīăhă, jīhă, jīă > jīō » live, which even occurs as জীউ « jīu » through the influence of the preceding high vowel (cf. ' Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' জীউ জীউ রাইঅত ধর্ম দেউক বর « jīu jīu rāiătă, dhărmă dĕukă bără » live, ye farmers, may Dharma grant this boon : the « -u » here, however, can equally be the other imperative affix « -hu, -u »). With roots ending in consonants the affix « -ăhă » becomes also « -ō, », and it is written either অ or ও : কর, চল or করো, চলো,—the pronunciation is generally [o] although the old tradition makes it অ in writing.

MIA. also changed « -aha » to « -ahu » : this has been noted before.

Early MB. « -hā » is only the « -ha » affix affected by the « -ā » of the root, as in « khā-hā, jā-hā ».

649. The OIA. affix « -tu » for 3 pers. sg. gave « -u » in OB. From eMB. times, the pleonastic ক « -kā » came to be added to this form (see *infra*, ' Pleonastic Affixes'). Oṛiyā and Bihārī do not employ this « -kā ». In MB., forms with « -kā » are almost as common as those without ; in NB., the « -kẹ » is universal, and after the loss of the « -u-», this consonant has become the distinctive affix for this form : *e.g.*, যাক্, খাক্, নিক্, দিক্ « jāk, khāk, nik, dik », etc. The group « -u-kẹ » modified its spelling in accordance with the epenthesis of « -i-, -u-», *e.g.*, MB. জাউক্, পাউক্, হউক্, দেউক্=জাউক, পাউক, হউক, দেউক « jāukẹ, pāukẹ, hāukẹ, dēukẹ » etc. (see *supra*, p. 383).

The plural form of the imperative 3 pers. in OIA., « -ntu », seems to have continued down to OB. The normal development in MB. and NB. ought to have been « -~tu, -ūt, -~t », but we actually find উন « -unẹ ». The expected « -nt- > -~t- » has been ousted by « -n- » which is certainly the nominal plural affix extended to the verb (see *supra*, pp. 725-726).

OB. and eMB. have as a living form a passive imperative in « -iu, -iū », which is discussed below (under ' Passive in Bengali ').

650. Forms for the Imperative in the other Magadhan speeches may be compared :

Assamese	Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. kārō ;	1. kārõ—karū ;	1. dēkhiai, dēkhū ;
2. kār, *honorific* kārā ;	2. kārẹ—kārā ;	2. dēkh, dēkbahū ;
3. kārōk.	3. kāru—kāruntu.	3. dēkhau, dēkhathǔ.

The Assamese « kārā » represents « karaha, karābā » ; and « kārōk » = « karau+-ka ». The Oṛiyā and Assamese 1st person is borrowed from the indicative. Oṛiyā 2 plural « kārā » is from « karaha ». The Maithilī « dēkhiai » is extended from the indicative, and the other form « dēkhū » seems to have the « -ū » from « -mu, -mō », the Apabhraṅśa imperative 1 sg. and pl. forms. The plural « -ntu » is represented by « -thǔ », like the indicative « -nti > -thī ».

651. NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » has for the second person a future imperative, precative, and prohibitive in ইয়ো « -i(y)ō » which is found from the earliest period. In OB. and eMB. the form was ইহ « -ihā, -ihā ». It is a relic of the old inflected or sigmatic future of OIA.: singular « caliṣyasi » > « *calihasi, calibisi » > Bengali চলিস « cāliṣ », plural « caliṣyatha » > « calibaha » > চলিহ « cāliha » > চলিস, চলিস « cāliā, cāliā » > চলিয়ো, চলিও,চল্যো, চ'লো « cāli(y)ō, cāllyō, cā'lō=[cōlo]». NB. Standard Colloquial has this « -iyā, -iyō » affected by Umlaut. The « -iṣya- > -ih- » future was current in OB. and in eMB. (along with the « -itavya > -ib-» future) in the three persons, but only the second person has survived in NB. (see *infra*, under 'Future Tense'). In the Caryās, as instances of the « -ih- » future imperative, we have « hōhisi, mārihasi » (Caryā 23). It is exceedingly common in the ŚKK. and other MB. works: e.g., « আসিহ āsihā, চাহিহ cāhihā, করিহ kāribā, ছাড়িহ chārihā, তোষিহ tōṣihā, দিহ dibā, ধরিহ dhārihā, নিবেদিহ nibēdihā, পুছিহ puchihā, রাখিহ rākhihā » etc. In latter MB., epenthesis is noticeable, as usual: e.g., রাখিহ, রাখিষ « rākbi(h)ā » becomes রাইষ, রাখ্য « rāikhā, rākhyā = rāīkhā »; so দাণ্ডাইহ « dāṇḍāihā » as দাণ্ডায় « dāṇḍāiā > dāṇḍāyyā », etc., etc.

The same future imperative occurs in Maithili and other Bihārī dialects, e.g., Maithili « dēkhibāh < dēkhibahu », Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhihē » plural « dēkhihā, dēkhihau ». In the Bihārī dialects, the ordinary future in « -b- » can be similarly employed, as much as in Bengali. A similar imperative use of the sigmatic future does not seem to occur in Assamese and Oṛiyā.

A future imperative for the second person only can be noted, in Old Western Rājasthānī, in Western Apabhraṅśa and in Second MIA. and in all these it occurs generally with the negative particle « mā » (L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 121).

652. The verbal form গা, গে « gā, gē » added to the imperative is found from the MB. period onwards to express the imperative in the immediate future, with a slight precative sense : e.g.,

1. আমি, আমরা করিগা, করিগে « āmi, āmarā kāri-gā, kāri-gē »;
2. তুই, তোরা করগা, ক'রগে « tui, tōrā kāra-gā, kōr-gē », করিসগা, করিসগে « kāris-gā, -gē »;

তুমি, তোমরা করগা, করগে « tumi, tōmắrā kắrā-gā, kắrā-gē » ;

3. সে, তারা করুকগা, করুকগে « sē, tārā kắrukắ-gā, -gē » ;
তিনি, তীরা, করুন্গা, -গে « tini, tắrā kắrunắ-gā, gē » (also second person honorific with আপনি, আপনারা « āpắni, āpắnārā »).

Cf. MB., Kṛttivāsa, ' Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 17 : সীতারে কহিল—'ফল করগা ভক্ষণ ' « Sītā-rē kāhilā—phắlắ kắrā-gā bhắkṣắnắ » *said to Sītā, ' go eat this fruit'*; ' Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 20२, সেই শস্যের ফল তুমি খাওগা আপনি « sēi śắsyērắ phắlắ tumi khāŏ-gā āpắni » *you yourself go and eat the fruit of that grain ;* etc. Carey in his ' Bengali Dialogues ' (Calcutta, 1818) translates forms in « -gā » as a simple future in the 1st person, and as an imperative in the 2nd and 3rd ; *e.g.*, উনিও সামগ্রী আয়োজন করুন্গা, আমিও করিগা « uni-ō sắmắgrī āyōjắnắ kắrunắ-gā, āmi-ō kắri-gā » *let him get things ready, and I will do the same* (p. 42). We can compare this affix of Bengali with the future suffix « -gau, -gō, -gā, -gī, -gē, -gī » of the Western Hindī and Panjābī dialects.

The Western « -gā, -gē, -gī » etc., are from the passive participle « gata > gaa ». For the Bengali « -gā, -gē », the source may equally be the same « gata », but the indeclinable participle গিয়া « giyā » *having gone*, certainly had something to do with it : the change of the root-vowel in the contemptuous second person ক'রগে [korge] can be explained only as being from করগিয়া [kor gia]. We can compare the use of গে « gē » < গিয়া « giyā » (not গা « gā ») with the simple past and the future tenses in the Standard Colloquial, with the force of *though, nevertheless, however, even now, immediately*: *e.g.*, সে ক'রলে গে [sē korle ge] *and then he did*, তুমি ক'রবে গে [tumi korbe ge] *and you will do*.

[E] Voice : the Passive in Bengali.

[I] The Inflected Passive in Bengali.

[1] Passive Indicative.

653. Primitive Indo-European does not seem to have possessed a passive conjugation. In the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) period the passive developed out of the middle or reflexive, but it was confined to the present stem

and to the third person singular of the aorist only. The distinctive affix of this inflected passive was « -yá- » in the present stem, and the personal terminations of the middle voice were employed. Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) has preserved this passive. In Middle Indo-Aryan, the conjugational system underwent the greatest decay imaginable, but the passive was retained, being found in the present indicative and optative imperative; and a few forms like passive aorist and future were built up in Second MIA.

The « -yá- » affix occurs as « -ya-, -iya, -iyya-, -īya- » in First MIA. and as « -ijja- » or as « -īa- » in Second and Third MIA., or is assimilated with a preceding consonant. The middle inflections of course are changed for those of the active; and the passive is extended to a number of neuter roots, forming deponents. The NIA. languages inherited the « -ijja- > -īja- » or « -īa-, -ia- » passive from Apabhraṅśa, but it is not preserved in all of them. Early in the history of NIA., the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being, and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into desuetude. The languages of the West have preserved it, but those of the Midland, the South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form. Western Panjābī, Sindhī and Rājasthānī, for instance, employ « -īj- » or « -ī-, -i- » to form the passive; e.g., W. Panjābī « mārdā < mārānda- » striking, « mārindā » being struck; « cāhdā » wanting, « cāhīdā » being wanted; « paṛhē » reads, « paṛhīē » is read; Sindhī « karīje » is done, « paṛhīje » is read; Mārwāṛi « karaṇō » doing, « karījaṇō » being done. 'Modern Gujarātī has f only in -īe, a 3rd sing. present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a substitute for the 1st plur. active [i.e., « hū karū » I do < « aham karōmi », but « amē karīē » we do < « asmābhiḥ kriyatē » instead of from « vayam kurmaḥ »], and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in ā.' (L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.' § 136: R. L. Turner suggests another explanation of the Gujarātī « -īē », as being from « -imaḥ », through « -imō > -imu > -ī > -ī », + « ē » of the 3 pl. [-anti > -ahiṁ >

-ē], to distinguish it from the absolutive in « -i » < earlier « -ia » [J.RAS., 1916, p. 227, foot-note]).

654. The western languages are thus more conservative in the matter of preservation of this inherited form. The Midland language has curtailed the old passive, but relics do occur in it: *e.g.*, Braj-bhākhā « mārai » *strikes*, « māriyai » *is struck*. Bhandarkar and Tessitori have given instances from the Early Awadhī of Tulasī-dāsa. (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' Bombay, 1914, p. 227 ; Tessitori, 'Grammatical Forms in Old Baiswari,' JRAS., 1914.) The modern Hindī respectful imperative or precative forms like « kījiyē » *please do* have in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if they are not of passive origin (cf. Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 480, 481, 499). An expression like Hind. « kapṛā cāhiyē » *cloth to sell* is a passive one, where « cāhiyē » = *is wanted*. Compare the Bengali চাই in কি চাই « ki cāi » *what do you want?* (literally, *what is-wanted?*), তোমার আসা চাই « tōmārá āsā cāi » *you must come* (literally, *your coming is-wanted*): Bengali « cāi », Hindi « cāhiyē » are from a Middle Indo-Aryan passive from « *cāhia(d)i » =Old Indo-Aryan « *ca(g)hyátē » : compare these with কি চাও « ki cāō » *what do you want* and তুমি আসিতে চাও « tumi āsitē cāō » *you must come*, where « cāō » = চাহ « cāhá », 2nd pers. (plural), present and imperative, = « cāhaha » (=Skt. « -atha » and « -ata »). The « -ī-, -i- » or « -ijja-, īja- » affix for the passive is quite common in the dialects of the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṇgala,' which represent the stage immediately before Modern Hindī : and the loss of this affix is quite a remarkable feature in Western Hindī when compared with the neighbouring Rājasthānī and Panjābī. The « -īj-, -ij- » passive was also quite frequent in Early Marāṭhī, as Bhandarkar has noticed it (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 226-227) ; but it seems to have died out in Modern Marāṭhī.

655. It would be interesting to see how far the inflected passive is preserved in Old and Middle Bengali, and in other Magadhan languages.

The language of the 'Dōhā-kōṣas' (see *supra*, p. 112) shows some cases of the « -i- » or « -ijja-, -īja- », as well as the assimilated passive:

e.g., 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā,' p. 89, « purāṇē vakkhānijjaï » *it is dis-cribed by the Purāṇa* ; p. 103, « sō ē māī kahiajē » *that has been declared by me* ; ibid., « sō paramēsuru kāsu kahijjaï » *for whom is that supreme lord (to be) described ?* ; p. 105, « visaya ramanta ṇa visaa vilipyaï (=vilippaï) » *enjoying the world, yet the world is not attached to him* ; p. 106, « dēva pi (=vi) jjaï (=jaï) lakṣa (=lakkha) vi dīsaï, apyaṇu (=appaṇu) mārīī sa [ki] kariaï » *? if the deity is seen face to face, self becomes dead : he (=by him) what can be done ?* ; p. 107, « jāva ṇa dīsaï » *until it is seen* ; p. 109, « kāsu kahijjaï » *to whom is it (to be) declared ?* ; p. 129, « aïsō sō nibbāṇa bhaṇijjaï, jahi mana mānasa kith pi na kijjaï » *Nirvāṇa is described to be such that there nothing is done of the mind or of the qualities of the mind* ; p. 130, « jaï pavana-gamana-duārē [diḍha] tālā vi bhijjaï, jaï tasu ghōrāndhārē mana diva hō kijjaï » *if the strong lock at the door for the passage of the wind is shut* (« bhijjaï », cf. Bengali root হয় « bhēj » *to shut*=? Skt. « abhy-ajyatē »), *if in that, in the deep gloom, the mind is made as a lamp* : etc.

In this Western Apabhraṅśa dialect, the « -ijja- » affix is more common than the « -ia- », and it is in full force as a passive form. The Old Bengali of the Caryā-padas has a number of instances of the inflected passive, but the affix is « -i(a)- », not « -ijja- » or « -īja- » ; besides there are a few of the assimilated « -yā- » forms : *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala sa[mā]hia kāhi kariaï » *what is attained by all* samādhi *?* ; 6, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇi » *the abode of the stag and of the doe is not known* ; ibid., « hariṇāra khura na dīsaa (=dīsaï) ». *the stag's hoof is not seen* ; 26, « pāviaï » *is obtained* ; « bhāviaï » *is thought of* ; 32, « duhiē » *is milked* ; 46, « cchijaï » (=chidyatē) *is cut* ; etc.

The analytical passive with root যা, যা « √jā < yā » *to go* following the verbal noun in « -ana » has already become established in the language of the Caryās ; and the analytical « √jā » passive in NIA. seems to have been influenced by, if not actually developed out of, the older inflexional « -ij- » form.

It would seem that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, the two forms « -ia- » and « -ijja- » occurred side by side: and « -ia- » seems to be the genuine Magadhan affix, and « -ijja- » borrowed through the influence of the Western speeches, and not native in the East. The « -ia- » was preserved in OB. and in MB., although as an obsolete form in the latter, and its real nature seems to have been lost to the speakers quite early.

The examples of the « -ia- » passive in the 47 Caryās are not so few, there numbering some twenty. In Middle Bengali literature we find similar relics of the inflected passive—a linguistic survival which seems not to have been noticed before. The affix loses prominence as the language progresses, and is ultimately merged into the 1st and 3rd personal affix; and in this way the passive verb is transformed into the active one.

There are numerous cases of the passive in « -i(a)- » in the ŚKK. : for instance—

p. 19, যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ ।
উঠিআঁ বড়ায়ি রাধাক বুইল—হেন কাম না করিএ ॥

« jātā nānā phulā pānā karāpurā sābā pelāïlā pāē :
uṭhiā Bārāyi Rādhā-ka builā—'bēnā kāmā nā kāriē' »

All the various flowers, betel-leaves and camphor and all she threw away with her foot. The Old Lady got up and said to Rādhā, 'you should not do so' (lit. such a deed should not be done : « kāriē ») ;

p. 57, আইহন বীর তিন লোকেঁ ভালে জাণি ॥

« Āïhānā bīrā, tinā lōkē bhālē jāṇi »

That Ā. is a hero is known (jāṇi) well in the three worlds ;

p. 59, দান সাধিএ রতিপতিআশে ।

« dānā sādhiē rāti-pātiāśē »

The toll is demanded (sādhiē) with the expectation of dalliance (with thee) ;

p. 118, ভূখিল হইলেঁ কাহাঞ্ছিঁ দুই হাথে না খাইএ ।

    « bhukhilă hăyilẽ, Kănhăñi, dui hăthẽ nă khăiẽ »

       When one is hungry, O Kānha, one should not eat (« khăiẽ », *lit.*
         it should not be eaten) *with both hands ;*

p. 137, আপণা রাখিয়ে আপণে ।

    « ăpănă răkhiyẽ ăpănẽ » (=ātmă rakṣyátē ātmană)

       Self is (*to be*) *preserved by self ;*

p. 145, নাএর আন্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী ।

    তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী ॥

    কথো দূরে গিঞ্ঞা দেখিএ একখানি নাএ ।

    সত্বর হইঞ্ঞা রাহী তার পাস যাএ ॥

    « năẽră ăntărẽ gẽlī căndrăbălī Răhī,

    tără păchẽ ără jătă gōălinī săhī.

    kăthō dūrẽ giă dēkhiẽ ēkă-khăni năẽ :

    sătwără hăyiă Răhī tără păsă jăẽ »

       In search of a boat went Candrāvalī Rādhikā ;

       After her, all her milk-maid friends ;

       Having gone some distance, a boat is seen (dēkhiẽ).

       Quickly Rādhikā goes to its side ;

p. 184, বোলেঁ চালেঁ না পাইএ পরার রমণী ।

    « bōlẽ călẽ nă păiẽ părără rămănī »

       Another's wife is not won (păiẽ) *by talk and* (*gallant*) *ways ;*

p. 185, গোপত কাজত কাহাঞ্ছিঁ ছয় আখি বারী ।

    « gōpătă kăjă-tă, Kănhăñi, chăyă ăkhi bărī ».

       In a secret deed, O Kānha, six eyes are barred (bărī) ;

p. 236, ত্রিভুবন নাথ তোহ্মে হরি । প্রভু হইঞ্ঞা হেন নাহিঁ করী ॥

    « tribhubănă-năthă tōmhẽ Hări, prăbhu hăyiă hēnă năhī kărī »

       You are Hari, the Lord of the three worlds ; being the Master,
         you should not do so (*lit.. it should not be done* : « kărī ») ;

p. 289, পূনমীর চান্দ তোহ্মার বদন ঘুসিএ জগতজনে ল ।

    « pūnămīră căndă tōmhără bădănă ghusiẽ jăgătă-jănẽ, lă ».

       O, your face is proclaimed (ghusiẽ) *by the people of the world*
         to be the moon of the full-moon night ;

p. 367, সোণা ভাজিলেঁ আছে উপাএ জুড়িএ আগুন তাপে ।
পুরুষ নেহা ভাজিলেঁ জুড়িএ কাহার বাপে ॥

« sōnā bhāṅgilē̃ āchē ūpāē, juṛiē āgunā-tāpē :
puruṣā-nēhā bhāṅgilē̃, juṛiē kāhārā bāpē ? »

If gold is broken, there is a way—it is joined (juṛiē) *by the
heat of the fire ; but if a man's love is shattered, by whose father
(=by what man) can it be joined ?*

There are numerous other instances of a similar type in the ŚKK.
The general tendency will be to explain the forms in ইএ « -iē » as
being in the ই « -i » of the first person, and the এ « -ē » only as a
final lengthening for reasons of metre. But পাইএ, করিএ « pāïē, kāriē » etc.,
are true inflected passives, and it will be seen that in the instances quoted
above, the passive construction gives the correct explanation of the passages
rather than the active first person : পাইএ, করিএ etc., thus represent
the Caryā forms like « pāviaï, kariaï », =Sanskrit « prāpyātē, kriyātē ».
The passive was already dying out in Old Bengali ; and in Middle
Bengali it would be easily confused with the active first person from
similarity in form. We may recall as a parallel instance the Gujarātī
use of the passive third person singular as the first person plural active,
as in « amē utārīē, amē cālīē », etc., which have been explained as being really
passive forms (see *supra*, p. 910). The same thing seems to have happened in
Central Magadhan, in the « -iai » forms for the 1st person of the verb. The
passive in its origin is connected with the reflexive, and the transition to
the active is always easy. More so in the early periods of Bengali, when
there was a confusion between the instrumental and the nominative, from
which the language even now is not wholly free.

The transition from the decaying passive, which was less and less
properly understood, to the active was quite a matter of course : from after
the ŚKK. onwards, we find frequent use of « -iē » in active forms, for the
1st person generally.

The passive use of the neuter verb is also common in Old and Middle
Bengali : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 364, পুণ্য কইলেঁ বগ্গ জাইএ, নানা উপভোগ পাইএ
« puṇyā kāïlē̃ swāggā jāïē, nānā upābhōgā pāïē » (=gamyatē, prāpyatē)
practising virtue, heaven is attained, and many enjoyments are obtained.

Examples of the inflected passive are frequent in Middle Bengali literature. A few are given below :

From poems by Caṇḍidāsa (VSP., II, pp. 968 ff.): নীল মুকুতার হার মনোহর শোভিত দেখিএ গলে « nīlǎ mukutārǎ hārǎ mǎnōhǎrǎ śōbhitǎ dēkhiǎ galē » *a charming necklet of blue pearls is seen beautifully in her neck*; অবলা পরাণে এত কি সহিএ « ǎbǎlā pǎrāṇē ētǎ ki sǎhiē » *can so much be endured in the life of a weak woman?*; ক্ষুরের উপর রাধার বসতি, নড়িতে কাটিএ দে « kṣurērǎ upǎrǎ Rādhārǎ bǎsǎti, nǎ̆ritē kāṭiē dē » *Rādhā's abode is on (the edge of) a razor, her body is cut at the (slightest) movement*; মানুষে এমন প্রেম কোথা না শুনিএ « mānuṣē ēmǎnǎ prēmǎ kōthā nā śuniē » *such love in man has nowhere been heard of*; from the 'Caitanya-caritāmṛta' of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja (VSP., II, p. 1223): সনাতন কৈল গ্রন্থ ভাগবতামৃতে। ভক্তি-ভক্ত-কৃষ্ণ-তত্ত্ব জানি যাহা হইতে ॥ হরিভক্তিবিলাস গ্রন্থ কৈল বৈষ্ণব আচার। বৈষ্ণবের কর্তব্য যাহা পাইয়ে পার ॥ « Sǎnātǎnǎ kǎilǎ grānthǎ Bhǎgǎbǎtāmṛtē, bhǎkti-bhǎktǎ-Kṛṣṇǎ-tǎttwǎ jāni jāhā hǎitē : Hǎri-bhǎkti-bilāsǎ grānthǎ kǎilǎ bǎiṣṇǎbǎ-ācārǎ, bǎiṣṇǎbērǎ kǎrttǎbyǎ jāhā pāiyē pārǎ » *Sanātana made the book Bhāgavatāmṛta, from which are known the doctrines of* bhakti *and* bhakta, *and the nature of Kṛṣṇa; he made the book Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, on Vaiṣṇava ritual, in which the duties of a Vaiṣṇava are made to cross over, as it were (i.e. described in detail)*; from 'Bhāgavata,' by Daivakī-nandana Siṅha. (VSP., II, p. 844): যে অঙ্গে দেখিএ সেই অঙ্গে অলঙ্কার « jē ǎṅgē dēkhiē sēi ǎṅgē ǎlǎṅkārǎ » *jewels on every limb that is viewed*; বিনি না পুছিলে কারো না জানিএ জাতি « bini nǎ puchilē kārō nǎ jāniē jāti » *no one's family is known without asking.*

656. Instances like the above are fairly common in Early Bengali literature, and further quotations are not necessary. Maithilī and Oriyā, too, show similar forms, and some instances may be given :

Maithilī : Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition), p. 6, « lakhaï na pāria, jēṭha kanēṭha » *cannot be distinguished, (whether) old (or) young*; p. 9, « jata dēkhala, tata kahahi na pāria » *all that was seen cannot be described*; p. 19, « paṛhabi na pāria ākhara-pāti » *the rows of letters cannot be read*; p. 21, « sē nahi dēkhala jē diya upāmā » *that has not been seen with which a*

comparison can be made ; p. 30, « saba taha sunia aisana bēwahārā » *that such is the usage is heard from all* ; p. 39, « Madhu-ripu sama nahi dēkhia sohāwana, jē dia tanhika upāma rē » *nothing handsome like the Foe of Madhu is seen, with which his comparison can be made* ; p. 44, « na jāniya kiya karu mōhana cōra » *what this charming scamp may do is not known* ; p. 499, « kajjala-rūpa tua Kālī kahiaō...Gaṅgā kahiē pānī... Bramhā-ghara Bramhānī kahiē, Hara-ghara kahiē Gaurī » *in favour like lamp-black, thon art called Kālī ; she is called Gaṅgā when in watery form ; in the home of Brahmā, is called Brahmāṇī ; is called Gaurī in the home of Hara* ; etc.

Oṛiyā : Jagannātha-dāsa's ' Dhruva-caritra ' (Contai edition): p. 5, « kāmpii (=kampyatē) tāhārā nijā dēhi » *her own body trembles* ; p. 33, « dēhā-mānā diśāï, khārjuā-bṛkṣā-prāyā » *his body's measure is seen, like a date-palm* ; p. 11, « dāśā-diśi āndhākārā, kichi bi nā diśi » *the ten quarters are dark, nothing is seen.*

Thus the older literatures of Maithilī and Oṛiyā also demonstrate the presence of the inflected passive in these speeches.

657. The inflected passive is also preserved in a curious idiomatic usage in Modern Bengali, in which both its form and nature are disguised. We have expressions like এ কাজ করে না « ē kājā kārē nā » *shouldn't do this*, রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না « rabi-bārā-dinā māchā khāy nā » *shouldn't eat fish on Sundays*, জ্বর হ'লে নায় না « jwārā hōlē nāy nā » *shouldn't bathe when there is fever*, etc., etc., where the forms করে, খায়, নায় etc., are used with or without the negative particle, and are apparently 3rd person indicative present, the subject, however, being left understood ; and such expressions have a general prohibitive or imperative force. The fuller form is presented in dialectal Bengali : in Birbhum, for instance, there is an imperative or optative in « -iyē », *e.g.*, in sentences like হোথা যেয়ে না « hōthā jāyē (< jāiyē) nā » *one shouldn't go there*, ভাইকে না দিয়ে খেয়ে না « bhāi-kē nā diyē khēyē (< khāiyē) nā » *shouldn't eat without sharing with one's brother*, আগুনে হাত দিয়ে না « āgunē hātā diyē nā » *shouldn't put one's hand in fire*, তোর দাদা যেনে না এসে « tōrā dādā jēnē nā ēsē (=ēsiyē ?) » *may your brother not come*, যে আমাকে এত কষ্ট দিলে তার কুষ্ঠব্যাধি হ'য়ে, সে যেনে

হঁটী চোখ খেয়ে « jē āmākē ētā kāṣṭā dilē tārā kuṣṭhā-byādhi hōyē, sē jēnē duṭī cōkhā khēyē » *may he get leprosy, may he eat his two eyes, that caused me so much pain* (Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP., 1326, p. 286): in these, খেয়ে, দিয়ে are passives, and য়েয়ে, এসে, হ'য়ে are equally passives of neuter verbs (such as are found in the ŚKK.) in which the archaic aspect, which cannot be confused with the indicative active present, is retained. In MB. there are instances of this construction : cf. ŚKK., p. 333, প্রভু হরিষ'ৗ হেন না করী « prabhu hāyiā hēnā nā kārī » *shouldn't do so, being the Master* ; p. 185, লোভ হরিলে কান্হাঞি আরতি না করী « lōbhā hāyilē Kānhāñī ārāti nā kārī » *O Kānha, shouldn't yearn (too much) although there is desire* ; p. 257, কেহ তার না কহিও মরণে « kēhā tārā nā kāhiē mārāṇē » *none should speak of his death*, etc. ; etc. The MB. forms in « -i-, -I- » indicate that this construction is properly a passive one ; এ কাজ করে না, « ē kājā kārē nā » is « ētat kāryaṁ na kriyatē » : « kriyatē » would be « kariaï, kārie, kārī » in MIA. and OB. and MB. As in the other cases, the passive nature of the verb was forgotten, and the active form came in. The influence of a similar imperative use of the optative (active and middle) and of the passive, as in Sanskrit, is likely here.

General statements, in which the subject is not definite or important, may be in the third person, active. But it is just likely in such popular expressions like জামায়ের জন্য মারে হাঁস। গুষ্ঠি-শুদ্ধ খায় মাস ॥ « jāmāyērā jānyā mārē hāsā, guṣṭhi-śuddhā khāy māsā » *they kill the goose for the son-in-law, and eat the meat with the whole family* (= *the goose is killed, the meat is eaten*) ; and এক দেয় বর দেখে। আর দেয় ঘর দেখে ॥ « ēkā dēy [dæē] bārā dēkhē, ārā dēy [dæē] ghārā dēkhē » *they give (in marriage), first by looking at the bridegroom, again by looking at the house* = (*the daughter) is given (in marriage), taking into note either the bridegroom or his family* ; and in similar proverbial couplets and phrases, we have the passive.

It seems we have also the passive in a rare polite imperative in some North Bengali dialects, *e.g.*, দ্যাখেক, রাখেক « dyākhē-kā, rākhē-kā » *please see, please keep* (= « dēkhiē, rākhiē + -kā » : see below, ' Pleonastic Affixes : Affix « kā » ').

(2) Bengali 'Karma-Kartṛ-Vācya.'

658. The so-called middle-voice (*karma-kartṛ-vācya*) of Bengali, which we find in impersonal constructions, seems originally to have been this inflected « -yá- » passive: *e.g.* কলসী ভরে « kálási bháre » *the jar becomes full*; কাপড় ছেঁড়ে « kápaṛ chéṛe » *the cloth gets torn*; বই কাটে « báï káṭe » *the book cuts > sells*; বাঁশ ভাঙে « báṅś bháṅge » *the bamboo breaks*; শাঁখ বাজে « śáṅkh báje » *the conch-shell is sounded*; etc. Here ভরে, ছেঁড়ে, কাটে, ভাঙে, বাজে, etc., are to be explained as passive forms, derived from earlier, fuller « *bhariaï* » > « *bharie* », « chiṇḍiaï » > «chiṇḍie », « *kaṭṭiaï*, *kāṭiaï* » > কাটিএ « kāṭie », « *bhañjiaï* » or « *bhaṅgiaï* » > « *bhāṅgie* », « *bājiaï* » > বাজিএ « *bājie* » etc., of OB. and eMB. A similar use of the passive is known also in Sanskrit (cf. Speyer, ' Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax,' § 169).

(3) OB. and MB. Passive Imperative.

659. In the ŚKK. there is a form in ইউ « -iũ » which is illustrated by the following examples :

p. 140, নাঅ বান্ধিতেঁ গিআঁ করিউ যতনে « náã bándhitẽ giã káriũ játane » *let us make an attempt to build* (lit. *bind*) *the boat*; p. 141, আনহ সকল সখিজন মেলী করিউ যুগতি « ánahã sákala sákhi-jána, mélí káriũ jugáti » *bring all girl friends, let us hold a consultation together*; p. 141, পসার সাজিউ দধি দুধে, সেসি জীবার উপাএ « pásárã sájiũ dádhi dudhẽ, sẽ-si jībárã upãẽ » *let us arrange our milk and curds for sale, that indeed is the means of livelihood*; p. 204, নানা ফুল ফুটিলছে মাঝ বৃন্দাবনে। তাক পিন্ধি মথুরাক করিউ গমনে ॥ « nánã phulã phuṭilã-che májhã Bṛndābáne, tákã pindhi Máthurã-kã káriũ gámáne » *flowers of many kinds have blossomed in the middle of Vṛndāvana, wearing these, let us go to Mathurā*; p. 253, যমুনাক যাইউ রাধা লয়িআঁ সখীগণে « Jámunã-kã jáiũ Rádhā, láyiã sákhī-gáṇe » *let us, O Rādhā, go to Yamunā, taking (our) girl-friends*; p. 270, দধি বিকেঁ জাইউ মথুরা « dádhi bikẽ jáiũ Máthurã » *let us go to Mathurā to sell curds*; p. 292, সত্বরে রাধা লইআঁ জাইউ ঘর « sátwáre Rádhā láiã jáiũ ghárã » *let me take Rādhā quick to her home*; p. 310, বাণী চোরাব্রিতেঁ করিউ যতনে « báṇī cōrāyitẽ káriũ játane »

let us make an effort to steal the flute; p. 354, বারতা পুছিউ রাধা সব জন থানে « bārtā puchiū Rādhā sābā jānā thānē » *let us ask for news, O Rādhā, from everybody*; p. 347, কদমতলাক জাইউ চিত্তের হরিষে « kādāmā-tālā-kā jāiū cittērā hārişē » *let us go to the foot of the Kadamba tree, with joy in mind.*

This ইউ « -iū » form is certainly the passive imperative: in force it is generally optative or imperative. In an example like স্বামী চোরাম্রিতে করিউ যতনে, করিউ যতনে « kāriū jātānē » = Skt. « kriyatām yatnaḥ »; so জাইউ « jāiū » =« gamyatām », বারতা পুছিউ « bārtā puchiū » *let us ask for news*, lit. *let news be asked for* = « vārttā prcchyatām ». The ইউ « -iū » affix is the Second MIA. imperative passive 3rd pers. singular affix « -iadu », as in Śaurasenī (and Māgadhī) « kadhīadu, karīadu (kalīadu), suṇīadu (śuṇīadu) » = « kathyatām, kriyatām, śrūyatām », « -iadu » giving the later form « -iaü » and « *-iu ».

In eMB., the spelling with long উ « ū » has no special point, unless the lengthening had a historical reason analogous to that for the final « -ī » in the same period (see *supra*, p. 309). This 3 pers. imperative in « -iu, -iū » soon became confused with the 1 pers. indicative present in « -ō, -ō » (for which see *infra*, 'Radical Tense'). This « -iu » passive is also found in Old Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 904, 907): *e.g.*, Caryā 15 « bāṭa jāiu » *go the way* (=vartma, vartmani gamyatām).

[II] ANALYTICAL FORMATION OF THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

660. The inflected passive is a fossil in Bengali: the living method is analytical and periphrastic. The following are the ways in which the passive is formed in Bengali:

I am seen=(1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi »; (2) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā jāy »; (3) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখন যায় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhanā jāy »; (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « āmi dēkhā paŗi »; (5) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা হয় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā hāy »; and (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dŗşţā hāi ».

Of these (1), (4) and (6) are true passives (*karma-vācya*), and these agree with the passive forms of English, French and other modern

Indo-European languages. The other forms, (2), (8) and (5) are instances of the neuter construction (*bhāva-vācya*) in Bengali. All the above forms are used in Bengali, but there are slight shades of difference in their meaning.

661. (1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi » *I am seen* is best explained as being composed of the passive participle (adjective) in আ « ā » and যা « √jā » *to go,* and which assumes the function of the substantive verb. But this form, though allowable, would not ordinarily be regarded as very idiomatic or natural in Bengali: the passive proper, with the object in the nominative, would hardly be considered as natural to the language, especially when the nominative is a definite person. But general statement, where only the action is definite, and is the more important thing, can be easily made with an impersonal construction in the passive: *e.g.,* দেখা যায় « dēkhā jāy » *it is seen* (subject ইহা « ihā » *this, it* understood); যদি বলা যায় « yadi balā jāy » *if it is said*; শোনা যাইতেছে or যাচ্ছে « sōnā jāitēchē, jācchē » *it is being heard.* In the passive construction, the mind of the speaker is loth to forget that what is the grammatical nominative is the real object, and hence the feeling of the native speaker has this preference for the neuter construction, with the nominative-object in the dative, *e.g.,* আমাকে দেখা যায় or আমাকে দেখা হয় « āmākē dēkhā jāy, hāy ». The conscious use of the passive would bring in a certain amount of emphasis; and to make a statement emphatic or definite, the dative with কে « -kē » is preferred to the accusative or nominative without any inflexion, when we are speaking of a sentient or animate being (see *supra,* pp. 897, 898). So আমাকে (আমার, আমায়) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmārē, āmāy) dēkhā jāy » would be preferred, as the idea is definite so far as the object of sight is concerned, to আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi » where আমি « āmi », although formally nominative, is in sense really the oblique or accusative. আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi », however, would seem to be the older form, and আমাকে দেখা যায় « amākē dēkhā jāy » a later one. আমি করা যাই « āmi karā jāi » *I am done* would be bad Bengali, because here the first personal pronoun would preferably have the কে « -kē » and be put in the dative as it is very

definite, and করা বাওয়া « kǎrǎ jaŏǎ » is rather vague : the construction would be regarded as clumsy. But আমি ধরা পাই « ǎmi dhǎrǎ jǎi » *I am caught* would be quite allowable, as ধরা « dhǎrǎ » refers to a definite action.

Names of inanimate objects as a rule do not take কে « -kě » when they are in the objective or dative ; hence ঘর দেখা বায় « ghǎrǎ děkhǎ jǎy » *the house is seen* (not ঘরকে « ghǎrǎ-kě »), where ঘর « ghǎrǎ » can be easily parsed as being the subject of the passive sentence.

662. (২) আমাকে (or আমারে, আমার) দেখা বায় « ǎmǎkě (ǎmǎrě, ǎmay) děkhǎ jǎy » *I am seen* or, with a slight potentiality implied, *I may be seen* (=*they can see me*). There is a difficulty in explaining দেখা « děkhǎ » here. Generally it is looked upon as a verbal noun in আ « -ǎ », derived ultimately from the passive participle in « -tǎ » of Indo-Aryan, the nominal use of which is also quite common in Sanskrit. It would thus be explained as meaning *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). The occurrence of (৩) আমাকে দেখন বায় « ǎmǎkě děkhǎnǎ jǎy » *with-regard-to-me a-seeing takes-place* would lend countenance to the above explanation. But it would seem that in an expression like আমাকে দেখা বায়, দেখা is really a passive participle adjective, and the whole construction is in the impersonal, which is so characteristic of the Western and Southern Indo-Aryan languages : আমাকে দেখা-বায় would be best explained as being literally, *with-regard-to-me, it-is-seen*.

If we had evidence from Old and Middle Bengali remains on this point, we might expect a solution of the difficulty. But the passive with the past participle in আ « -ǎ » was not at all a popular form, and its occurrence is rather rare in the plain direct narration of Middle Bengali verse. Stray instances in the ŚKK. like তোম্ৰ কাইবে মার « tōmhǎ jǎĭbǎ mǎrǎ » (= মারিষ, মার্ষ OIA. « mǎrita > mǎria, mǎr-ǎ » =Modern বারা « mǎr-ǎ », *i.e.*, মারিষ+আ « mǎria » + pleonastic affix « ǎ ») *you will get killed* (p. 33), বান্ধিল জাই « bǎndhilǎ jǎi » *becomes tied up, is put in bonds*, (p. 71 : here we have the old passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- », for which see *infra*, under ' Past Tense ') indicate that the passive participle is the form associated with this construction. The transition was from the real passive made up of the participle and the verb (and with the

object proper in the nominative) to the impersonal neuter construction (with the nominative-object in the dative and the passive participle); and such a state of things has its parallel in the other cognate languages.

663. The origin of this কা or যা « jā » passive has undoubtedly been influenced, as Beames had suggested ('Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages,' Vol. III, 1879, pp. 73-74), by the old « -ijja- » passive of Apabhraṅśa. We have the « -ijja- » forms in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa on the one hand, and the « jā » forms in the modern languages on the other: the middle is blank, and linking these two in all likelihood there was a transitional stage, not represented in linguistic remains, when the « -ijja- » was slowly assuming a new rôle as a root—when it was merging into the « jā » root, as it were. It would seem that the neuter passives (deponents) like « marijjaï=mriyátē » *dies* first took up an analytical form: because « marijjaï » is equivalent in meaning to « maraï » or « marē » (=márati, máratē), the « -jjaï » would seem to have been regarded as a form of « jāï » from « √jā », giving rise to the analysis « mari jāï » *having-died, goes* or *passes away* (=M B. মরিয়া যায় « mariyā jāy »). The occurrence of the compound verb in the speech would help such an analysis. Once this analysis was established, there would not be any bar in forming other tenses and verb forms from « √jā ». In Early Middle Bengali, analysed forms of the above type (the conjunctive in ই « -i » or ইয়া « iyā » + √যা « jā », mostly with neuter verbs) are very common; *e.g.*, in the ŚKK. চলি জাইহ « cáli jāïhā » *depart*; পড়ি গেল দিঠি « pāṛi gēla diṭhi » *the sight was cast*; ভাজি জাএ « bhāṅgi jāē » *gets broken*; মোর মজি গেল মনে « mōrā māji gēlā mānē » *my mind became attached*; পড়িয়া যাইবে « pāṛiyā jāïbē » *you will fall*; মরিখা যাইবি « mārikā jāïbi » *wilt die*; etc., etc. An Old Bengali instance would seem to be « avasari jāi » (<« *avasarijjaï, » deponent of « ava » + « √sṛ » *move*) in Caryā 32. The modern passive or neuter with the কা « -ā » participle would seem to be of later origin. The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in যা « √jā », and which is never present in the passive with হ « √hā », seems to point

at the « -ijja- » origin of the former. The old potential or optative had « -ějja- » in Prakrit, and the confusion between the passive and the optative, already noted, might just be continued in the newly risen analytical form.

As has been noted above, the « -ijja- » form seems to have been foreign to Māgadhī Prakrit and Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, the source of Bengali; since no « -ijja- » forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan languages, only « -i- » forms. The formation of the analytical passive with « jā » may thus have been brought about in Old Bengali through contact with and influence of Western dialects having « -ijja- >-ij, -ij- ».

664. (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় « āmākē dēkhāną jāy » *I am seen, I may be seen*, lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). This form of passive is one of the oldest constructions in Bengali. It occurs in the Caryās, and it is quite plentiful in Middle Bengali; *e.g.*, (Caryā 2) « dharana na jāï » *cannot be held*, (35) « kahaṇa na jāï » *cannot be described*, (4) « lēpana jāï » *? is entangled* or *smeared*; ŚKK., p. 38, নলাট লিখিত খণ্ডন না জাএ « lalātā-likhitā khaṇḍāną ną jāē » *that which is written on the forehead cannot be averted*; p. 58, প্রাণ ধরণ না জাএ « prāṇą dhārāṇą ną jāē » *life cannot be endured*, etc. Middle Bengali instances are fairly common. In Modern Standard Bengali, this construction is falling into disuse, but it is fully preserved in the East Bengal dialects. The employment of this অন « -ąną » + যা « √jā » passive is impersonal, and it is on the lines of (2).

It would seem to have originated from an unconscious analysis of the verbal adjectives, passive, in « -anīya(ka) ». The line of development was probably as follows: « karaṇīya-ka > karaṇijja(y)a » > করণি জাএ « *karaṇi jāē », করণ জাএ « kārāṇą jāē »; so « paṭhanīya-ka > paḍhaṇijja(y)a », পঢ়ণি জাএ, পঢ়ন (পড়ন) জাএ, « *paḍhaṇi jāē, pąṛ(h)ąną jāē »; etc. The intermediate form in this process of analysis, as in করণি জাএ, পঢ়ণি জাএ, is not preserved in Bengali, but it seems to be represented in Early Baiswārī forms like « barani jāya, kahani jāi » etc., as in Tulasī-dāsa. We may note that an expression like না যায় কহনে « ną jāyą kąhąnē » would be quite

natural in Middle Bengali, and the locative-instrumental in এ « -ē » in কহনে « kåhån-ē » might be a reminiscence of the older form in ই « -i » which could be regarded as a locative. The analysis into a noun in অন+ √বা « -ana » + « √jā » took place before the Old Bengali period: and once this analysis became accepted, transposition of the noun and the verb, and the insertion of the negative particle না between the noun and the verb, which is so frequent in negative constructions of this type in Middle Bengali, would result: thus সহন না যায় « såhånå nå jāy », না যায় সহন « nå jāy såhånå » *it cannot be borne* (but curiously enough, না সহন যায় is not found, although সহন যায় না is commonly met with in modern speech: the reason being probably that না « nå » which qualifies the verb in this analysed form must not be separated from it by the noun).

In Middle Bengali we have a few cases where there is apparently a verbal noun in অ « -å »: *e.g.*, নিবার না যায় রে « nibårå nå jāy rē » *cannot be prevented* (VSP., p. 981); so বোল না যায় « bōlå nå jāy » *cannot be described*. There is no form in Modern Bengali corresponding to it: the absence of the -ন (ণ) « -nå (-ṇå) » in such cases is in all likelihood due to hapolology.

665. (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « åmi dēkhā påṛi » *I am seen, I happen to be seen*, lit. *I fall seen*. This construction, apparently an old one, is essentially idiomatic, and strictly speaking it should come under the consideration of the characteristic 'Compound Verbs' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of the পড় « √påṛ » is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accidence as well as finality more than anything else. The দেখা « dēkhā » etc., are best explained as passive participle adjectives. The modern Dravidian employment of a root « paḍ » to form the passive has been noted by Beames and others, but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. The old Dravidian speech did not possess a passive form, but the employment of obviously the same root in the two groups of Indian speeches, Aryan and Dravidian, is interesting; and it is only one of numerous points of similarity which demonstrate a fundamental agreement between the speakers of the languages of the two groups in their habits of

thought. The impersonal construction with পড় « √pǎṛ » (*e.g.*, আমাকে দেখা পড় « āmākē dēkhā pāṛē ») is unknown.

666. (5) আমাকে দেখা হয় « āmākē dēkhā hǎy » *I am seen* (i.e., *they see me*) ; lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing takes-place* (or *a-seeing there-is*). Here we have a verbal noun in « -ā » : we never say আমি দেখা হই « āmi dēkhā hǎi » where « āmi » would be the nominative. Note that মারা যায় « mārā jǎy » or মারা পড় « mārā pāṛē » *gets struck* or *killed, dies*, but মারা হয় « mārā hǎy » *the striking* or *killing takes-place* ; দেখা গেল « dēkhā gēlā » *seen went, came in sight*, but দেখা হইল « dēkhā hǎilā » *a-seeing took-place*. The root হ « hā » here is non-committal and merely states the fact. This construction seems to be a modern one.

667. (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dṛṣṭā hǎi » *I am seen* is a learned form and a modern one, and it is found in high-flown speech and in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » only. This construction seems to have received a new impetus from the English passive : the Sanskrit passive participle avoids any ambiguity that might result if the native passive participle in আ « -ā » were used. But it undoubtedly originated in Middle Bengali, as Sanskrit passive participles have been largely introduced into the language since its birth.

668. The root আছ « √āch » is used with the past participle to form a sort of passive perfect, mostly in connexion with inanimate nouns or nouns that are names of lower animals, which are subjects of the predicate ; *e.g.*, এ বই আমার পড়া আছে « ē bǎi āmārā pāṛā āchē » *this book has been read by me*, where আমার « āmārā » governs পড়া « pāṛā » which predicates বই « bǎi » the subject of আছে « āchē » ; মাছ ধরা আছে « māchā dharā āchā » *fish have been caught* (or *fish that have been caught are*) ; এ কথা সকলের জানা আছে « ē kāthā sākālērā jānā āchē » *this is known to everybody* ; এ বই তো পড়া ছিল « ē bǎi tō pāṛā chilā » *this book indeed was read before*, etc., etc. This construction seems to be recent.

669. Two other idiomatic forms of the passive may be noted. চল « √cǎl » *to go*, to express the idea of possibility or continuance, occurs with the verbal noun in আ « -ā », which governs the personal object

in the dative with ক্ষে « -kē », and the inanimate object or object which is the name of a lower animal in the accusative. The construction is impersonal : *e.g.*, থাওয়া চলে « khāōā cālē » *can be eaten*, দেখা চ'লল « dēkhā cāllā » *the seeing went on*. খা « √khā » *eat* in the sense of *suffer* is used with the verbal noun মার « mārৎ » *a beating*, and is conjugated actively, to denote *to be beaten*. This last idiom occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as in Dravidian.

670. The impersonal and indefinite use of the passive is a noticeable feature in Modern Bengali. When one is not sure whether to use the honorific forms in speaking to an individual, recourse is taken to the passive impersonal to avoid any chance of giving offence by using the ordinary non-honorific : *e.g.*, কি করা হয় « ki kārā hăy » *what do you do ?* literally, *what is done (by you) ?* instead of the direct forms, the honorific আপনি কি করেন « āpêni ki kārēnৎ » or the inferior তুমি কি কর « tumi ki kārৎ ». So কোথা থাকা হয় « kōthā thākā hăy » *where do you live ?* etc. Cf. also the indefinite expressions ধ'রে নেওয়া যাক « dhōrē nēōā jāk » *let it be granted* ; যদি বলা হয় or যায় « yẵdi bālā hăy, jāy » *if it is said that* ; এখান দিয়ে যাওয়া যায় না « ēkhānৎ diyē jāōā jāy nā » *one cannot go by this way* (where যাওয়া যায় « jāōā jāy » is probably from « *jāïjjaï* », passive with « -ijj- » : cf. এখান দিয়ে যায় না « ēkhānৎ diyē jāy nā » *one does not, one should not go by this way*, where যায় « jāy » = « *jāïaï* », passive in « -ia- »).

[III]   THE PASSIVE IN « -Ā- ».

671. In MB. and NB. occurs a passive with a distinctive « -ā- » affix, which is illustrated below. This passive may have a potential implication.

Middle Bengali : ŚKK., p. 89, সেহি এহা পথে মাহাদানী বোলাএ « sēhi ēhā pāthē māhādānı bōlāē » *he is called the chief toll-collector in this highway* ; p. 186, যেহ না ছাড়াএ ঘোল « jēnhৎ nā chārāē ghōlā » *so that the butter-milk is not scattered* ; also cf. পঞ্চানন ছুলো কর, তেজীয়ান না দোষায় « Pañcānanৎ Nulō kăy, tējīyẵn nā dōṣāy » *says Pañcānana, the one with defective arm* : '*a man of spirit is not censured*' (Nagendranātha Vasu, 'Banger Jātīya Itihās,' Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, 1, i, p. 224) ;

Modern Bengali instances : বেশ মানায় « bēśǎ mānāy » *fits nicely, looks well* ; কথাটা ভাল শুনায় না « kǎthā-ṭǎ bhālǎ śunāy nā » *the story does not hear nice* (=*it is not to be regarded as welcome*); কথাটা চারাইয়াছে « kǎthā-ṭǎ cārāiyāchē » *the news has been spread* ; সে ভাল মানুষ কহায় বটে, কিন্তু লোক সুবিধার নয় « sē bhālǎ-mānuṣǎ kǎhāy baṭē, kintu lōkǎ subidhārǎ nǎy » *he is spoken of as an honest man, but he is not of the good sort* ; এতে কিন্তু দোষ খণ্ডায় না « ē-tē kintu dōṣǎ khaṇḍāy nā » *but the evil is not averted by this*; যত পরখায় তত দোষ বা'র হয় « jǎtǎ pǎrǎkhāy tǎtǎ dōṣǎ bā'rǎ hǎy » *the more it is tested the larger the tale of faults that come out* ; দুল পরবার জন্য কান বেধায় « dulǎ pǎrǎbārǎ jǎnyǎ kānǎ bēdhāy » *the ear is pierced to put on earrings* ; এটা তত খারাপ দেখাবে না « ēṭǎ tǎtǎ khārāpǎ dēkhābē nā » *this will not show so bad* ; etc., etc. : the sense in most instances, as above, is impersonal.

It occurs in Oṛiyā : ' Dhruva-caritra ' of Jagannātha-dāsa (Contai edition), p. 8, « sē bōlǎi pǎṭǎrānī » *she is called the chief queen* ; p. 48, « dēbǎ gǎṇǎ-mǎdhyē tu bōlǎu sunāsirǎ » *thou art called Sunāsira* (=*Indra*) *among the gods* ; p. 16, « dwādǎśǎ ǎkṣǎrǎ mǎntrǎ-rājǎ ē bōlǎi » *of twelve syllables, this is called the prince of charms.*

This « -ǎ- » passive is found in other NIA. languages : in the Magadhan Maithilī and Bhōjpuriyā ; in Eastern Hindī, in Western Hindī, though rather rarely in these (*e.g.*, Kabīr, Kṣiti-Mōhan Sēn's Selections, IV, p. 63 « sabahi piyāsa pūrana hōta hai, tana-kī tapana bujhāy » *all thirst is fulfilled, and the burning of the body is relieved* ; Guru Nānak, 'Sukha-maṇī,' ed. in Bengali characters by Jñānēndra Mōhan Datta, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80, « jīwana-mukata sōu kahāwai » *he is called ' emancipated in life,'* beside the proper passive in « uha purukha kahiyai jīwana-mukata ») ; in Rājasthānī (dialectally), and in Gujarātī, in which the « -ǎ- » passive is the common method. It occurs also in Marāṭhī, where the affix is « -āv- -av-, -vav-, -avav- » (cf. Rāmchandra Bhikājī Jōshī, ' Praudha-bōdh Marāṭhī Vyākaraṇ,' Poona, 1917, p. 215).

The « -ǎ- » passive has been explained as a Causative or Potential form, originating from the causative affix « -ǎ-, -āv- » < OIA. « -ǎ-pa-ya » (Hoernle, ' Gaudian Grammar,' § 484 ; Tessitori, ' Grammar of OWR.,' § 140).

But another and a more reasonable derivation of the « -ā- » passive has been suggested by Sir George Grierson (in a private communication). He derives potential the passive affix « -ā- » from the denominative « -āya- » of OIA. The Bihārī dialects offer a clue to the source of this « -ā- » passive. In Maithilī, Magahī as well as Bhōjpuriyā, there is clear indication that the affix for this passive was originally « -āya- », distinct from that of the causative which was, and still is in many forms, « -āwa- (< -āpaya-) ». Thus, the causative base in Maithilī is « dĕkhāb (< dĕkhāw < *dĕkkh-āva-) » to show, and the potential passive base is « dĕkhā » to be seen : in the 3 pres., the causative is « dĕkhābĕ (dĕkhāwĕ), dĕkhābathi », the passive is « dĕkhāĕ, dĕkhāthi » ; so in the future, causative « dĕkhāot » (= MIA. *dĕkkhāvanta-), passive « dĕkhāit » (= MIA. *dĕkkhāyanta-); and the past participle forms are, causative « dĕkhāol » (< -āwa-la), passive « dĕkhāel » (< - āya-la) (Grierson, 'Introduction to the Maithilī Dialect,' Calcutta, 1909, pp. 214 ff., esp. tables on pp. 219 ff.). But even in Bihārī itself, the separate identity of the two affixes is to some extent confused, owing to interchange of « -w- » and « -y- » as intervocal glides. In the other NIA. speeches, the distinction has been entirely levelled down, both « -āya-» and « -āwa- » being reduced to « -ā- », or to « -āw- ». We see that from Early MIA. times the causative affix « -āpaya- » has encroached into the domain of the denominative (see *infra*, under 'Denominatives').

The « -ā- » passive is thus an extension of the denominative « -āya- » of OIA. The NIA. intransitives in « -ā- » are similar OIA. denominatives in « -āya- », and this can be well seen from cases like গোসাই, চারিহাতে, গমাই, গলাই etc. at p 928, which certainly are based on nouns. Compare W. Hindī « Hari-simarana kari bhagata pragaṭāy » *a saint is made manifest* (< prakaṭa) *by thinking on God* (Nānak, 'Sukhamanī'). NIA. thus has preserved the denominative way of forming the potential passive, despite its being obscured by the causative.

672. The Passive Construction (*karmaṇi-prayōga*) in the past and future tenses is discussed below (under 'Participial Tenses' and 'Personal Affixes').

673. For ordinary purposes, Bengali may be said to have *eight* tenses, with special affixes.   These are—

(i) Simple Tenses: 1. Present; 2. Past; 3. Conditional or Habitual Past; and 4. Future.

(ii) Compound Tenses :

  (*a*) Progressive : 5. Present Progressive ; 6. Past Progressive ;

  (*b*) Perfect : 7. Present Perfect ; 8. Past Perfect.

In addition, there are other Compound or Periphrastic tenses, like Present, Past and Future Continuous, or Habitual Past Perfect (with auxiliary « √ thāk ») where the original verb and the auxiliary are yet distinct and have not coalesced as in the case of the Progressive and the Perfect tenses.

These tenses historically fall under *three types,* viz., Radical, Participial, and Periphrastic.

There is only one *Radical Tense*—the Simple Present, or Present Indefinite, which is derived from the Indicative Present of OIA. *Participial Tenses* are the Simple Past, Conditional or Habitual Past, and Simple Future, which originated respectively from the passive participle (strengthened with the pleonastic « -la » affix), active present participle, and passive future participle of OIA. and MIA. The *Periphrastic* or *Compound Tenses* are made up with the help of the substantive verbs « √āch » and « √thāk » as well as « √rah » employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

In NB., we have only standardised forms, but in earlier Bengali, numerous forms occurred side by side.

[I] The Radical Tense.

674. The inflexions are :

  Old Singular   Old Plural

1. « -i » ;   (-ō)   :   « āmi, āmṛā cāl-i (‡ cāl-ō) » .

2. « -is, -s » ;   « -āhā, -ā, -ō » : « tui, tōrā cāl-is ; tumi, tōmṛā cāl-āhā, cāl-ā. » .

3. « -ĕ, -y »; « -ĕnŧ, -nŧ »: « sĕ, tārĕ cāl-ĕ; tini, tārĕ cāl-ĕnŧ » . (āpŧni, āpŧnārĕ cāl-ĕnŧ=2nd person honorific).

The distinction in number in the 1st person was dropped from the earliest times in Bengali. In the 2nd and 3rd persons, this distinction was retained to some extent, in that the plural forms became honorific : in the 2nd person, the old singular became the familiar, inferior or contemptuous (both in the singular and the plural), and the old plural, for some period honorific no doubt, followed suit, although it is slightly more respectful and formal than the singular form. The 3rd person plural became the respectful or honorific, both plural and singular.

675. Typical forms occurring in the OB. of the Caryās are :

First Person :

« jīvami, pīvami (Caryā 4) ; acchahu (6) ; puchami, mārami, lĕmi (10) ; dĕhũ, lĕhũ (8) ; bāhāma (20 : = cāhāma) ; jāṇahũ (22) ; acchama (29) ; āvĕśi (33) ; pĕkhami (35) ; birahũ =? bibaraI (39 : Comm. = vibaraṇaṁ karōmi) ; ācchuhũ (44) ; siñcahũ, jānami (49) ».

Second Person :

« aisasi, jāsi (10) ; bujhasi, pucchasi, bāsasi (15) ; gilĕsi (39) ; bujhaṣi, acchasi (41) ».

Third Person :

« Lui bhaṇaï (1) ; jāï, khāa = khāï, jāgaa = jāgaï, jāa = jāï (2) ; sāndhaa = sāndhaï, bhamanti Birūā (3) ; taraï, gaṭaï = gaḍhaï (5) ; chāḍaï, chuppaï, pivaï, bōlaa = bōlaï (6) ; bājaĕ, biharaĕ, lavaĕ (11) ; gājaï, bhājaï, dhāvaï, ghōlaï (16) ; bājaï, biḷasaï, nācanti Bājila, gānti dĕvī, hōi (17) ; bhanathi Kaukkurīpā, jō bujhaĕ = bujhaï (20) ; bhakhaa = bhakhaï, karaa = karaï (21) ; jĕ bhamanti tĕ hōnti ; Saraha bhaṇati = bhananti (22) ; païsaa = païsaï ; bōlathi Sānti (26) ; basaï, hiṇḍaï, khāï, pōhāï (28) ; lāgĕ (29) ; jujhaa = jujhaï (33) ; bhuñjaï (34) ; ujāa = ujāï, bhanaï ; pamāĕ = *samāï (38) ; Saraha bhaṇanti (39) ; » etc., etc.

676. Below are given specimens of forms occurring in MB. :

First Person :

« (mui, mu, mõ, mõĩ, mõẽ, mõña, āmhi, āmhẽ, āmi, āmhārā, āmārā, āmi-sābā, āmārā-sābā etc.) চলি, চলী cāli, cālī ; চলেঁ, চলো cālõ, cālō ; চলঁই, চলই চলউ, চলু cālāhū, cālā(h)u, cālu ; (চলিএ cāliẽ) ».

Cf. VSP., p. 30, কহঁ kahõ ; p. 31, বলোঁ balõ ; 34, খাঁও khāõ ; 57, যাঁও yāõ=jāõ ; 65, দেঁও dõõ ; 67, জানোঁ jānõ, থোযো thõyõ ; 68, দেও deõ = deõ ; 276, বটি bāṭi ; 732, রাখো মুঞি rākhõ muñi = rākhõ ; 733, পঢ়হূঁ paṛhahū, মুঞি জাঁও muñi jāṇā = jāõ ; 853, থাকিরে thākiẽ, করিরে kāriẽ ; 855 কান্দিএ kāndiẽ ; 864, মোরা আছোঁ mōrā āchõ ; 974, জানিএ jāniẽ, বাসিএ bāsiẽ ; 1204, মাঙৌ māgõ ; 1211, পারো pārõ ; etc., etc. ; ' Padmā-purāṇa ' of Vaṁśī-dāsa : p. 4, বন্দম bāndāmā (= bāndāõā, bāndõ) ; p. 11, প্রণমহূঁ prāṇāmahū (বন্দোঁ, বন্দো « bāndõ, bāndõ », and প্রণমহো « prāṇāmahõ » are quite common in MB.) ; Kṛttivāsa, ' Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, বিস্তারিযা কহ মুঞি তনিউঁ কখন bistāriyā kāhā muni, śuniũ kāthāna (*narrate in detail, O Sage, I [shall] hear the tale*) » ; etc.

Cf. Oṛiyā : Modern Oṛiyā, singular « dēkhẽ, dēkhi », plural « dēkhū » : Jagannātha-dāsa's ' Dhruva-caritra ' (Contai edition), p. 12, « āśīrbādā kārā mōtē, sādhāI jēmāntē » *give me blessing, so that I (may) succeed* ; p. 13, « muhi jībāI » *I live.* Also, Maithilī » dēkhī, calī, dēkhiai ; chī, chiahu ; thikahu ; rahī, rahiahu » ; Early Maithilī, as in Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition, Pada 30), « kahaõõ = kahaõõ » ; Magahī, « dēkhī, dēkhū » ; Bhōjpuriyā, singular « dēkhõ », plural « dēkhī, dēkhyū ».

Second Person :

« (tui, tuñi, taĩ, tõ, tõẽ, tõrā etc.) চলসি, চলিসি, চলিস cālāsi, cālisi, cālis ; (tumhi, tumhẽ, tumi, tõmhārā, tõmārā, tumi-sālā, tōmārā-sābā etc.) চলঁই, চল, চলো, চলু cālāhā, cālā, cālõ, cālu » .

The « -āsi, -is(i) » and « -āhā, -ā, -õ » forms are exceedingly common n MB.; the « -u » form is rather rare.

Third Person :

« (sē, tāhā, tāhārā, tāhārā-sabā etc.) চলই, চলে, চলথ চালঅা, চালে, চালঅ; (tēhō, tāhārā etc.) চলন্তি, চলন্ত, চলেন্ত, চলেন, চলাইন, চলাঁই, চলন্তি চালন্তি, চালন্ত, চালেন্ত, চালেন্ড, চালাইন, চালাই, চালাঞি » .

Cf. VSP., p. 357, « যাওন্তি শৃগাল yāonti śṛgāla=jāwānti, jānti »; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara,' p. 179, « কুকুর বলেন kukurā bālenā, কুকুর জানেন kukurā jānenā »; ibid, p. 7, গঙ্গা শিরে ধরিয়া হাসেন্ত শূলপাণি « gaṅgā śire dhāriyā hāsēntā Śūlapāṇi » the One with the trident in hand (Śiva) laughs, bearing Gaṅgā on his head; p. 10, গুরুজনা বাসেন লাজ « guru-janā bāsēnā lājā » the revered ones feel shame.

The « -ānti, -āntā, -ēntā » forms are very common in the ŚKK., in Chuṭī-Khān's (Śrīkara Nandī's) 'Mahābhārata,' in Vijaya Paṇḍita's 'Mahābhārata,' and in other older works. In Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Maimansing District, 17th century), a large number of « -āñi, -āi » forms occur, beside « -nti » ones : the former, it should be noted, occur more frequently with the past and future bases than with the present : e.g.. « p. 3, স্মরন্তি বিধাতা smārānti bidhātā; p. 44, নারদে কহন্তি Nārādē kāhānti; p. 260, মঙ্গল গাহন্তি māṅgālā gāhānti; pp. 262, 318, 362, 489, 496, নারীগণে দেহন্তি (দেয়ন্তি) জোঁকার nārīgaṇē dēhānti (dēyānti) jōkārā the women give shouts of triumph; p. 417, মঙ্গল গান্তি সুযুবতী māṅgālā gāyānti su-jubātī »; besides p. 631, করাঞি = kārānti; p. 622, যাঞি = jānti; p. 643, পূজাঞি = pūjānti »; etc., etc.

In addition, through Sanskrit influence, a few ts. or sts. forms occur in MB. in the 3rd person : e.g., বসতি « bāsāti » dwells for বসে « bāsē » (vasati); বদতি « bādāti » speaks for বলে « bālē » (vadati), etc.

The forms in the sister speeches are: Oṛiyā sg. « cālāi », pl. « cālānti »; Maithilī, original sg. « dēkhai », pl. « dēkhathi », also in Magahī, besides forms with affixed object pronouns; Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhē », pl. « dēkhan », besides other forms.

677. Origin of the Forms for the Radical Tense.

The different « gaṇas » of OIA. were practically levelled to one —with the theme « -a- ». The OIA. causative « -aya- » > MIA. « -ē- » lost its force, and « -ē- » was also found in the indicative present form :

OIA. « karōti » thus figured as « karaï, karēi » in Apabhraṅśa. NIA. forms are based on these Apabhraṅśa simplified ones, both in form and use.

First Person.

From OB. and MB., we see that the following were the old affixes : « -ami (= aṅi, aï), -mi (= -ṅi -ī), -ī, -i ; -ama (= -aṅa), -ŏ, -ō ; -a-hū, -a-hu, -hō, -au, -ū, -u ». The « -iyĕ, -iĕ » form in MB., as has been explained before (p. 915, *supra*), is really a passive form.

The old sense of number had died out in Bengali from the OB. period : it has continued in Oṛiyā to the present day. The affixes « -a-hū, -a-hu, -ahō, -aü, -u » form one group : here the « -hū » seems to be the first personal pronoun « *haū » *I* (see p. 807, *supra*), agglutinated to a basic form of the root in « -a ». Cf. « -tu » for the 2nd person imperative (*supra*, p. 905). This « -hū, -ū, -u » form seems to have merged into the « -ŏ » form in MB. A form like ওনিউঁ « śuniū » (*supra*, p. 932) seems to be first person in « -i », « śuni » + « hū »; or is it a blend of the passive in « -iu- » (*supra*, pp. 919-920) + « -hū », or « ŏ » ? The « -hū > -hu » is found in Maithilī also.

The form « -ŏ » is the affix for the first person now obtaining in Assamese and in North Bengali. This is apparently the same as « -ama » of OB., doubtless pronounced « -aṅa ». Influence of the agglutinated « -hū » here is likely in post-OB. times. Cf. Oṛiyā first person pl. affix « -ū », which is doubtless based on « -ama ». The « -ŏ » occurs also in Central Magadhan.

The MB. and NB. « -ī, -i » is the OIA. and MIA. « -mi » affix of the singular. The OB. « āvĕsī » (Caryā 33) would go to show that it was already evolved in the OB. period ; but at that time the nasalisation in all likelihood existed ; and it seems to be generally indicated by retaining the « -m- », pronounced as « ṅ » or nasalised « y ». But in a case like « āvĕsī », it could not be so indicated *metri causā*, but seems to have been merely left unnoted (* āvĕsī = * āyĕsī = * āṅiśiṅi = * āvisimi : MB. āṅī). The Modern Oṛiyā first person sg. form in « -ŏ » (< Early Oṛiyā « -ai »), given above (p. 932), *e.g.*, « dĕkhĕ, sādhaī, jībaī », preserves the old nasalisation. The nasalisation is lost in Bengali and in Central Magadhan

and partially also in Oṛiyā, e.g., in its « -i » form. It seems that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, an OIA. form like « calāmi » had resulted in « *calāmi » as well as « *calimi », the former having given the Oṛiyā « cālāī, cālē », the latter the Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Maithilī-Magahī « -ī, -i » forms.

  OIA. : « aham calāmi————vayam (Late OIA. asmē) calāmaḥ » ;

  MIA. : « ahakaṁ, ahakē calāmi————mayaṁ, amhē calāmō, *calāmē ; hakaṁ, hakē (*hagaṁ, hagē) calāmi, calāmi————amhē calāmō, *calāmē, *calāmō, *calāmē » ;

 Māg. Ap. : « haṭ̃, *haī *calami, *calimi————ambi *calamu, *calami *calama, *calāma (m = ẇ) » ;

NIA. OB. : « haṭ̃ (maī) *calaī, *caliī, *calī, calī—āmhi (āmhē) calāẇa, calō » ;

  MB. : « (mǎī, mui, āmhi, āmi, āmhārā, āmi-sǎbǎ etc.) cālī, cāli, cālō. » ;

  NB. (Standard Speech) : « (āmi, āmǫrā) cāli » ; ‡ « (mui, āmi, āmǫrā) cālō » ;

 Assamese : « (mǎi, āmi) cālō » ;

  Oṛiyā : « (mū) cālō, cāli », plural « (āmbhē, āmbhē-māne) cālū » ;

 Maithilī : « calī, calū » (for both numbers) ;

 Magahī : « calī, calī, calū » (for both numbers) ;

Bhōjpuriyā : « calō », plural « calū, calyū » (the singular « calō » probably influenced by Western speeches).

 In the indiscriminate use of singular and plural forms, it is not unlikely that the singular « *calami, calimi » in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa became confused with an expected, and possible Māg. Ap. plural form « *calāmi, *calami » < Magādhī Prākrit « *calāmē » < OIA. « calāmaḥ », with the change of final « -aḥ » to « -ē » and then to « -i ».

  678.   Second Person.

The history of the forms seems to have been as follows :

  OIA. : « tvam calasi—yūyam (Late OIA. *yuṣmē, *tuṣmē) calatha » ;

  MIA. : « tumaṁ, tūṁ calasi—tumhē calatha, caladha ; tūṁ calasi —tumhē calaha » ;

 Māg. Ap. : « tū, tō calasi, *calisi, *calahi ; *calasu, *calahu, *calaū (from the Imperative)————tumhi calaha » ;

NIA. OB. : « tŭ, tŏ, taĭ calisi, calisi—tumhi, tumhē calaha, * calaa » ;

MB. : « (tŏ, tŏ, tŏŏ, taĭ, tui, tŏrŭ) călăsi, călisi, cālăis, călie—
(tumhi, tumi, tŏmbărŭ, tŏm¢rŭ etc.) cālăhă, cālă, cālă, cālŏ » ;

NB. : « (tui; torŭ) călis, ‡ călăs (as in East Bengal), ‡ călu
(as in S.W. Bengali : cf. Oṛiyă)—(tumi, tŏm¢rŭ) cālă, cālŏ » ;

Assamese : « tăi cālă———tumi cālă (tomălokē cālă, călăhăk) » ;

Oṛiyă : « tŭ călu———tumbhē (-mănē) cālă » ;

Maithilī : « tŏ calahi, calah———tŏh, tŏh-sabh calahu » ;

Magahī : « tŭ, tŏ cal———tŏhanī calah(in) » ;

Bhŏjpuriyă : « tŭ, tŏ cal (calas, calasi, calis)—tŏhanīkă calah » .

679.　　　　　　　**Third Person.**

OIA. : « sa(ḥ) calati———tē calanti » ;

MIA. (Măgadhī) : « śē calati———tē calanti » ;
« śē caladi, calaĭ———*tē calanti » ;

Măgadhī Ap. : « śē, *śi calaĭ———* ti, tē calanti » ;

NIA. OB. : « śē *calaĭ (calanti *honorific*)—*tē, *tēhĭ, * tēhi * tēha,
calanti, *calēnti ;

MB. : « sē cālăï, cālăē, cālē ; tēha, tăhărŭ cālănti, cālēntă,
cālăntă, cālēn¢, cālăni, cālăñi, cālăi, cālăñi, cālăin » ;

NB. : « (sē, tărŭ) cālē—(tini, tărŭ) cālēn¢¢ (‡ cālăin) » ;

Assamese : « (si, sihătē) cālē (Early Assamese si-hătē cālăntă,
cālēntă) » ;

Oṛiyă : « sē cālăĭ—sē-mănē cālănti » ;

Maithilī : « sē (sē-sabh) calai, calathi » (the latter honorific only) ;

Magahī : « sē calai, calē (calas < Bhŏjpuriyă)—taun calīn,
calī, calathi » ;

Bhŏjpuriyă : « sē calē, cala (calasi, calasu < Awadhī)—taun
calan, calin ».

The plural form in Bengali is now used as an honorific. The change of
OIA. «-nt» normally is to «-t-» in Bengali, not to «-n-» : « cālēn¢ » there-
fore does not represent OIA. « calanti ». The form has obtained its «-n-» (fur-
ther reduced to a mere nasalisation in dialectal Bengali) ultimately from
the plural «-na» of the noun (see *supra*,] p. 725-726). It seems that this

« -na » was added to the plural-honorific forms for the verb in the past and the future tenses, which as participial forms did not have any affix originally, and therefore could take up both the plural « -na » of the oblique noun and the « -anti » of the radical tense: MB. ordinary « gēl-ā, gēl-ā », honorific « gēl-ēnạ, gēl-ānti ».   Thus « -na » and « -anti » became identical; and in the place of « calanti, cālēnta », and a possible « * cālēti, * cālētā » (cf. ŚKK. দেতি « dēti » *they give* = « dēnti »), the form « cālē-nạ » came in. Doubtless the use of the present participle in « -itē » (cālitē-cālitē), the infinitive in « -itē », and the past habitual base « cālit- », all the three with « -it- », helped the establishment of « -ēnạ » in the other verb forms as the plural honorific affix. Oṛiyā alone among Magadhan languages has preserved the « -nti ».   In other Magadhan, in E. and W. Hindī, and in other NIA., the « -nti » has similarly given place to a mere nasalisation or to « -n »: except in Marāṭhī, where the « -nti » is altered to the normal NIA. development, « -t » (Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' § 235).

The Maithilī and Magahī « calathi » is peculiar, showing « -thi » for OIA. « -nti »; probably it is a case of emphatic « hi »: « calanti hi > calat(i) hi > calathi ». In the Caryās, « -thi » for honorific « -nti » occurs in a couple of instances: « bhaṇathi Kukkurīpāē » (20), « bōlathi Sānti » (26). These seem to have been due to the mistake of the Nēwārī scribe of the MS., familiar as he was more with Maithilī than with Old Bengali.

The « -s- » forms for the 3rd person in Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā seem to be ultimately from Awadhī, and the « -s- » seems to be the pronoun « sē » *he*, agglutinated with the verb-base (like « hū, tu » for the 1st and 2nd persons in OB.).

[II]   The Tenses originating from OIA. Participles.

(1)   The Past Base.

680.   The inflected past tenses of OIA.—the imperfect, aorist and perfect—were continued in MIA., but their employment grew more and more rare. In Early MIA. (as in Pali) the imperfect and aorist

coalesced, and formed practically one past form (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' § 158 ff.), although Pali grammarians sought to indicate a theoretical difference between them by calling the forms derived from the old imperfect and the strong or root aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -a, -ā ») the « hiyattanī » or *yesterday past*, and the forms derived from original sigmatic aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -i, -si ») as the « ajjatanī » or *to-day past*. The perfect became very much restricted. In Second NIA., the perfect all but disappeared, being found only in a few stereotyped forms; and the same thing happened with the imperfect-aorist tense, which could be found with a number of roots, or had resulted, as in Ardha-Māgadhī, into a couple of affixes—a singular « -itthā, -ētthā » and a plural » -iṁsu », originating from the OIA. *ātmanē-pada* (medial) aorist forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §§ 515-517; Geiger, *op. cit.*, § 159).

This gradual decay or disuse of the old moods and forms of the old inflected past is a notable thing in the history of Indo-Aryan (cf. Jules Bloch, 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit,' Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' Vol. XIV). In this connexion Dravidian influence has been suggested, and indeed is probable (see *supra*, pp. 38, 174). As the old past forms fell into desuetude, their place was taken up more and more by the passive participle adjective which had the ending « -ta, -i-ta » or « -na » in OIA. In this extension of the verbal adjective to assume the function of the finite verb, going hand in hand with the decay of the latter, Dravidian influence, again, is likely. But the germs of this use we find within OIA. itself. In Vedic, the past or passive participle in « -ta » is quite frequently used as a finite verb, when the copula or the substantive verb « as » or « bhū » is omitted (cf. A.A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 208; B. Delbrück, 'Altindische Syntax,' Halle, 1888, §§ 215, 219). This construction, periphrastic in nature, with the substantive verb present or understood, seems to have come in first with intransitive verbs (meaning *going, sitting, standing*, etc.), or in impersonal statements. But as yet the passive participle has not invaded the domain of the transitive verb, in a passive construction with the true nominative in the instrumental,—

a construction which is perfectly normal in Second MIA., and which is continued down into NIA.: « sa yātaḥ, sa jātaḥ, sa ārūḍhaḥ » might be used instead of « sa jagāma (iyāya, agacchat, agamat, ayāt), sa ajāyata (ajani), sa aruhat (arukṣat, ruroha) » etc.; but « tēna kṛtaḥ (kṛtā, kṛtam), tēna dṛṣṭaḥ (dṛṣṭā, dṛṣṭam) » are not yet well-established in the place of « sa cakāra (akārṣīt, akarōt), sa dadarśa (apaśyat, adrākṣīt) », etc. But from Early MIA., the extension of the passive participle to transitive verbs also came in. In Pali, however, the OIA. condition obtains, and there is plentiful use of the past tense or aorist, the « -ta » forms occurring with intransitive verbs mainly : but the traditions of Pali as a literary speech go back to the oldest MIA., or latest OIA. period, and Pali syntax is not wholly based on that of the spoken vernaculars of the centuries immediately before Christ. But the language of Aśōkan and other early inscriptions sufficiently demonstrate what an important place the passive participle in « -ta » had already obtained for itself in the popular dialects, considerably restricting the inflected past tenses. Thus, to give a few examples : Aśōkan Rock Edict I (Girnar), « iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi dēvānaṁ priyēna priyadasinā rāñā lēkhāpitā »; II (Girnar) « dvē cikichā katā ; ōsuḍhāni...sarvatra hārāpitāni ca rōpāpitāni ca »; V (Girnar) « ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kataṁ »; Pillar, Rummindei, « piyadasina lājina atana āgāca mahīyitē; silā vigaḍabhīcā kālāpita, silāthabhē ca usapāpitē, Luṁminīgāmē ca ubalikē kaṭē »; Nigliva, « lājina thubē dutiyaṁ vaḍhitē »; Khāravēla Inscription, « mahārājēna...kīḍitā kumāra-kīḍikā : yōvarajaṁ pasāsitaṁ »; Bharhut Inscription on gateway, « .. Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ tōraṇām (= tōraṇaṁ), silā-kaṁmaṁtō ca upaṁna »; Sanchi, Stupa I, « Vēdisakēhi daṁta-kārēhi rūpa-kaṁmaṁ kataṁ »; Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, « garuḍa-dhvajē ayaṁ kāritō Hēliōdōrēṇa »; Mathurā Āyāgapaṭṭa Inscription, « ...gaṇikāyē Vasu(yē)...silāpaṭō pratisthāpitō »; etc., etc.

Illustrations can be multiplied. These show that the passive participle construction, the verb being an adjective qualifying the nominative when it was intransitive and the object when transitive, became the common idiomatic way of expressing the past in MIA. By the time when the Apabhraṁśa Stage came in, the old inflected past forms, which still

lingered in Second MIA., were clean swept away, and only this participial past remained in IA.; and the NIA. past tense was formed out of this.

The IA. speeches outside India show similarly the passive participle as the base for the preterit: Sinhalese (Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 71-72), and the Gipsy speeches of Europe (F. Miklosich, 'Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas,' XI, p. 44).

681. The affix « -ta, -ita » was by this time reduced to « -a, -ia », except where it was assimilated to a preceding consonant (e.g., « dṛṣṭa- », = Panjābi « ḍiṭṭhā », beside « *dṛkṣita- > dĕkkhia- » = Hindī « dĕkhyā, dĕkhā », Bengali দেখিল « dĕkh-il- »; « supta > sutta > Early Beng. সুতিল sut-il- »; « matta > Beng. মাতিল māt-il- »; etc.). A pleonastic « -ka », which was reduced to « -a » in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa, was sometimes added. But the need for some distinctive affix for this important form, the only one to indicate the past tense, was felt in some parts of the country. The « -la » affix of OIA., in extended forms « -i-la, -a-la », which became very popular as an adjective affix (or a merely pleonastic one) from the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably even earlier, was frequently added. In the Second and Third. MIA. periods « -i-la, -a-la » apparently became « -illa (-ĕlla), -alla ». In any case, in North-Eastern India the « -ll- » was specially popular from the Apabhraṅśa period (it may be earlier still) in connexion with the passive participle in « -a < -ta, -ia < -ita ». We have no specimens of this North-Eastern or Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but from the evidence of the Magadhan languages we have to surmise all that. In the Ardha-māgadhī area, and in the Midland, the « -ila, -ala > -illa (-ĕlla), -alla » affix was rather sparingly used; also in the North-West: the source-dialects Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, and Western and Eastern Panjābī apparently never used it with the passive participle, whether attributive or predicative. In the South-West, its use was more common than in the Midland, but not so common as in the East: it was used, as we can infer from Gujarātī and Rājasthānī and Sindhī, when the passive participle was a plu-perfect, or an attributive form, and not a predicate in the simple past, performing the function of a verb. In the

South, it was fairly common, and shortly after the formation of the Marāṭhī language, it became more and more popular as an affix in connexion with the passive participle > past tense.

The remnants of Second MIA. (especially in the Jaina dialects as written in the South-West) have preserved for us examples of this « -illa (-ŏlla) » and « -ulla, -alla » affix with nouns and adjectives, like « kaṇṭaïlla, chāïlla, mā(y)illa, lōhilla, sōhilla, ṇeurilla, thalaïlla, niyaḍilla, kasilla, sāsilla, kalaṇkilla, gaṇṭhilla, muttāhalilla, kandalilla, lacchïilla, kivāïlla, gōïlla, chaïlla, gāmilla, bāhirilla, paḍhamilla, uvarilla, dābiṇilla, majjhimilla, puvvilla » etc., etc.; and stray forms like Ardha-māgadhī « āṇilliya » (āṇia = āṇīta + illa: Pischel, 'Grammartik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 595), and « āgaĕlliyā (āgata-), varĕlliyā (varia-, vr̥ta-), chaḍḍiĕllayaṁ (chardita-), laddhilliyaṁ (labdha-) » (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126) etc. confirm the surmise made chiefly from the modern languages that « -illa (-ŏlla), -alla » added to the passive participle in « -a, -ia < -ta, -ita » is the source of the NIA. « -l- » in this case. When the « -illa » in this way strengthened the passive participle, the latter retained fully its original adjectival nature, and « -illa » would change its ending according to the gender of the noun qualified.

682. Thus the past base in « -il- » in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, in « -al- » in the Bihārī speeches, and in « -il-, -al » in Marāṭhī, and similar « -l- » forms in the other NIA. speeches, originated from the OIA. « -ta, -ita » *plus* the OIA. diminutive or adjectival affix « -la- » in the extended forms « -ila, -a-la, > -illa (-ŏlla), -alla ». This explanation, first suggested by Sir Charles Lyall in his article on Hindōstānī in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 9th edition (1879: reprinted as 'A Sketch of the Hindustani Language,' Edinburgh, 1880: pp. 41-42) and by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his 'Wilson Philological Lectures' (1877, Lecture V, first published Bombay, 1914, pp. 223-224), has finally been accepted as the only possible explanation, after Sten Konow showed how this « -l-» of Marāṭhī (and other NIA. speeches) phonologically must rest on a MIA. « -ll- » (in his 'Note on the Past Tense in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1902, pp. 417 ff. Cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 256).

683. Lassen and Hoernle, whose views, now disproved and abandoned, still obtain some following in India, traced this « -l- » to the « -ta, -ita » affix of OIA. direct : either along this line: « -ta, -ita > -da, -ida > -ḍa, -iḍa > -la, -ila »; or along this : « -ta, -ita > -da, -ida > -la, -ila » (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 306). But neither of the above lines of change are known to have taken place on any large scale in IA.; and although there are cases of 'spontaneous cerebralisation' (*supra*, p. 487), and although there are a few cases where NIA. « -l- » (< earlier « -ḷ- ») corresponds to Skt. « -ḍ- » (*supra*, p. 543), a wholesale change of MIA. « -d-, -ḍ- » to « -l- » is not attested. Under influence of preceding « r, ṛ », a dental « -ta » became a « -ṭa » in 'Old Māgadhī,' and the normal change of it in Second MIA. Māgadhī would of course be « -ḍa »; in fact, Vararuci notes two cases, « kaḍa, maḍa < kaṭa, maṭa < kṛta, mṛta » and a third « gaḍa (< gata) » by analogy apparently ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XI, 15); and many more can be attested from MIA., from Sanskrit, and from the NIA. speeches (like « *saḍakka > saṛak∮ » *street* from « sṛta », « *dhaḍa > dhaṛ∮ » *torso* from « dhṛta », « *bhaḍa > bhaṛ∮ » = surname in Bengali = *servant* from « bhṛta, bhaṭa »). In all these cases we find « -ṛ- » in NIA. (< -ḍ- < -ṭ- < -ṛt-) », and never « -l- ». The equivalent of « kaḍa, maḍa » should be « kaṛ∮, maṛ∮ » or « kaṛā, maṛā » in NIA., and not « kaila, maila » as in Early Bengali or in the Bihārī dialects. In fact, the « -ṛ- » form, মড় « mâṛâ » < « maḍa », has continued apart in Bengali, in the sense of *dead body, corpse*, and this is quite distinct from the verb মৈল « maîlâ = *maa-illa = mṛta + illa ».[1]

The adjectival accented « -lá » (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' §§ 1189, 1227) became « -lla » in Second MIA. (Pischel, 'Grammatik der

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[1] As has been noted before, the genuine, inherited Māgadhī forms in '-ṛ-,' = '-ḍ-' < '-ṭ-' < '-ṛt-, -rt-' were largely ousted from or restricted in the eastern dialects, probably during the Second and Third MIA periods, by new formations which did not show cerebralisation, but simple elision of the '-t-': see *supra*, p. 487. This was either due to the analogy of the larger number of '-ta-' participles in which there was no scope for cerebralisation and the '-t-' was duly lost in Second MIA.; or it may be that here there was strong influence from the Western speeches due to the continuous immigration of Westerners into the East—Bihar and Bengal—during the formative period of the Eastern languages.

Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 194). It is just possible that the doubling was due to the fact that it was a *ts.* (or *sts.*)affix introduced in Transitional MIA., at a time when original *tbh.* or inherited intervocal « -l- »' tended to become cerebralised to « -ḷ- », and that its *ts.* character as an intervocal *dental* or *alveolar* sound was sought to be preserved by this doubling. Another explanation, quite possible, would derive the MIA. « -lla » from the OIA. « -la », strengthened by « -ya » (also an adjectival affix): « *-l-ya > -lla » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 256). In any case, the fact remains that in Second MIA. it became « -ll- ». In NIA., in those speeches where the cerebral « -ḷ- » is preserved, this « -ḷ- » stands on a MIA. single intervocal dental or alveolar « -l- »; and where in NIA. it is a dental « -l- », the MIA. source of it is double « -ll- », and not single « -l- ». This has been shown for Marāṭhī (Sten Konow, JRAS., 1902, as cited above; cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 144 ff.), and for Gujarātī by Turner (JRAS., 1921, pp. 527-528, 535, 537, 538). It is also the case with Oṛiyā: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « kāḷā » *black*, « kāḷi » *ink* (< kāla-), « bēḷā » (< vēlā), « dēuḷā » (< dēvakula), « tiḷā » (< tila), *ts.* « tāiḷā » (< tāila), with « -ḷ- », but « kāli » (kalliṁ, kalya-), « bēla » (bĕlla, bilva), « tēla » (tĕlla, tāilā), etc. (see *supra*, p. 533): and for the past tense and pass. part adj., Oṛiyā has « -l- », not « -ḷ- », which thus must rest on a MIA. « -ll- ». The same seems also to be the case with Panjābī. So that Apabhraṅśa (Eastern, Western, Southern) « *kaa-illa-, *kaya-illa-, *kaa-alla-; *gaa-illa, *gaya-illa, *gaa-alla; *calia-illa > *calilla, *callŏlla * calla-illa (=*calya- + -ita- + -la) » etc. can alone be the sources of Early Bengali « kāila », Bihārī « kail », Oṛiyā « kālā », Marāṭhī « kēlā, gēlā », Gujarātī « karēlo » (=* karia-illa), Sindhī « kayalŭ, kītalŭ » (the last = «* kitta-alla- »); and Bengali « gēlā, cālilā », Oṛiya « gālā, cālilā- » Bihārī « gail, calal- », beside Oṛiyā « cālilā », Gujarātī « cālēlō », etc.

684. Another view about the origin of the NIA. « -l- » is that it is an independent affix occurring in Indo-European itself, preserved in NIA., but ignored or left unnoticed in OIA. S. H. Kellogg first suggested this in his Hindī Grammar (cf. p. 340, second edition), and Beames connected this « -l- » with the « -l- » affix indicating the past tense in the Slav languages, and compared Slav (Russian) preterit

forms in « -l- » with those of the Marāṭhi as a typical Indian lan-
guage with the « -l- » past (' Comp. Grammar,' III, pp. 135-136).
But this connexion is not proper. We have seen that the MIA.
form of the suffix was « -ll- » < OIA. « -l- » and that it is adjectival (dimi-
nutive or pleonastic) in its nature, whereas the « -l- » affix that we find
in Slav is entirely different. The latter is a participle affix, forming
nomina agentis, with an active present participle sense, and in Slav it is
used to form periphrastic tenses with the substantive verb: and this « -l- »
or « -lo- » affix has been found, in addition to the Slav, in Latin, Greek,
Armenian and Tokharian among Indo-European speeches (A. Meillet, ' Le
Slav Commun,' Paris, 1924, § 281; French trans. of Brugmann's Short
Comparative Grammar, Paris, 1905, p. 351; S. Lévi and A. Meillet,
' Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien
B.: I: Formes verbales,' Extrait de Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,
Vol. XVIII, Paris, 1912, p. 22).

685. The « -l- » affix is established for the past tense in Bengali
and other Magadhan speeches, so that its use in the Māgadhī
Apabhraṅśa can reasonably be presumed. The « -l- » affix is absent
for the past tense in Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rāja-
sthānī, Gujarātī, Sindhī : in the source Apabhraṅśas of these, therefore,
it would be reasonable to think that it was not present there, or in any
case it could not have been so prominent. But the « -ll- » form did not
entirely supplant the simple passive participle in « -(i)a » in the East:
from Old and Middle Bengali and from Early Oṛiyā and Early Maithilī, we
can see that the passive participle in « -ita > -ia » without the strength-
ening « -illa, -alla » was actually used predicatively for the past base. Ex-
amples are given below. The non-l form of the passive participle has given
the Bengali passive participle in « -ā » : « calita- > calia- + -ā > cālā ».
This non-l form occurs also in Eastern Hindī as well as in Western
Hindī : but in NB. it is attributive, and not predicative. All this
would show that the « -ll- » and the non-l forms were used side
by side in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but the NIA. Magadhan speeches
decided for the « -ll- » form for the past base as well as for the

adjectival participle base : in Modern Bengali, in the standard language however, the non-l form is employed as the adjective, and the « -l- » form has been restricted to the predicate.

686. The following tables recapitulate the position in the NIA. languages :

[a] Non-l Forms in NIA.

(i) OIA. « calita- » > Second MIA. « calia-; (nominative) caliō, caliē » > Apabhraṅśa « calia-; caliu, *calii »;

(ii) OIA. « calita-ka- » > Second MIA. « caliaa-; (nominative) caliaō, caliaē » > Apabhraṅśa « caliaa-; caliaü, *caliaï ».

From MIA. passive participles of the above type are derived :—

Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) passive participle adjective and past base
« calyau »;

„	(Kanaujī)	„	« calō »;
„	(Hindōstānī)	„	« calā »;
Eastern Panjābī		„	« calliā, caliā »;
Western Panjābī		„	« callēā » (with

personal terminations added optionally to form the verb past);

Sindhī pass. part. adjective and past base   « haliō » (with
personal terminations added in the intransitive);

Gujarātī pass. part. adjective and past base   « cālyō »;

Rājasthānī   „   „   « calyō »;

Pahāṛī (Khaskurā) „   „   « calyō »;

Eastern Hindī   „   „   « calā » (with
personal terminations added to form the past tense);

Early Maithilī past form   « calia, cali, calu »;

Early Oṛiyā past form   « cäḷi »;

Oṛiyā past participle   « cäḷā »;

Old Bengali past participle and past form   « calia, calī, caliā,
calā (caliō, caliu, calu) »;

Middle Bengali past form   « cäli (cälē ?) »;

New Bengali passive participle   « cälā (cäliyā ?) »;

New Bengali and Assamese verbal noun   « cälā »,

[b] Forms with adjectival or pleonastic « -l- » in NIA.

OIA. « calita- » > MIA. « calia- » + « -illa-, -ŏlla-, -alla- » > Ap. « * calilla-, * calŏlla-, * calialla- ».

From « -ll- » forms of the above types in Apabhraṅśa are derived :—

Sindhī passive past participle		« halyalŭ » ;
Gujarātī	„	« cālĕl, cālĕlō » ;
Marāṭhī	„	« cālalā » (with

      personal terminations added to form the past tense), besides a double « -l- » form, « cālalēlā » ;

Marāṭhī verbal noun	« cālalĕ » ;
Bihārī past base, passive participle adjective, & verbal noun	« calal- » ;
Oṛiyā past base and passive participle adjective	« cǎḷilā » ;
Bengali past base and passive participle	« cǎlila- » ;
Assamese past base	« cǎlil- ».

687. Examples of non -l and « -l- » forms from OB. and MB. are given below.

Old Bengali : non-l forms.

In OB., as in the Caryās, the adjectival nature is still clear in many cases. The form expected in OB. would be « -ia > -ī », or « -ia » + definitive « -ā » = « -iā » ; « -iā » is found, and « -ī » also ; and « -ia », with the final « -a » retained, is also found as an archaic literary survival (cf. Bengali treatment of final MIA. vowels, *supra*, pp. 301 ff.). Besides, forms in « -iō (-ō), -iu, -u » due to Western influence also occur (see *supra*, p. 115). This « -iu, -u, -iō (-ō) » is not found in MB. and NB.

Caryā 1 : « païṭhō » (= pavïṭṭhō, pavïṭṭhaō = praviṣṭa-, -ṣṭa-ka-) ; « āmhĕ sāṇĕ diṭhā » (dṛṣṭa-) ; « baïṭhā » (cf. বৈঠা মানুষ « baïṭhā mānuṣṣ » *sitting man* in Chittagong Bengali, and বঠিয়া « baṭhiyā » *having sat* in 'Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' VSP., p. 82—which show that « baïṭh- » was a good OB. form, though now supplanted by the root « bais ») ; Caryā 7, « bhinnā » ; 9, « haria » ; 10, « chāḍi » ; 11, « païṭha, kiŭ, bhaïa » ; 13, « kia, mārī » ; 16, « païṭha, païṭhā, diṭhā » ; 17, « piciu = ? cāpiu, kia, ṭhāṣpiu » ; 18, « bāhia, biṭaliu, ṭāliu » ; 19, « uchaliā, caliā, ahāriu, kia » ;

20, « saṅghārā »; 26, « ahāriu, caṭāriu »; 27, « bikasaü, unhasiu, cālia, gaü, bujhia »; 28, « khāi?, pōhāi? »; 30, « phariā, uittā, bujhjhia »; 31, « naṭhā, païṭhā, bihariu, nivāriu »; 34, « bādhā (< baddha-), ladhā = lādhā (< labdha-) »; 36, « pabārī, ahārī »; 44, « miliā, ūiā, païṭhā, binaṭhā »; 47, « jalia (< jwalita), paḍā (= patita-) »; 49, « bāhiu, luḍiu, naṭhā, païṭhā, thākiu, laïā ».

Old Bengali : « -l- » forms.

Caryā 2, « cauri nila, cōrē nila, nida gēla »; 3, « āïla, païṭhēla »; 4, « ubhila »; 6, « bēṭila = bēḍhila »; 7, « rundhēlā, bhaïla, āïlā, gēlā, bhaïïla = bhaïlā »; 8, « gēlī, mēlili, milila »; 10, « mōē ghalili »; 12, « jitēla »; 13, « calila »; 14, « buḍili, bhaïlā, caḍilā »; 15, « gēlā, bhaïla »; 16, « lāgēlī »; 18, « sutēli »; 28, « maulila, lāgēlī, paḍilā, chāïlī, pōhāïlī »; 30, « ujōli » (= udyōtitam); 31, « chāḍila » (cf. Commentary); 32, « mukala, bhaïlā »; 33, « duhila (adj.), biāēla »; 35, « hāu acchilē (= āchilē? āchila?), maï bujhila, dila, ahārila, laïlā, ahārā-kaēla »; 36, « nida gēlā, sutēlā, maï dēkhila »; 37, « ṭuṭi-gēli, acchilēsa »; 39, « nilēsi, bhāgēla »; 41, « phulilā »; 44, « āïlēsi, biccharila »; 47, « lāgēlī āgi, uṭhi-gēla »; 49, « bhaïlī, lēlī »; 50, « phuṭilā, tāēla = uēlā? bhaēlā?, phiṭēli, phulia = phulilā, pākēlā, mātēlā, bhēlā, bhaïlā, (gaḍilā), hakaēlā, mārila, bhaïlā, phiṭili ».

In OB. the affix is commonly « -il- », as in Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā, and at times it occurs as « -ēl- ». Except in « mukala », « -al- », characterising Central and Western Magadhan, is not found. The affixing of personal terminations has started already in OB. (e.g., acch-il-ēsa, n-il-ēsi); but the old adjectival nature is sufficiently present, making the form take up the « -i (-I) » affix of the feminine when the subject is feminine for the intransitive verb and when the object is feminine for the transitive.

688. Examples of the Middle Bengali verb in « -I, -i < -ia < -ita », without the « -l- » :

ŚKK. : p. 75. মোন করিঞা দুহি থাকি এক পাশে « māunā kāriā duhē thāki (=thākilā) ēkā pāśē » *keeping silent, the two remained on one side*; p. 217, যেহেন বাহির তেহেন ভিতর সরূপে জানিলৌ তোরে। কপট সাগর হৃদয় তোমার

নাহি মোর গোচরে ৷ « jéhēnă bāhiră tēhēnă bhitară, sărūpē jāṇilŏ tōrē : kăpaṭă sāgară hṛdăyă tōmhāră, nāchi (=nă āchilă) mōră gōcărē » *as on the outside, so within : I have known you in your true form ; your heart is an ocean of deceit, this was not known to me ;* p. 325, সরূপে বুঝিলেঁ। মো কাহ্নাঞি তোর বাঁশী আজ্ঞে নাহিঁ পাই « sărūpē buyilŏ mō Kānhāñi, tōră bẵśī āmhē nāhi pāï (= pāïlă) » *I have said in sooth, O Kānha, I have not found your flute* (note : past form with নাহি « nāhi ») ; p. 343, তোকে তত্ত্ব বোলেঁ। চন্দ্রাবলী। বোড় হাথ করী বনমালী ॥ তাত বড় পাইল আপমান। তেঁসি তোম্বা ছাড়ী গেল কাহ্ন ॥ « tōkē tătwă bōlŏ Căndrăbălī, jōră hāthă kări (=kărilă) bănămālī : tātă bară pāïlă āpămānă, tẽsi tōmhā chāṛi gēlă Kānhă » *I tell you the truth, O Candrāvalī : the one garlanded with wild flowers (Kṛṣṇa) folded his hands (before you) ; through that he has felt insulted, that is why Kṛṣṇa has left you and gone away ;*

Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā Kāṇḍa' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 16, দুই চক্ষু ঢাকিঞা রাণী হেঁট মাথা করি। নারদ মুনি তবে দিল টিট্কারী॥ « dui căksu dhākiñă rāṇī hẽṭă māthă kări (=kărilă), Nărădă-muni tăbē dilă ṭiṭăkārī » *closing both her eyes, the queen (Mēnakā) hung down her head, and then the sage Nārada said words of scorn :* p. 17, হাথে ধরি কন্যা আনিল দেব শূল-পাণি॥ কন্যা লঞা হর ছায়ামণ্ডপে বসি। চারিদিকে বেঢ়িল সব দেব ঋষি॥ « hāthē dhări kănyă ănilă dēbă Śūlăpāṇi ; kănyă lăñă Hără chāyă-măṇḍăpē băsi (=băsilă), cāri dikē bēṛhilă săbă dēbă ṛsi » *holding her by the hand, the Trident-bearer led the bride (Umā) : Hara (Śiva) then sat in the pavilion with the bride, and all the gods and sages surrounded them on four sides ;* p. 14, পুষ্পকরথ সাজিঞা ব্রহ্মা তাহাকে দিল দান॥ ব্রহ্মার বরে তুষ্ট হইলা বাপেরে নমস্করি। জত বর পাইল তাহা বাপকে গোচরি॥ দুর্লভ বর ব্রহ্মা মোকে দিল দান। « puṣpăkă-răthă săjiñă Brăhmā tāhākē dilă dānă, Brăhmără bărē tuṣṭă hăïlă, băpērē nămăskări (= -kărilă) ; jătă bără pāïlă, tāhā băpăkē gōcări (=gōcărilă) : 'durlăbhă bără Brăhmā mōkē dilă dānă' » *Brahmā prepared the (aerial) flower-chariot and gave him as a gift : he was pleased at Brahmā's boon and saluted his father, and told his father about all the boons he received : 'rare boons has Brahmā made a gift of to me' ;* etc., etc ;

Chuṭi Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 144, এত বুনি অনুশাল করএ বিনয়, প্রীত হই আলিঙি কৃষ্ণ মহাশয় « ētă buli Anuśālă kărăē binăyă, prītă hăï

āliṅgi (=āliṅgilā)　Kṛṣṇā mahāsāyẹ » *saying all this Anuśālva does courtesy ; being glad, the great-hearted Kṛṣṇa embraced him* ;

Mālādhara Vasu's 'Bhāgavata' (VSP., p. 771) : তার দন্ত উপাড়িয়া নিল দুই ভাই। সেই দন্তে, মাহুত মারি যমঘরে পাঠাই ॥ « tārā dāntā upāṛiyā nilā dui bhāi, sēi dāntē māhutā māri Jamā-gharē pāṭhāī (=pāṭhāīlā) » *the two brothers pulled out his tusks, and with those tusks killing the elephant-driver sent (him) to the abode of Yama* ;

Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (see *supra*, p. 735) : p. 108, গোসাঞি কোন দোষে শাপি « gōsāñi kōnā dōṣē śāpi » *through what fault did the lord curse ?* p. 109, কলসী ভরিয়া ঘৃত নাগ সবে ঢালি « kalāsī bhāriyā ghṛtā nāgā-sabē ḍhāli » *the Nāgas poured ghee in full jars* ; p. 214, পদ্মার বচনে বেহুলা মনে মনে হাসি « Pādmārā bacanē Bēhulā mānē mānē hāsi » *Bēhulā laughed in her heart at Padmā's words* ; etc. ;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Ādi-līlā, Chap. 13 : শ্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্য নবদ্বীপে অবতরি। অষ্ট চল্লিশ বৎসর প্রকট বিহরি ॥ চৌদশত সাত শকে জন্মের প্রমাণ। চৌদ শত পঞ্চান্নে হৈলা অন্তর্ধান ॥ « Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyā Nabādwīpē abatāri, aṣṭa-cālliśā batsārẹ prakaṭā bihari ; caudda-śatā-sātẹ śākē janmērẹ prāmāṇẹ, caudda-śata-pāñcānnē hāilā antardhānẹ » *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya came down to Navadvīpa ; he sojourned in manifest form for 48 years ; the date of his birth, Śaka 1407 ; he disappeared in 1455* ; also cf. VSP., p. 1222, যে পথে যে গ্রাম নদী শৈল যাই হই নৌলা। বলভদ্র-ভট্টাচার্য্য-স্থানে সব লিখি নিলা ॥ « jē pāthē jē grāmā nādī śaila jāhā̃ haï līlā, Balabhadra-bhaṭṭācāryya-sthānē sabẹ likhi nilā » *in all the ways, in all villages, rivers and hills, wherever there were any events, he wrote down all from Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya* ; etc.

The Past use of the Present Tense in Bengali.

689. The « -i » affix in the past is thus found in MB., although it is not so common ; and this can only be expected, considering that in OB. the non-l form is hardly obsolete, although the « -l- » has well-established itself. But in MB. and NB. we meet with a very common use of what is apparently the present tense in the past, in historical narrative generally : *e.g.*, NB. গেল বছর যখন আমি কাশী যাই (= গিয়াছিলাম) « gēlā bachārẹ jākhanẹ āmi Kāśī jāï (=giyāchilāmẹ) » *when I went to*

Benares last year ; ভারতে আর্য্যদের আগমন কখন হয় জানা যায় না « Bhārătă Āryyădĕră ăgămănă kăkhănă hăyă jănā-jăyă nā » *it is not known when the first coming of the Aryans into India happened ;* সম্রাট আকবর প্রায় ৫০ বৎসর রাজত্ব করেন « sămrăţă Ăkbără prăyă păñcăsă bătsără răjătwă kărĕnă » *Emperor Akbar reigned for nearly 50 years ;* etc., etc. In MB. (and also in NB.), this 'present' is very frequently used side by side with the ordinary « -ilă » past, and is not distinguished from the ordinary present in any way as a present used especially for the past. This usage seems however to point to a continuance in MB. and NB. of the OB. passive participle without « -l- », used for the past tense. The regular form would be « -ita > -ia > -I, -i », which is not uncommon in MB., as in the instances given above ; but it seems that when « -ila » became established as the characteristic past base in OB. and MB., the « -i » form was not properly understood : in the 1st person it could easily be confused with the 1st person present affix, and in connexion with the 3rd person the final vowel could be changed to « -ĕ » as in the 3rd person present ; and in this way the old passive participle adjective could formally merge into the present tense, retaining its old past sense. This gave rise to what at first sight looks like a past use of the present. Once this construction was accepted, in Early MB., substitution for the « -i » participle by the 2nd personal affix « -ă » and by the honorific « -ĕntă, -ĕnă » was a matter of course. The use of the present for the historical past is of course a most natural thing, being found in many languages, Sanskrit and the Prakrits and the NIA. languages included. But the presence of the « -i » past for all persons in MB. points to « -ia < -ita » ; and also the use of « -i » and the « -ĕnă, -ă, -ĕ, -i » forms along with « -ilă » in the same sentence or proposition seems to indicate that the passive participle without « -l- » had something to do with the so-called 'present' tense for the past in MB. and NB.

Examples of this promiscuous employ of « -ilă » with the non -l forms can be found in the passages quoted in § 688, and further instances are given below :

ŚKK., p. 19, এ বোল শুনিআ নাগরী রাধা হাণএ সকল গাএ। যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাত্র॥ « ĕ bŏlă suniă năgărī Rādhā hănăĕ săkălă

gāē, jātā nānā phulā pānā·karapurā sabā pēlāilā pāē » *hearing this talk, winsome Rādhā struck all over her body; all the various flowers, betel leaves and camphor and all she scattered with her feet*; p. 240, হেন বুলী রাধা কলসী গর্ধা. জাএ গজগড়ি ছান্দে ...... পাইল রাধা কালীদহ-কূল « hēnā bulī Rādhā kālāsī lāā jāē gājā-gāri chāndē ...... pāīlā Rādhā Kālīdahā-kūlā » *saying this Rādhā took her jar and went with the gait like that of an elephant, and she reached the shore of Kālī lake ;* p. 24 , সকল গোআল যুবতী রহিলা যেহ কনক পুতলী॥ এখো পাঅ কেহো চলিতে নারে বুলিতে নারে বচনে। « sakalā gōālā jubatī rahilā jēnhā kanakā-putalī: ēkhō pāā kēhō calitē nārē, bulitē nārē bācanē » *all the young girls of the cowherds stood still like images of gold, not one of them could walk even one step, nor could utter a word ;* etc., etc.;

Kṛttivāsa, ' Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29, ফলমূল আনি দিল ঠাকুর লক্ষ্মণ॥ পিণ্ডদান করেন রাম রাজীবলোচন। « phālā-mūlā āni dilā ṭhākurā Lakṣmāṇā, piṇḍā-dānā kārēnā Rāmā rājība-lōcānā » *worshipful L. brought fruits and roots, and lotus-eyed Rāma offered* piṇḍas ; p. 17, সীতারে কহিল, ফল করগা ভক্ষণ। ফল হাতে করি কহে, ধরহ লক্ষ্মণ॥ « Sītā-rē kāhilā, ' phālā kārāgā bhākṣānā ': phālā hātē kāri kāhē, ' dhārāhā Lakṣmāṇā » *he said to Sītā, ' eat (these) fruits ' ; taking the fruits in his hand he said, ' hold, Lakṣmaṇa';* ' Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 5, মঙ্গল দ্রব্য নঞা আইলা সখীগণ মেলি। কন্যার অধিবাস করে দিয়া হুলাহুলী॥ অধিবাস সঙ্গে হৈল সিদ্ধ সব কাজ। হেমন্তে মেলানি করি চলে মুনিরাজ॥ « mangalā drābyā lāñā āilā sākhi-gānā mēli, kānyārā adhibāsā kārē diyyā hulāhulī: adhibāsā sangē hāilā siddhā sabā kājā, Hēmāntē mēlāni kāri cālē muni-rājā » *the girl-friends (of Umā) came in company, bringing auspicious articles, with the hulu sound (of joy); the adhivāsa with all the ceremony was complete, and the prince of sages (Nārada) left, taking farewell from Himavanta ;* etc., etc. ;

Chuṭī Khān's ' Mahābhārata,' p. 54, প্রবীর পড়িল হেন ঘোষে সর্বজন। দূরে থাকি নীলধ্বজ শুনে ততক্ষণ॥ হা হা পুত্র করি রাজা হৈল বাহির। « ' Prābīrā pārilā ' hēnā ghōṣē sārba-jānā, dūrē thāki Nīlā-dhwājā śunē tātā-kṣānā : ' hā hā putrā ' kāri rājā hāilā bāhirā » *' Pravīra has fallen,' so shouted every one: then from a distance Nīladhwaja heard it; the king came out with ' ah, ah, my son ! ';*

Kavikaṇkaṇa Mukunda-rāma (Vaṇgavāsī edition): p. 14, কোলেতে
করিয়া রামা ছেলি করে পার ॥ প্রবেশ করিল ছেলি গহন কানন । « kōlätē käriyä
rämä chēli kärē pärȧ: präbēsȧ kärilä chēli gähanȧ kānanȧ » *the lady
took the goats across in her lap: the goats entered the dense forest*;
p. 155, হাস পরিহাসে দোহে বসিলা দম্পতী । জিজ্ঞাসে ঘরের বার্তা সাধু ধনপতি ॥
লহন কহিল, প্রভু তুমি ভাগ্যবান্ । « häsyȧ päribäsē dōhē bäsilä dämpätī;
jijñäsē ghärērȧ bärttä sädhu Dhänäpäti: Lähänä kähilä, 'präbhu ! tumi
bhägyäbän' » *the two, husband and wife, sat, in laughter and in jest;
the merchant Dhanapati asked about the news of home: Lahanā said, ' my
Lord ! you are fortunate indeed* '; p. 175, তাহার পশ্চাতে আইল দাস নীলাম্বর ।
আদর করিয়া আইসে উজানী নগর ॥ « tähärȧ päscätē äilä Däsȧ Nīlāmbärȧ,
ädärȧ käriyä äisē Ujäni-nägärȧ » *behind him came Nīlāmbara Dāsa,
doing (proper) respect he came to the city of Ujānī*; p. 185, সম্মুখ
দুয়ারে অগ্নি দিলেন খুল্লনা ॥ দুয়ারেতে যায় অগ্নি, সাম্ভাইল ঘরে । প্রবল হইল
অগ্নি জউয়ের উপরে ॥ জউগৃহে বাঢ়ে অগ্নি ক্রোশ পরিমাণ ॥ « sämmukhȧ duärē
ägni dilēnȧ Khullänȧ: duärētē jäy ägni, sämbhäïlä ghärē; präbälȧ
häïlä ägni jäü-ērȧ upärē, jäü-gṛhē bärhē ägni krōsȧ-pärimänȧ » *Khullanā
set fire to the front door: the fire came through the door, and entered the
house; upon the lac, the fire became strong, and the fire grew a* krōśa
measure within the house of lac; etc., etc.;

Vaṁśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (ed. Rām-nāth and Dwārakā-nāth
Chakrabarti) : p. 207, আগুবাড়ি ওঝারে আনিল আনিল চন্দ্র ঘরে ॥ পরম গৌরবেতে
করিল সম্ভাষণ । ধন্বন্তরি আগে আনে মড়া ছয়জন ॥ « ägu-bäri ōjhä-rē änilä
Candrä ghärē, pärämȧ gäuräbētē kärilä sämbhäsänȧ; Dhänwäntäri-ägē
änē märä chäyȧ-jänȧ » *Candra advanced and brought the snake-doctor
home, greeted him with great honour and they brought the six corpses
before Dhanvantari*; etc.;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Madhya-līlā, Chap. 9: রাত্রিকালে রায় পুন কৈল
আগমন । দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথায় করে জাগরণ ॥ দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথা হয় রাত্রিদিনে । পরম
আনন্দে গেল পাঁচ সাত দিনে ॥ « rätri-kälē räyȧ punä käilä ägämanȧ; dui
jänē Kṛṣṇä-käthäyȧ kärē jägäränȧ: dui jänē Kṛṣṇä-käthä häyȧ rätri-
dinē, pärämȧ änändē gēlä päcȧ sätȧ dinē » *the king came again at
night time; both of them kept awake discoursing about Kṛṣṇa; there was*

discourse about Kṛṣṇa between them, night and· day; some 5 or 7 days were thus passed in great bliss; Antya-lilā, Chap. 9 : এত বলি ঘোড়া আনি রাজবারে ধরি ...... এক রাজপুত্র ঘোড়ার মূল্য ভাল জানে। তারে পাঠাইল রাজা পাত্র-মিত্র সনে ॥ সেই রাজপুত্র মূল্য করে ঘাটাইয়া। গোপীনাথের ক্রোধ হৈল মূল্য শুনিয়া ॥ « ētā bali ghōrā āni rāja-dwārē dhāri ...... ēkǎ rājǎ-putrǎ ghōrārǎ mūlyǎ bhālǎ jānē; tārē pāṭhāïlā rājā pātrǎ-mitrǎ sǎnē'; sēi rājǎ-putrǎ mūlyǎ kǎrē ghāṭāïyā, Gōpīnāthērǎ krōdhǎ hǎilā mūlyǎ śuniyā » *saying this and bringing the horse, they kept before the king's palace-gate*: *a prince knew well the price of horses*; *the king sent to him with his courtiers and friends*; *that prince fixed the prices very low, and hearing that (low) price, Gōpīnātha's anger rose*; etc., etc.

Such cases of indiscriminate·use of the « -ila » and the present forms are exceedingly common in MB. Where continuous action is meant, it may be admitted that the form in use can very well be that of the present, since in the syntax of Bengali, action is viewed as happening before our eyes as much as possible. But we have also cases of finite or transitory action, and there the use of a present form would be difficult to justify even from the point of view of Bengali syntax. It is to be noted that · with this so-called present past, the negative form which is employed is নাই « nāï », which seems to be itself a past form (see *supra*, p. 555).

In the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' we have a few instances of a form in « -ē » (for the third person), analogous to the Bengali 'present' past: *e.g.*, p. 334 (Bib. Ind. ed.) « jiṇi Kaṁsa viṇāsia kitti paāsia Muṭṭhi Ariṭṭhi vināsa karē; Jamalajjuṇa bhañjia paa-bhara ganjia Kālia-kula-saṁhāra karē, jasa bhuaṇa bharē...... »; p. 576, « bappaa ukki sirē jiṇi lijjia, tĕjjia rajja vaṇanta calē.... ». In the above cases, all the commentators are agreed (except in one or two instances) in regarding « viṇāsia, paāsia, bhañjia » etc. as well as the « -ē » forms—« karē, dharē, bharē, calē » as being passive participles in « -ia < -ita », with the instrumental form « jiṇi = yēna » as the subject (cf. *supra*, p. 124). The final « -ē » (instead of « -I ») is due in˳the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' to reasons of rime or rhythm in some cases, but as the work was· finally redacted in the second half of the 14th century, the influence of the present tense third person in altering

the final vowel as in Bengali is also quite conceivable here. With the forms in « -ẽ » as above, one can compare certain other forms in « -u », genuine Western Apabhraṅśa inheritances, in the ' Prākṛta-Paiṅgala ': *e.g.*, p. 570, « jiṇa vẽa dharijjẽ...dantahi ṭhāu (= sthāpitā) dharẽ...daha-muha kappẽ (= kartitaḥ).».

690. The non-l past form is found occasionally in Early Oṛiyā also, where it ends in « -i ». Thus Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Ūṣā-haraṇa' (Contai ed.): p. 6, « parighā-prahārẽ bināsi, siṁhā yesāṇẽ pāśu grāsi : parighā-ghātā bājrā-prāyẽ, jībānā nāśilā thōkāẽ: kāhārā bhujā-daṇḍā chiṇḍi, pālāi gālẽ bālā chāḍi : dẽkhiṇā Aniruddhā-gāti, nāgā-bāndhānẽ māhārāthī Aniruddhā-ku .bẽgẽ bāndhī : tā dẽkhi Ūṣā kāndi » *he slew with a blow of his mace, as if a lion devoured a beast : the blow from the mace was as a thunderbolt, it destroyed the lives of some ; the hands and arms of some were torn away, they ran away leaving the forces : seeing Aniruddha's devoir, the great warrior quickly bound Aniruddha with snake-bonds : seeing that, Ūṣā wept* ; p. 9, « Kṛṣṇā upārẽ bāṇā bindhi » *the arrow pierced Kṛṣṇa* ; p. 10, « sābhāyẽ dāśā digā cāhi » *looked at the ten quarters in fright* ; p. 11, « jñānā pāśilā nijā dēhē : uṭhi sāmbhāḷi kāḷēbārā » *senses came back into his body : getting up, he took care of his person* ; ibid, 'Kaṅsa-janma': p. 2, « Kṛṣṇa-bāiri-bhābā icchi » *desired the inimical attitude of Kṛṣṇa* ; p. 16, « dēbē pālāï swārgā chāṛi » *the gods fled, leaving heaven* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 15, « jētē āyudhā hāstē dhāri, sābu chēdilē Narāhāri » *Narahari (Kṛṣṇa) cut to pieces all the weapons that he took in hand* ; ibid., « Kṛṣṇā dhāïlē Rukmā-śirā : tāt-kṣaṇē tāḷē tāku pāṛi, pāñcā prakārē kāṭi dāṛhi : tā dēkhi Rukmiṇī sundarī, Kṛṣṇārā hāstā bēgē dhāri » *K. seized Rukma by the head ; at once flinging him down on the ground, cut his beard in five places: seeing that, fair Rukmiṇī quickly took K.'s hand ;* etc., etc. Examples are fairly common in Early Oṛiyā.

In Early Maithilī also, we have equally the non-l form : but it seems owing to the strong influence exerted by the Western Apabhraṅśa, the remains of Early Maithilī literature that we have show the non-l form with the characteristic Western « -u » (as much as in OB.). This « -u » form so far as Maithilī is concerned was purely literary, and has no

place in Modern Maithilī.   Examples :   Vidyāpati (VSPd. ed.), Pada 32, « sasana parasa khasu ambara rē, dēkhala dhani-dēha » *with the touch of wind the garment fell off, ho, the damsel's frame was seen*; Pada 40, « saba-jana ēka ēka cuni sañcaru, Sāma-daraśa dhani`lēla » *all (her friends) moved about picking (pearls dropped from her necklace) one by one, and the damsel had her view of Śyāma (Kṛṣṇa)*;   Pada 50, « ambara bighaṭu akāmika, kāmini karē kuca jhāpu suchandā » *of a sudden the garment slipped, and the lady with her hands covered her breasts with great grace ;* ibid, « sundari rahu sira lāi » *the fair one remained hanging her head ;* Pada 52, « candanē caracu payōdhara » *the breasts smeared with sandal-paste ;* Pada 60, « takhanē upaju rasa, bhēlihu mōnē parabasa » *sentiment (of love) was born even then, (and) I became another's thrall*;   Pada 75, « jakhanē duhu-ka dīṭhi bichūrali, duhu manē dukha lāgu : duhu-ka āsā-dīpa mijbāela, madana-ākura bhāgu......bāma nayanā jaño bhēla dūtē, ō dāhina rahu lajāī » *when the two were out of (each other's) sight, sorrow afflicted the hearts of both ; the lamp of hope of both went out, and the sprout of love was broken; ......the left eye was a messenger, but the right one remained in bashfulness*; Hara-gaurī Pada 9, « pāhuna āela, Bhabānī bhāga-chāla basaïē dia ānī » *the guest came and Bhavānī (Umā) brought the tiger-skin to sit upon*; etc., etc.

The non-l adjectival forms in Middle Bengali and New Bengali.

691.   The non-l form gave OB. « -ī », *e.g.*, « calī » : with the definitive « -ā », Māgadhī Ap. « calia » became « caliā », and then by loss of the « -i- », it became « calā » by Early MB. times.   A similar loss of the « -i- » occurs in the Western Hindī: cf. Hindōstānī— « calā », Kanaujī « calō », beside Braj-bhākhā « calyau (= caliaü) », ' Vernacular Hindōstānī' of Ambala « caliā » (cf. also Bāṇgarū of Karnal « kahyā » = Hindōstānī « kahā »).   The « -i- » seems to be preserved in the perfect tense in Standard Bengali « cāliyā-chē » and dialectal « cāīl-chē [tsoīlse] < cāli-chē », where « cāliyā (cāli) » is in all likelihood the passive participle (see *infra*, under ' Compound or Periphrastic Tenses ').

In the ŚKK., the non-l form is rather rare, *ts.* forms in « -ita » and the « -l- » participle adjective being more common; but instances

do occur: *e.g.*, p. 259, চলী তৈলী চত্রাবলী « cǎlī (= calitǎ) bhǎilī Cǎndrǎbǎlī » *C. was gone*; p. 381, বাহতে কনক চুড়ী, মুকুতা রতনে জড়ী « bǎhutē kǎnǎkǎ curī, mukutǎ rǎtǎnē jǎṛī » *on her arms gold bracelets, encrusted with pearls and gems*; etc. (these two examples « cali, jaṛī » are feminine). Examples of the « -ǎ » form are plentiful in other MB. literature: to quote a few random instances, Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 177, পথে সুআ কুকুর « pǎthē suǎ kukurǎ » *a dog lying on the way*; Vijaya-gupta, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 12 তিতা বস্ত্র « titǎ bǎstrǎ » *wet cloth*, p. 38. টুটা « ṭuṭǎ » *broken*, p. 55 ভাঙ্গা « bhǎṅgǎ » *broken*, এড়া রুটী « ēṛǎ ruṭī » *cast-away bread* (= *leavings of a meal*), p. 58 তোলা জল « tōlǎ jǎlǎ » *water drawn (from well or tank)*, p. 107 পোড়া কপাল « pōṛǎ kǎpālǎ » *burnt forehead = bad luck*, p. 69 মরা মানুষ « mǎrǎ mǎnuṣǎ » *dead man*, p. 132 পাকা মূলা « pǎkǎ mūlǎ » *ripe radish*, p. 158 দন্তগুলি ছোলা « dǎntǎ-guli chōlǎ » *the teeth were well-scraped*, etc.; VSP., p. 386 লেখা « lēkhǎ » *written*, p. 989 আবোলা « ǎbōlǎ » *not uttered*, p. 1057 হারা « hǎrǎ » *lost*, etc.; Chuṭī Khǎn's 'Mahǎbhǎrata,' p. 55 বাণ কাটা গেল « bǎṇǎ kǎṭǎ gēlǎ » *the arrow was cut into pieces*; etc., etc.

The « -l- » form in Middle Bengali.

692. Examples need not be adduced for the verb past tense, as « -il- » is *the* past base of Bengali. Passive participial adjectives in « -il- » were very much in evidence in MB. In the NB. the non-l adjective in « -ǎ » has practically superseded the earlier, more common « -il- » adjective (except in one or two phrases like গেল বছর « gēlǎ bǎchǎrǎ » *last year* in the Standard Colloquial: in the dialects it is still living, in forms like জুরাইল দুধ « jurǎilǎ dudhǎ » *cooled milk*, সুতিল মানুষ « sutilǎ mǎnuṣǎ » *sleeping man*, করাইল কাম « karǎilǎ kǎmǎ » *done work*, ভুখিল ছাইল্যা « bhukhilǎ chǎilyǎ » *hungry child*, etc.). The « -l- » form continues in full vigour in Oṛiyǎ and in the Bihǎrī dialects as an attributive adjective.

Examples from OB.: Caryǎ 6, « bēdhilǎ hǎka » *a tumult that has been surrounded*; 8, « gēlī (=gēlǎ?) jǎma bahuḍaï kaisē » (printed text = বহ উই « bahu uī », but cf. Commentary translation = « vyǎghuṭati ») *how can a birth that is past* (gēlī = gata-) *come back?* 14, « rathē-caḍilǎ bǎha-bǎṇa »

? *carriage-riding scholars*; 33, « duhila dudhu ki bēṇṭē ṣāmāya », see *supra*, p. 263.

From MB.: ŚKK., p. 26, ভাঁগিল নেহা « bhāgilā nēhā » *shattered love* (NB. ভাঙা « bhāṅgā »); p. 45, আরতিল কাক « āratilā kākā » *greedy crow* (from *ts.* noun « ārati », or < « āratta = ārakta »); পাকিল বেল « pākilā bēlā » *ripened (ripe) bael-fruit* (= NB. পাকা « pākā »); p. 54, পাইল নিধি « pāïlā nidhi » *received wealth* (= NB. পাওয়া « pāwā »); p. 99, ভুখিল বাঘ « bhukhilā bāghā » *hungry tiger* (< *tbh.* noun « bhukha »); p. 163, আউলাইল চিকুর « āūlāïlā cikurā » *dishevelled hair*; p. 171, ভরিল যমুনা « bharilā Jāmunā » *full Yamunā*; p. 195, ফুটিল বান্ধলী ফুল « phuṭilā bāndhāli-phulā » *blooming bāndhulī flower* (cf. ফুটিত পদ্ম « phuṭitā pādmā » *blooming lotus*, with *ts.* « -ita », in the same page); p. 216, রোষিলি রাধা দিল খর বচন « rōṣili Rādhā dilā khārā bācanā » *angry Rādhā gave (spoke) sharp words*; p. 207, পাকিল দ্রাখ « pākilā drākṣā » *ripe grapes*; p. 246, আসুখিল হইল « āsukhilā hāïlā » *became unwell* (from *ts.* noun « asukha »); p. 304, মজিল চিত না জাএ ধরণ « mājilā citā nā jāē dhārāṇā » *heart lost (in love) cannot be retained*; p. 370, দগধিলি রাধা জীএ তোর দরশনে « dāgādhili Rādhā jīē tōrā dārāṣānē » *Rādhā burnt (with love) as it were, will live (only) at thy sight* (*sts.* dagadha < dagdha); p. 392, বিষাইল কাও « biṣāïlā kāṇḍā » *poisoned arrow* (from noun « viṣa »); ibid., বজরে গঢ়িল বুক না জাএ ফুটিআ « bajārē gāṛhilā bukā nā jāē phuṭiā » *heart built of thunder-bolt does not burst* (NB. = গড়া gāṛā); p. 398, কাটিল ঘাঅত লেম্বু রস « kāṭilā ghāātā lēmbū-rāsā » *lemon-juice in an incised wound*, etc.; from Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara Kāṇḍa; p. 272, ভরিল সমাজে « bharilā sāmājē » *in full assembly*; ibid, 'Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa'; p. 21, কাটিল কদলী যেন পড়ে ডালে মূলে « kāṭilā kādāli jēnā pāṛē ḍālē mūlē » *like a plantain tree that has been cut down, which falls with its branches and its roots*; Kavi-kaṇkaṇa, p. 118, ভুখিল বাঘিনী « bhukhilā bāghinī » *hungry tigress*; p. 160, রাহুর ভুখিল বেলা « Rāhurā bhukhilā bēlā » *at Rāhu's hungry time*; Vaṅsī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 48, কুপিল নন্দী « kupilā Nāndī » *angry N.*; p. 644, হারাইল ধন « hārāïlā dhānā » *lost wealth*; etc., etc.

The adjectival use of the « -l- » forms in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Maithili (see below) establishes the passive construction as having originally obtained in place of the active one in the eastern languages.

When these « -l- » participles qualify feminine nouns (either subjects, as in the case of intransitive verbs, or objects, as in the case of transitive ones), in OB., in eMB., and in Early Maithilī, they take the feminine affix « -ī, -i » (see before, pp. 672 ff.): thus, in OB., « mēlili kāchi » (Caryā 8); « ghalili māli » (10); « buḍili Mātaṇgī » (14); · lāgēli tāntī » (17); « lāgēlī ḍālī, sēji chāïlī, rāti pōhāïlī » (28); « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » (3?); « lāgēlī āgi » (47); « gharịnī caṇḍālī lēlī » (49); « phiṭilī ṣabarālī » (50): eMB. ŚKK., p. 72, কোন পুরাণে কাহ হেন শুনিলী কাহিনী « kōnā purāṇē Kānhā hēnā śunilī kāhiṇī » in what Purāṇa, O Kānha, has such a tale been heard (passive construction lingering in MB., with transitive verb); p. 9, বড়াত্রি চলিলী আন পথে « bāṛāyi calilī āna pāthē » the old dame went by another way; p. 14, সে কি রাধিকা ভৈলি সীতা সতী নারী « sē ki Rādhikā bhāilī Sītā sātī nārī » is it that R. has become a chaste wife (like) Sītā; p. 22, রাধা সিআঁ বসিলি শয়নে « Rādhā siā bāsilī śāyanē » R. having come sat down on the bed; p. 144, মথুরা নড়িলী বড়াত্রি হর্ষী আগুআনী « Māthurā lāṛilī bāṛāyi hāśā āguānī » the old dame moved (towards) Mathurā, being the leader; p. 145, বুলিতেঁ লাগিলী বড়াত্রি « bulitā lāgilī bāṛāyi » the old dame began to say; ibid., গেলী রাহী « gēlī Rāhī » Rādhikā went; p. 156, হেন শুণি মনত চড়িলী রাধা নাএ « hēnā guṇi mānā-tā cāṛhilī Rādhā nāē » thus pondering in mind, R. got into the boat; p. 266, জিলী পহুমার ঝী « jilī Pādumārā jhī » Padmā's daughter lived (again); etc., etc. In Late MB., and in NB., as the « -l- » form lost its original adjective nature, and became more and more a verb, this affixation of the feminine « -ī, -i » went out of use. The same thing has happened in Maithilī, though to a lesser extent.

Instances of the « -l- » adjective from Early Oṛiyā: ' Dhruba-carita,' p. 11, « āpāṇā ārjilā kārmā āpāṇē bhuñjāi » one tastes (the results of) one's deeds done by oneself; p. 73, « Dhrubārā ārjilā bibhūti » merits earned by Dhruva; ' Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 11, « ōṣṭhā pācilā phāḷā bimbā » lips (like) ripe (i.e. red) bimba fruit; etc., etc. It is common also in Modern Oṛiyā.

Instances from Early Maithilī: Vidyāpati, (VSPd. ed.) Pada 37, « titala basana » wet clothes; 9, « nahāïli gōrī » bathing fair woman;

62, « mūruchali abañō » *am one that has fainted*; 41, « nagara bharalā » *a well-filled city*; 21, « kāmini kōnē garhalī » *by whom (this) woman was created?* (fem. affix « -i »); Hara-gauri Pada 17, « Saṇkarē Gōrī karē dhari ānalī maṇḍapa-mājhē » *Gaurī was brought to the middle of the pavilion by Śankara holding her hand*; etc., etc.

Western Hindī shows adjectives in « -l- » which are extended forms from nouns: *e.g.*, « lajīlī (lajjā), sawādila (svāda), adōkhila (dōṣa), haṭhīlī (haṭha), raṇgīlā (raṇga), caṭakīlā (caṭak *splendour*), chaïla (chavi) » etc. occur in Bihārī's 'Sata-saī'; and similar forms like « lāḍilī » *petted* (√laḍ: > Bengali নাড়লী « lāḍḍlī »), « bhīgīlā » *wet*, « kaṭīlī » *cut*, « rasīlā (rasa) », « ghāyala (ghāta) », « gaila » *lane* (gata) etc. are fairly common in Braj-bhākhā and other Early Western Hindī literature. The extension of the passive participle form occurs, but that is rare.

(2) THE PAST CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL.

693. The Past Habitual or Conditional occurs in most NIA. speeches. Of the Eastern languages, Assamese, however, does not show it. This past base is simply the old Present Participle, the Oriyā forms (retaining as they do the full « -nt- »: see next section) are clear on this point: OIA. « -ant-, -ayant- » > MIA. « -anta-, -enta- » > OB. « -anta-, -enta- » > MB. ইত « -it- » (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 298-300, §§ 506 ff.). To denote the conditional or habitual, « -it- » is inflected with the personal endings as an ordinary past form. The conditional or finite use of the present participle occurred in Second MIA. (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 123). Both the conditional and habitual uses of the present participle seem to be connected with the sense of *when, while, whilst, when that* etc., which is inseparable from this form when it is not frankly attributive: and this sense of duration implying almost a condition is emphasised in the locative absolute with the present participle, a construction which is found in the language of the Rig-Veda. The conditional and independent use of the present participle could thus normally evolve out of it. Cf. *e.g.*, the Pāli Jātaka formula, « atītē Bārāṇasiyaṁ Brahmadattē rajjaṁ kārentē », followed invariably by a past verb.

OB. as in the Caryās has the locative absolute with the present participle: *e.g.*, Caryā 42, « muḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaï » *people do not see while they are ignorant*; quotation in Commentary to Caryā 48, « ghara acchantē mā jāṅga (= jāha? jāẇa?) baṇē » *when there is a home, go not (let us not go ?) to the forest*; etc. But an example of the past conditional or habitual tense does not occur in the Caryās. In Early MB., this habitual or conditional past is fully established as a tense; and judging from its occurrence also in Early Oṛiyā and in Bihārī, it may be inferred that this temporal employment goes back to Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa.

Examples from MB.: ŚKK., p. 164, ডুবিঞাঁ মরিতোঁ যবে না থাকিত কাহ্নে « ḍubiā māritō jābē na thākitā Kānhē » *I would have died by drowning if Kṛṣṇa were not (there)*; p. 256, জীঅন্ত থাকিত যবে নান্দের নন্দনে। এত খনে আবসই দেহ দরসনে « jīyantā thākitā jābē Nāndērā nandānē, ētā khānē ābāsaï haitā dārāsānē » *if the son of Nanda were living, by this time certainly we would have seen him* (lit. *his viewing would have taken place*); p. 223, জানিতোঁ নাসিতোঁ, যাইতোঁ, « jānitō, nāsitō, jāïtō » *I would know (if I had known), I would not come, I would go*; p. 284, দিতোঁ « ditō » *I would give*; p. 307, চাহিত « cāhita » *I would ask*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 103, আমি যদি থাকিতাঙ « āmi jādi thākitāṅ (= thākitām) » *if I had remained*; Kavi-kaṅkaṇa, p. 128, প্রতিদিন ক্ষিতিনাথ অঙ্গে বুলাইত হাত, চন্দনে করিয়া বিভূষিত। সুবর্ণ পিঞ্জর পর পুষিতেন নৃপবর « prāti-dinā kṣiti-nāthā āṅgē bulāïtā hātā, cāndānē kāriyā bibhūṣitā: subārṇā-piñjārā-pārā puṣitēnā nṛpā-bārā » *everyday the lord of earth would rub with his hand on its body, adorning with sandal (paste); the good king would tend it in a cage of gold*; etc., etc. Examples are copious in MB.

694. Forms in the other Magadhan speeches:

Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. călănt-i—călănt-u ;	1. dēkhit-ī ;
2. călănt-u—călănt-ă ;	2. dēkhit-ah, dēkhit-ē ;
3. călănt-ă—călănt-ē.	3. dēkhaït, dēkhit-athi.
(The affixes are those of the verb simple past.)	(Besides a number of forms with pronominal affixes.)

Magahī	Bhōjpuriyā
1. dĕkhat-ī, dĕkhait-ī, -ū̆;	1. dĕkhat-ī, (fem.) dĕkhat-yū̆;
2. dĕkhait-ā̆, dĕkhait-aī;	2. dĕkhat-ĕ, -as, -is; *pl.* -ah;
3. dĕkhaĭt, dĕkhait-athĭ-n.	3. dĕkhit, dĕkhat—dĕkha(i)t-an.

(Besides forms with affixed pronouns.)   (Besides a few other forms for the third person.)

Assamese expresses the past conditional by affixing the word « -hḗtēn » to the inflected « -il- » past form : « kărilŏ̆-hḗtēn, kărilŏ̆-hăk-hḗtēn » etc. This « hḗtēn » occurs in Early Assamese as « hēntĕ » (as in « paīlŏ̆-hēntĕ » *I would receive* in ' Ādi-caritra,' p. 67), and it is undoubtedly the present participle of « √ah, ha » *to be*, in the locative absolutĕ, « *ahantahi > *ahēntahi > hēntĕ », a variant of the other form « hăntă, hăt¢ » (see above, p. 739).

The « -it-, -at- » Future in the Modern Magadhan Speeches.

695. In Maithilī and Magahī, there is the use of the present participle form in « -t- » for the Future. In both these forms of Central Magadhan, the « -t- » future has ousted « -b- » future (for which see *infra*) in the 3rd person : in Maithilī there are also alternative « -t- » forms for the 1st and 2nd persons.   Thus—

Maithili, 1st person : « dĕkhat-iai, dĕkhit-ăhŭ (dĕkhat-iai-nhī) » ;

2nd person : « dĕkhat-iai (dĕkhat-iai-nhī) » ;

3rd person : « dĕkhat (dĕkh¢t-ai) », fem. « dĕkhati », besides forms with the pronouns affixed — « dekh¢t-ai-nhi, dĕkh¢-tah, dĕkhathu, dĕkhatbūnhi, dĕkhathīnhi », fem. « dĕkhatīhi ».

Magahī, 3rd person, only : « dĕkhat (dĕkh¢t-ai) », besides « dĕkhat¢bin, dĕkh¢tan, dĕkh¢tathī, dĕkh¢tin, dĕkh¢tathin, dĕkh¢ta-thīn(i) ».

Leaving apart the extended forms, with the pronominal affixes, the simplest form for the 3 person future in both Maithilī and Magahī is « dĕkhat » : thus, « sĕ dĕkhat » *he will see*. Here we have the simple participial base apparently : < « sĕ *dĕkkhanta » = *he seeing*. But in the

past conditional it is « sĕ dĕkhait », which seems to represent an old oblique form, a locative absolute apparently : « tasmin *dṛkṣati (base *dṛkṣant-) > *tabĭ dŏkkhantĕ, dŏkkhanti > sĕ dĕkhati, dĕkhait (by epenthesis) ».

In dialectal Bengali, of Eastern Bengal (specially in the East Vaṅga area), there is also a future use of the « -t- » forms : thus, in East Sylhet Bengali, we have 1 pers. দেখ্‌তাম « dĕkhtām » *I shall see*, also *I would see, if I saw*; 2 pers. দেখ্‌তায় « dĕkhtāy », দেখ্‌তে « dĕkhtĕ »; 3 pers. দেখ্‌তো « dĕkhtō », দেখ্‌তা « dĕkhtā » (LSI., V, I, p. 226). From the future, an imperative use also seems to be found in East Sylhet : *e.g.*, আপত্তি কর্‌লাম, তিল কাট্‌ত না « āpåtti kå'rlām, tilå kåṭåtå nå » *I objected, ' don't cut the sesamum '* (LSI., V, I, p. 232). Similar use is found in Tippera, in Noakhali, and in Chittagong : *e.g.*, দিত না « ditå nå » *he will not give*, ক'র্‌তাম ন « kå'rtåm nå » *I shall not do*. The following peculiar construction is also noticeable, with the « -t- » conditional or future, to denote purpose or desire : আমি যাইতাম চাই « āmi jāītāmå cāï » *I want to go* (besides যাইতে, যাইবার « jāītĕ, jāībārå » as in Standard Bengali), তুমি যাইতায় চাও « tumi jāītåy cåo » *you want to go*, সে যাইত চায় « hĕ jāītå cåy » *he wants to go*, honorific তাইন যাইতা চাইন « tåin jāītå cåin » (as in Eastern Sylhet : LSI., V, I, p. 227). Cf. also দিতাম পাইর্‌তাম না « ditåm pāïrtåm nå » *shall not be able to give*, কইর্‌তাম দিতাম ন « kåïrtåm ditåm nå » *shall not allow (them) to do* (as in Noakhali), আমি যাইতাম লাগ্‌গিলাম « āmi jāītām låggilām » *I began to go*, তুই যাইতা নাগ্‌গিলা « tūi jāītå låggilå » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতে নাগ্‌গিল « hitĕ jāītĕ låggil » *he began to go* (as in Chittagong : cf. Basanta Kumar Chatterji in VSPdP., 1326, p. 114, = Standard Bengali « jāïtĕ lāgil- » for all persons). Here we have simply the present participle adjective inflected as a tense even when it is not a finite verb. Such use is found in South-East Bengali of several centuries ago : thus in the Chittagong poet Ālāol of the 17th century, we have a line like কুবোল সহিতাম নারি « kubôlå såhitāmå nåri (= nå pāri) » *I shall not be able to endure bad words* (VSP., p. 1142). The « -t- » future is also found in Mayang or Bishnupuriyā (LSI., V, I, p. 424), which seems to be an old extension of Sylhet Bengali in the Tibeto-Burman tracts of the east. With the « -r- » affix (see *infra*, ' Pleonastic Affixes '), Sylhet Bengali and

Mayang, again, have some forms with the « -t- » conditional or future to indicate the present or future (LSI., V, I, pp. 226, 423, 424).

This future use of the present participle in the Bengali dialects of the extreme east is not shared by the other forms of the language, and seems only to be a local development. But the point is not clear. It is plain that in Central Magadhan, the future use of the present participle made a start with the third person, and Magahī did not go beyond it. The future use of the third person is found in the 14th century Maithilī of Vidyāpati quite plentifully, but mainly in the third person. It cannot be surmised definitely whether this idiom originated in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa period as a form inherited equally by Central and Eastern Magadhan.

Mārkaṇḍēya in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva,' notes that in Nāgara (i.e., Western) Apabhraṅśa, the present participle is used for all the tenses : thus, « sarvadā śatṛ : 'hontō' = bhavan, babhūva, bhaviṣyati vā » (XVII, 62, Vizagapatam ed., p. 119). This note is interesting : « hontō » is actually the source of the Gujarātī « hatō », Rājasthānī « thō » and Western Hindī « hatau, hutau, hatō, thō, thā » was (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 113, 123), and of the Gujarātī and Western Hindī (Hindōstānī) present participle « bōtō » and « hōtā » besides ; and further, the present participle affix « -ant- » has given the Western Panjābī, and Sindhī affix « -nd- » for the future base. These are all Western languages. But how far the future use of the « śatṛ » of Sanskrit characterised Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa cannot be known.

(3) THE FUTURE TENSE.

The OIA. Sigmatic or Inflected Future in NIA.

696. The future was formed by adding « -sya- » (with or without the additional vowel « -i- ») to the root in OIA. This inflexional or sigmatic future is preserved in many forms of NIA. as « -s-, -ś-, -h- », in W. Panjābī, Rājasthānī (Jaipurī and Mārwārī), Gujarātī and W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, Kanaujī, Bundēlī), and partially in E. Hindī (in the 3rd person only in Awadhī and Baghēlī, and in all the persons in Chattisgaṛhī ;

the « -b- » future also occurs in the E. Hindī dialects, but never in the 3rd person). Of the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā preserves it in the 3rd person only, and in 2nd person as future precative; Magahī, 3rd person (beside the « -t- » future), and in the 2nd person as future precative; in Maithilī and in NB., it is found in the 2nd person as a future imperative (see *supra*, p. 908); and in Assamese and Ōṛiyā, it seems to have been entirely lost.

The sigmatic future at one time was present in the East, and traces of it continued down to eMB. The OIA. sibilant has survived as a sibilant in Gujarātī, in some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Western Panjābī (the MIA. « -ss- » < OIA. « -sy- » doubtless being retained as a single « -s- » in the latter: cf. *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 79ᴅ). Thus: Gujarātī 1. « mārīš (māras)—mārīšū (mārsu) », 2. « māraśē (mārse) — māraśō (mārsō) », 3. « māraśē (mārsē) » = OIA. « mārayiṣyāmi », etc. ; Jaipurī 1. « mārasyū — mārasyā » ; 2. « mārasī — mārasyō » ; 3. « mārasī — mārasī » ; Lahndā 1. « mārēsā̃ — mārsāhā̃, mārsāh », 2. « mārēsē̃ — mārēsō », 3. « mārēsī — mārēsin ». In the rest, where the « -sy- » form is preserved, it occurs as « -h- »; and this change of « -s- » to « -h- » is an unexplained problem in MIA. and NIA. phonology (see *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 783). Thus, Mārwāṛī 1. « mārahū̃ — mārahā̃ », 2. « mārahī — mārahō », 3. « mārāhī—mārahī » ; Braj-bhākhā 1. « mārihaũ—mārihaī », 2. « mārihai—mārihau », 3. « mārihai—mārihaī » ; Awadhī 3. « mārihai (> mārē) — mārihaī » ; Bhōjpuriyā 3. « mārī — mārihē, mārihen », etc. The « -h- » is thus further lost intervocally in the Eastern languages : thus, « mārišyati » > MIA. « mārihai, mārihiī » > NIA. « mārihi, mārī » (as in Bhōjpuriyā).

In Early MB. we have cases of the sigmatic future for the third person also. A number of instances occur in the ŚKK., and a few could be culled from 15th century Bengali : after which period it died out evidently when the intervocal « -h- » was slurred, and the form became confused with the present indicative (or the passive present, which itself was merging into the present active). No instance of the sigmatic future in the first person has been found, either in OB. or in MB.; and no

case of third person occurs in the Caryās ; only of the second person (see
supra, p. 908).

ŚKK., p. 65, যবে তোরে মারিহে পরাণে ৷ তবে তোক রাখিব কোণ জনে ৷
« jabē tōrē mārihē pārāṇē, tabē tōkā rākhibā kōṇā janē » *when he will
strike you in life, then who will protect you ?*; p. 100, কাঁদিষাঁ জাণাইবোঁ
কাঁসে ৷ পাছে কাহাঞি মোকে না দিহে দোষে ৷৷ « kādiā jaṇāyibō Kāsa,
pāchē Kānhāñi mōkā nā dihē dōṣa » *I shall lament and inform Kaṅsa, and
Kṛṣṇa will not (= should not) blame one after that*; p. 180, হাথ দিতেঁ লিহে
কলিষাঁ « hāthā ditē̃ lihē kāliā » *the black (stain) will smear (itself) on
placing the hand*; ~. 251, কেহো যবে বেকত করিহে এহা কাজ ৷ আম্হার বাঁখার
তবে তোম্হে পাইবে লাজ ৷৷ « kēhō jabē bēkatā karihē ēhā kājā, āmhārā
khākhārā tabē tōmhē pāibē lājā » *when someone will make this affair
known, then (there will be) blame for me, and you will have shame*;
p. 26·, নিষধ রাধাক যতনে ৷৷ আর বার হেন না করিহে ৷ পুরুষের আখি নিবারিহে ৷৷
« niṣadhā Rādhākā jātanē: ārā bārā hēnā nā kārihē, puruṣērā ākhi
nibārihē » *carefully forbid Rādhā, that she will not do like this again,
she will avoid a man's eyes*; p. 323, শুনিষাঁ কি বুলিহে বলভদ্র ভাই « śuṇiā ki
bulihē Balabhādrā bhāi » *what will brother B. say on hearing (this) ?*;
p. 324, শুণী সব দেব গণে কি বুলিহে আম্হারে « śuṇī sabā dēbāgaṇē ki bulihē
āmhārē » *what will all the gods say to me hearing this ?*; p. 336, যবে কাহ্ন না
মিলিহে করমের ফলে ৷ হাথে তুলিষাঁ মো খাইবোঁ গরলে ৷৷ « jabē Kānhā nā milihē
kārāmērā phālē, hātē tuliā mō khāibō garālē » *if, through the fruits of
karma, Kṛṣṇa will not be obtained, then I shall eat poison with my own
hands*; cf. Kṛttivāsa, ' Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 59, column 117, আইসুক ভৃগুরাম
তবে সি প্রাণ জাইহে « āisukā Bhṛgurāmā, tabē si prāṇā jāihē » *let B. come,
then indeed life will depart.*

The « -itavya > -b- » Future in NIA.

697. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bengali as well
as Assamese and Oṛiyā is « -ib- », = « -ab- » of Bihārī and of Eastern
Hindī. About the origin of this affix, there is no difficulty : it comes
from the OIA. future passive participle gerundive in « -tavya- » or
« -itavya », in Second MIA. « -(i)avva-, -(i)abba-, -ĕbba » and other

forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 570). This affix does not occur in the Rig-Veda, and it is rare in other Vedic literature : it is a new formation, and replaces the Vedic gerundive « -tua » or « -tva ». In MIA. and in Classical Skt. it became much more evident. In Early MIA. it has the force of an imperative : e.g. Aśōkan, Rock Edict I Girnar, « na prajuhitavyaṁ na ca samājō katavyō » ; Sarnath, « iyaṁ sāsanē viṁnapayitaviyē », etc., etc. There is here a vague mandatory sense, with an express future implication. The simple future notion evolved gradually ; side by side with it, the old notion of an action which is to be done continued, and was modified into simply the notion of an act. In NIA. both the uses of this form occur : as a future passive participle (which finally became the future tense), and as a verbal noun. Thus, Gujarātī has verbal nouns in « -vŭ », « karvŭ = kariavvaŭṁ, *karitavyakaṁ, kartavyakam », Rājasthānī (Mārwārī) in « -bō », « mārabō = *māriabbaŭṁ, māritavyakam », and Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) « māribaŭ, māribau », (Kanaujī) « māribō » ; Marāṭhī has a subjunctive base in « -āv- », e.g., impersonal « myā uṭhāvẽ » I should rise, lit. it is to be risen by me (= *mayā ut-sthātavyam), active « mī uṭhāvā » ; and the Eastern languages, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, and Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, have the verbal noun in « -ab-, -ib- » as well as « -ab-, -ib- » as the base of the future tense, with personal terminations added.

As it has been noted before, the « -(i)tavya- > -iabb- > -ib- » is not a native tbh. form in the East (supra, pp. 374, 375, 486-487). In the Eastern dialect, whether 'Old Ardha-Māgadhī' or 'Old Magadhī' of the First MIA. stage, as we can see from Aśōka inscriptions, OIA. « -vya- » became « -viya- », not « -vva- » (as for instance at Girnar). This First MIA. « -viya- » could only give « -vī, -ī, -i » in the Modern Prācya languages. The change « -(i)tavya > -(i)abba » is a later, post-Transitional MIA. feature in the eastern dialects, and « -iabba » is either a semi-tatsama form introduced from Sanskrit in the Transitional period (before the softening and final dropping of the intervocal « -t- » in « -itavya » was carried out), or was an imposition from some Western dialect which normally changed « -vya- » to « -vv- » and then to « -bb- ».

The « -(i)tavya » > « -ib- » was originally a verbal adjeotive, and the construction with a transitive verb was in the passive, the « -ib- » form qualifying the object in that case. This old usage is still in force in OB., as in the examples from Caryā 29 below.

Cases of « -ib- » future in OB.: Caryā 5, « tumhē hōiba » (= yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam); 7, « kariba nivāsu » (= nivāśaḥ kartavyaḥ); 10, « tōē sāma karibē (= ? kariba ; ? < kariabbaï = *kariabbaē = kartavyakaḥ) ma (= maï) sāṅga » (= tvayā samaṁ kartavyō mayā saṅgaḥ); 14, « jāïba puṇu jiṇaūra » (= yātavyaṁ punaḥ jina-puram); 23, « tumhē jāïbē »; 28, « lōḍiba » (= Comm. « anvēṣayitavyaḥ) ; 29, « maï dibi piricchā » (= mayā dātavyā pṛcchā: dibi = *diabba, + fem. -ɪ); 36, « kariba »; 39, « thākiba, khāïba maï »; 40, « kahiba » (kathayitavyaṁ); etc.

It will be noted that in the Caryās, the form is « -ib- », and not « -ab- » as in Central and Western Magadhan, showing that the language of the poems belong to the East Magadhan group. Like « -illa- : -alla- », this affix, « *-iabba, *-iĕbba, *-ĕbba » in Mag. Ap., ranged itself into two groups « -ibba-: -abba- », the Eastern Magadhan speeches adopting the former.

The affix for the 1st person future in many Bengali dialects (both in MB. and NB.) show « -m- », as « mā, -mu », and « -ṇ- = -v̄- » as « -ṇā, -ṇ », instead of « -bā, -bō, -bū, -bŏ, -bōhŏ ». This is merely a phonetic change, a softening of « -b- » in connexion with the nasal to « -v̄-, -m- », which has been discussed before (pp. 531-532). This « -m- » has been wrongly referred to the Sanskrit affix « -maḥ » for the 3 pers. plural indicative present by some Bengali writers on Bengali philology.

[G] Personal Affixes

[I] Active (Kartari), Passive (Karmaṇi) and Impersonal (Bhāvē) Constructions (Prayōga) in NIA.

698. The personal affixes of the present or radical tense in NIA. are the phonetically decayed forms of those of OIA. Affixation for the participial tenses is a NIA. development. The future in Bengali and other

Magadhan languages, and in NIA. generally when it is of participial origin, followed the fortunes of the past. The formation of the past tense in typical NIA. of the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium A.C. agrees in principle with that of MIA. But subsequently, or it may be from the very beginning of the NIA. stage, there were new developments in some of the various groups of IA. The central language, W. Hindī, together with Eastern Panjābī, is most conservative, and has resisted innovations in the formation of the past, keeping true to the MIA. principle. The past tense in these speeches retains its MIA. character as the passive participle adjective qualifying the nominative when it is intransitive, and the object when it is transitive, the subject in the latter case being in the instrumental—the past of the transitive verb being thus a true passive albeit the construction of the phrase in nominal. Besides these active (intransitive) and passive (transitive) constructions for the past (« kartari » and « karmaṇi prayōgas »), the central speech has preserved (though dialectally) the old neuter or impersonal construction (bhāvē prayōga) for the intransitive verb, and has further extended this neuter construction to the transitive verb (cf. LSI., IX, pp. 50-52). Thus, OIA. « Kṛṣṇaḥ calitaḥ (calitakaḥ) » > MIA. « Kaṇhō caliaō, Kaṇhu caliaü » > NIA. (W. Hindī, Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha calyau » (Active Construction) ; OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna pustikā paṭhitā, * Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna pustikā paṭhitikā » (=MIA. idiom with instrumental postfix « -karṇa » and feminine in « -ikā ») > MIA. « * Kaṇha-(k)aṇṇē(ṇa)ṁ pōtthiā paḍhiā (paḍhīā), * Kaṇha-aṇṇēṁ, Kaṇha-aṇṇahī pōtthia paḍhīa » > NIA. (Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha-naī, -nē pōthī paṛhī » (Passive Construction) ; OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna (* Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna) calitam (calitakam) » > MIA. « Kaṇha-(k)aṇṇē(ṇa)ṁ caliaṁ, caliauṁ » > NIA. « * Kānha-nē calyau », not found in Standard Hindōstānī or Braj-bhākhā, but occurring in Vernacular Hindōstānī (Neuter Impersonal Construction) ; and on the basis of this last, a new formation with transitive verbs (Impersonal Construction with the Transitive Verb) was established in NIA., as in W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) : e.g., « Kānha-nē Rādhī-kaū dēkhyau », of which the OIA. translation, word for word, would be « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikāyāḥ-kṛtē dṛṣṭam » for « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikā dṛṣṭā ».

This MIA. principle of « karmaṇi, karttari » and « bhāvē » constructions, together with the NIA. extension, is substantially preserved in Rājasthānī, in Gujarātī, in Marāṭhī, in Western Panjābī, and in Sindhī, despite certain innovations. Rājasthānī in general agrees with W. Hindī, but its congener Gujarātī has confused the transitive impersonal construction with the transitive passive one, by making the past participle form qualify the object in the former construction as much as in the latter: e.g., « tēṇē rāṇīnē jōī » by-him with-reference-to-the-queen she-was-seen, instead of « jōyū » it-was-seen. In this confusion some Rājasthānī dialects agree with Gujarātī.

Marāṭhī despite its affixing « -l- » to the passive participle has on the whole kept true to the MIA. standard : it has the active construction with intransitive verbs, and the passive with transitive ones, besides the impersonal with transitives. Its great innovation is adding personal affixes to the intransitive verbs (and following that, to some transitive verbs also : LSI., VII, p. 26), by which the past intransitive (also transitive in some cases) has become a regular inflected active past form, as much as in the Sanskrit perfect aorist or imperfect, or in the Bengali « -il- » past. Thus, « mī uṭhal-ō » for « mī uṭhalā » I rose (i.e. « ahaṃ utthita-laḥ+mē, mayā », instead of « ahaṃ utthitalaḥ = utthitaḥ », active), « myā rāṇī pāhilī » (= « mayā rājñī dṛṣṭā », passive), but « myā rāṇī-s pāhilē » (= « mayā rājñi-viṣayē dṛṣṭam », impersonal). The extension of the active construction to the transitive verb in some cases (e.g., « mī bōlalō », or « bōlilō, bōlilā » I said, as in the ' Jñānēśvarī,' instead of the passive « myā bōlalā, bōlalī » etc. or impersonal « myā bōlalē ») shows that the old system has not been kept intact.

The Pahāṛī speeches on the whole agree with W. Hindī, and in some cases with Rājasthānī-Gujarātī in mixing up the impersonal and the passive. The Eastern Pahāṛī speech, Khaskurā, on the other hand shows a mixing up of the passive and active, by putting the subject in the instrumental, and the passive participle instead of qualifying the object is conjugated like a verb, taking affixes corresponding to the subject : e.g., « mai-lē pāp garē (garyē, garyā = garya- < karia, *karita, kṛta + mē) »

I sinned, lit. *by-me sin done-by-me* or *did-I*). The MIA. principle is thus obscured here. (Cf. LSI., IX, pp. 26, 37, 147, 294, 328, 398-399, 466, 489, 572, 678, 695, 727, 783, etc., etc.)

The languages of the extreme west, W. Panjābī and Sindhī, both maintain the adjectival character of the passive participle, modifying it according to the gender and number of the object. But at the same time W. Panjābī employs pronominal affixes to emphasise the proper subject of the transitive verb (really instrumental), in addition to that of the intransitive; and Sindhī regularly adds these affixes to the intransitive (cf. LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 270-271, and Trevor Bomford, 'Language spoken in Western Panjab,' JASB., 1895, p. 317, for W. Panjābī; LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 67-68, for Sindhī). The use of pronominal suffixes in these western speeches is not confined to the passive participle only, but to other forms of verbs, and to nouns as well (LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 42, 261), and is a special development in these, which is unknown to other cognate NIA., or to MIA. and OIA. The affixed pronoun in the passive participle or verb past base is to some extent necessitated in these speeches to ensure definitenes of the subject, as the instrumental post-position is frequently dropped · (as in Panjābī, both Western and Eastern), or is non-existent (as in Sindhī, in which the oblique is employed for the instrumental). The affixation is merely formal, and does not imply any alteration in the old passive conception of the transitive past.[1]

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[1] The use of the pronominal affix with nouns (*e.g.*, W. Panjābī 'ghar-am' *my house*, Sindhī 'piu-mē' *my father*), as well as dative and accusative use of the affixed pronouns (*e.g.*, W. Panjābī 'Sahiban mut-ēi khatt' *S. has-sent-to-thee a-letter*, 'kitu-s mōṭā' *he-made-it fat*, 'bukhār hī-s' *fever is-to-him*, etc.) in these western languages, as well as in the extra-Indo-Aryan (Dardic) Kaśmīrī, resembles the Iranian enclitic pronouns which one finds, *e.g.*, in Persian, in Paṣṭō, and in Balōc (cf. Geiger's 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie': O. Salemann, 'Mittel-persisch,' p. 291; P. Horn, 'Neu-persische Schrift-sprache,' p. 118; Geiger, 'Die Sprache der Afghanen,' p. 217; 'Die Sprache der Balutschen,' p. 240). The whole of the Indo-Iranian area from Persia right up to the frontiers of the old Śaurasēnī (W. Hīndī) area,—including the W. Panjābī (and probably also E. Panjābī in early times) and Sindhī tracts (among areas occupied by the NIA. speeches), the Dardic tracts, and those occupied by the Iranian speeches—seems to have been an area where

699. In the Magadhan languages, as well as in Eastern Hindī, on the other hand, the construction has become purely active, and the old MIA. principle has been completely ignored. The subject of a past sentence is in the nominative now at the present day, whatever might have been its nature originally. Traces of an instrumental affix may be found in the subject (*e.g.*, « -ē » in Assamese and Bengali), but the instrumental idea is now entirely absent. The personal forms, which (as in Sindhī and W. Panjābī) doubtless originally emphasised the instrumental-nominative, have in the Eastern languages lost their enclitic, emphasising character—have become personal inflexions pure and simple. Judging from indications in the earlier as well as later phases of these eastern speeches—OB., MB., NB., Early Maithilī, etc., as well as Early Awadhī and Modern Awadhī, and from comparison with other NIA. speeches and with the habits obtaining in MIA., we can surmise that the personal affixes were not added to the past passive participle (and to the future passive participle) in Māgadhī Apabhrańśa, and that this affixation was not indispensable in the early stage of the neo-Māgadhan speeches. Thus, Māg. Ap. in all likelihood had « *haū (? haï), tūṁ, śē calilla(a) » (=aham, tvam, saḥ calitaḥ) and « *amhi, tumhi, tē calilla(a), calillahi » (= vayam, yūyam, tē calitāḥ), beside « *maï, amhahī, taī, tumbahī, tē̃, tēhī rāa dēkkhilla(a) » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, taiḥ rājā dṛṣṭaḥ), and « *maī, amhahī, taī, tumbahī, tē̃, tēhī raṇṇī dēkkhillī » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, taiḥ rājñī dṛṣṭā). Beng. made the first « n.ui, āmi, tui, tumi, sē, tēhā calila » and « mui etc. rāya, rājā dēkhila (rāṇī dēkhili) » and then by affixation, « mui dēkhil-i, -ā-hō, -ō̃, -ŭ, -āṁ ; tui dēkhil-i, -is ;

the old Aryan enclitic pronouns were retained as living forms, and were later turned into suffixes : aud these suffixes therefore were different in origin from the personal affixes of the Eastern languages (*e.g.*, OIA. 'mayā kṛtam, kṛtam mayā, kṛtam mē' > Lahndā 'kitu-m'; Old Persian 'mana kartam' > Middle Persian [Pahlavī] 'man kart, am kart,' and 'kart-am' > New Persian 'kard-am': [cf. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 148]: compared with this, Early Bengali मुई देखिलूं 'mui kailum' *I did* is a different thing, originating in NIA. times from 'maī kaïlla'; and Hindī 'main-nē kiyā' is of course entirely different, showing no kind of personal or pronominal affixation).

tumi dĕkhil-a, -âhâ; sĕ dĕkhil-anti, -enta, -ĕn, -âin, -âñi (calil-ī, calil-âhŏ etc.) ».   (Besides, the « bhâvĕ prayōga » with the object in the dative with « -kĕ » etc. was evolved : see *supra*, pp. 897-898.)   Affixation was not fully established in Bengali even in the 15th century, as we can see from MB. literature, where the base form in « -ilâ » is frequently used for all persons : and in fact, in some dialects even now the base form is used for the third person (*e.g.*, Standard Bengali « sĕ dĕkhilâ », Dacca « sĕ dĕkhlâ, dĕkhlō », *he saw*, base only, but Calcutta Bengali « sĕ dĕkhl-ĕ » with « -ĕ » suffix for the third person ; so Dacca « sĕ kâirbâ, kōrbō » *he will do* beside Standard « sĕ kârib-ĕ », Calcutta « sĕ kōrbĕ »).   Similar affixation has taken place in other Magadhan, and in Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī : 1. « dĕkhĕŭ, dĕkhiŭ, *pl.* dĕkhī, dĕkhâ, dĕkhan, dĕkhĕn » ; 2. « dĕkhisi, dĕkhĕs, *pl.* dĕkhĕn, dĕkhâ, dĕkhī » ; 3. « dĕkhisi, dĕkhai, *pl.* dĕkhin-i, dĕkhĕn » etc.).

Pronominal affixation apparently was carried on independently in each of the various groups of dialects in the Magadhan area,—in West Magadhan (Bhōjpuriyâ), in Central Magadhan, in the various Bengali and Assamese dialect groups, in Oṛiyâ.   But some common tendencies were shared by all or most of them.   The most remarkable development has been in Central Magadhan (Maithilī and Magahī), which display a greater richness and variety in the matter of pronominal affixation than any other NIA. language—by which two or even three pronominal forms can be tagged on to the verb base.   Thus we have Bengali মারিলাম্, ‡ মারিলুম্ or ‡ মারিলি « mâril-âm, ‡ mâril-um, ‡ mâril-i » *I, we beat* (past), = Oṛiyâ « mâril-i, mâril-ū », Assamese « mâril-ŏ », Bhōjpuriyâ « mâral-ī », Maithilī « mâral-ahŭ, mâral-ī » ; but also we have Maithilī « mâral-i-au-k » *I struck you*, or « mâral-i-ai-nhī » *I struck him or them* (honorific object). We have here practically cases of polysynthesis, of long sentence words resulting from affixation.   In this matter there may have been a strong influence of Kōl on Central Magadhan in the formative period of Maithilī and Magahī : with forms like « mâr-al-i-au-k » or « mâr-al-i-ai-nhī », we can compare Kōl (Muṇḍārī) « om-ad'-iñ-ae » *he-gave-it-to-me* and « lel-k-iñ-ako » for « *lel-ked'-iñ-ako* » *they-saw-me*.   The affixation in Eastern Magadhan is simpler, and approximate rather that of modern Dravidian

(e.g., Bengali. « pȧṛ-il-ām » *I read* = Tamil « paḍ-itt-ēn », root + tense affix + personal termination: see *supra*, p. 175).

700. Grierson, in two noteworthy papers to the JASB. for 1895 ('Suffixes in the Kāçmīrī Language' and 'Radical and Participial Tenses in the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages') has tabulated the various affixes of NIA. and suggested their etymologies. The Eastern languages have these affixes for the verb past tense, and the future tense; the Western languages have also the pronominal adjuncts; the Southern language Marāṭhī partially employs them. All this is opposed to the Midland language, W. Hindī. In this Grierson finds a point in support of the the theory of Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan groups (see *supra*, *Appendix A to Introduction*, pp. 165-166; JASB., 1895, p. 351). But the conjugational system cannot be assumed to prove much, as has been said before. The languages started in the East without the personal terminations, and in later times only they entered into the habit of affixation; whereas it seems likely that in the Western languages the enclitic has persisted from OIA. times (or might have been due to the influence of the contiguous Iranian), and were at once the cause and the effect of the absence or rare use of the instrumental post-position. Grierson derives all the affixes of the past verb in Bengali etc. (equally with those in other languages) from pronouns. But in some cases at least, they were merely extensions of the affixes of the present or radical tense. Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, again, show a development distinct from Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā within the Magadhan family.

Except in the 3 sg., there is no distinction in Bengali-Assamese in the affixes of the intransitive and transitive verbs past tense. In Oṛiyā, the same affixes, sg. « -ā », pl. « -ē » are found for the verbs of both the kinds.

The affixes may now be discussed.

[II] AFFIXES FOR THE PAST TENSE.

701. MB. and NB. forms are given below. The affixes are added to the base in इल « -il- » of which the « -i- » is dropped in most NB. dialects after influencing the preceding vowel.

First Person : অ « -ă » ; ই « -i » ; উম্, উঙ্, উঁ (নুম্, নূঁ > হ্), ওম্, অম্, ঁ, ওহোঁ, আহোঁ, ওহো, আহো, ও « -um, -uṅ, -ŭ (-lum, -lŭ > -nu), -ōm, -ăm, -ঁ, -ōhঁ, -ăhঁ, -ōhō, -ăhō, -ō » ; আম্, আঙ, এম্ « -ām, -āṅ, -ēm » ;

Second Person : অ « -ă » ; ই « -i » ; ইস্, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēsঁ » ; উ « -u » ; আ, আহা « -ā, -āhă » ; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ « -ē, -ঁ, -ēhঁ » ;

Third Person : no affix, simply ending in -ইল « -ilă » ; অ (ও) « -ă, (-ō) », for both transitive and intransitive verbs ; আ « -ā » ; এ « -ē » for transitive verbs only, dialectally ; আক, ওক, এক « -ā-kঁ, -ō-kঁ, -ē-kঁ- », for both transitive and intransitive verbs ; besides অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, এন, আইন, আন্ত্রি, আঁই « -ănti, -ānti, -ăntঁ, -āntঁ, -ēntঁ, -ēnঁ, -āīnঁ, -ăñi, -ঁi », honorific.

Standard NB., literary and colloquial, recognises only the following :—

First Person : আম « -ām », colloquially also এম, উম « -ēm, -um », and in poetry occasionally হ « -nu » ;

Second Person : non-honorific, ই « -i » ; ordinary, এ « -ē » ; poetical আ « -ā » ; honorific এন « -ēnঁ » (with আপনি « āpঁni ») ;

Third Person : অ « -ă » ; এক « ēkঁ » (rather archaic) ; এ « -ē » dialectally for transitive verbs ; poetical আ « -ā » ; besides honorific এন « -ēnঁ ».

(1) THE AFFIXES FOR THE FIRST PERSON PAST.

702. The affix অ « -ă ». This is the simple base form, and is found in MB. and OB.: আমি চলিল « ămi călilă » *I went*, আমি, মুই রাখিল « ămi, mui rākhilă » *I kept*; cf. OB. Caryā 35 « maï bujhila » *I understood* (see *supra*, p. 808). The source of this ইল « -ilă » is Māgadhī Ap. « -illaa, -illaᵕa (< -ila-ka) », MB. « -ilঁ, -ilă », in NB. pronunciation often ইলো « -ilō, -lō ». This simple base is not found in NB., although it is common in eMB., becoming less common in lMB., and found but infrequently in post-17th century MB. As indicated above, the absence of affix means preservation of the OIA. conditions.

In OB., the « -ila » base had a feminine for « -ilī, -ili », according as the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one was feminine. Early MB. carried on this feminine affixation, but it has died out from eMB. times. Examples have been given above, p. 958.

703. The affix ই « -i ». This is now confined to the dialects of West Rāḍha, and to 'S.-W. Bengali,' and in any case is regarded vulgar. It was fairly common in MB. It seems originally to have been a (West) Rāḍha form. Although used for both singular and plural, the evidence of Oṛiyā shows it to have been originally singular : Oṛiyā « mũ āsil-i », pl. « āmbhē āsil-ũ » *I came, we came* ; « mũ dēkhil-i, āmbhē dēkhil-ũ » *I saw, we saw*. The affix seems only to be an extension of the present (singular) « -i » to the past tense (*supra*, pp. 934, 935).

704. The affixes উম্, উঙ্, উ (‍লুম্, লূ > নু) ওম্, অম্, ঙ, ওহঁ, আহঁ, ওহো, আহো, ও « -um, -uṇ, -ũ, (-lum, -lũ > -nu), -ōm, -ăm, -ŏ, -ōhŏ, -āhŏ, -ōhō, -ō ». These form one group, and in their formation, two affixes seem to have converged : the « -ŏ » of the present (=OB. -aw̃a < MIA. -ama < OIA. -āmaḥ : *supra*, pp. 934-935), and the old first personal pronoun nominative « * haũ, hāu » as in OB. (pp. 807-808 *supra*) agglutinated to the past base (in « -ilă, -ilā ») ; « * haũ » seems to have been added to the present base (see *supra*, p. 934), and an extension of it to the past was a matter of course. Of the fuller forms, ইলাহঁ « -ilā-hŏ » occurs in eMB. (as in the ŚKK.), and ইলোহঁ « -ilō-hŏ » is found in the Early Assamese ; and this and * ইলাহঁ « -ilă-hŏ » seems also to have occured in MB. and the other forms, with loss of nasalisation, are found in MB. and Early Assamese. As can be expected, « * haũ > hŏ » as the nominative pronoun should occur with the intransitive verb ; and that is what we find from eMB. In the ŚKK., the ইলাহঁ « -(ilā-)hŏ » form occurs with six verbs, all intransitive : আছিলাহঁ « āchilāhŏ » *I was*, আইলাহঁ, আয়িলাহঁ « āilāhŏ, āyilāhŏ » *I came*, জিলাহঁ « jilāhŏ » *I lived*, পড়িলাহঁ « pāṛilāhŏ » *I fell*, বাঢ়িলাহঁ « bāṛhilāhŏ » *I increased*, হয়িলাহঁ, হৈলাহঁ « hāyilāhŏ, hāilāhŏ » *I was* (to which we may add a seventh intransitive form showing « -hŏ », although in a different tense—মরিতাহঁ « māritāhŏ » *I would die*) : Kṛtti-vāsa similarly has তপস্যা করিল আমি নহিলাহঁ অমর « tāpāsyā kārilā āmi, nāhilāhŏ āmarȧ » *I performed austerities, but did not become immortal* ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29) ; নিমন্ত্রণে গেলাহঁ « nimāntrāṇē gēlāhŏ » *I went to an invitation* (ibid, p. 15) ; also হইলাহঁ « hāilāhŏ » (pp. 26, 30, 36). MB. « jīlāhŏ, pāṛilāhŏ » etc. would thus agree with Skt. « jīvito' haṁ, patito'ham ».

The ŚKK. uses « -ŏ » (at times « -ō » by dropping the nasalisation)
with both transitive and intransitive verbs. This apparent comploy of
the full « -hŏ » form with intransitives only was not maintained in
Assamese: in the Early Assamese of the 15th and 16th centuries,
we find it employed with transitive verbs also—*e.g.*, Dĕvĕndra Nāth
Bĕz-baruwā, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhityar Burañjī,' Jorhat, Saka
1833, pp. 75, 173, « kărilōhŏ » *I did*, p. 89, « lăbhilōhŏ, părhilōhō »
I received, I studied, p. 138, « cinilōhŏ » *I recognised*, p. 169, « bulilōhŏ »
I said. In Early Maithilī, the corresponding « hŭ » form seems to
be restricted to the intransitive: *e.g.*, Vidyāpati has « bhĕlihu » *I was*,
« mōñĕ cukalihu » *I ceased*, « achalihŭ » *I was*, « gĕlihu » *I went*, etc.
(Pada 63) ; but in later Maithilī, « -hŭ » is found for both the kinds of
verbs. It has apparently become « -ŭ » in Magahī. From the 14th
century, the « -hŏ » and the « -ŏ » forms had merged together, and the
former occurs in the ŚKK. as a survival only (*e.g.*, for *one* « āchilāhŏ »
there are some *six* cases of « āchilŏ »; « āīlŏ » occurs 11 times beside
« ā(y)ilāhŏ » 9 times, and other intransitive verbs show only the « -ŏ » form).
The Oṛiyā « -ŭ » of the plural seems to represent the « -ŏ (<-āmaḥ) ». The
OB. « acchilĕ » (see *supra*, p. 808) seems to be scribe's error for « āchila »,
or it might be for « āchilŏ »; in the latter case, the affixation for the past in
imitation of the present could be said to have begun from OB. times.

The form « -ilāhŏ » thus converged into « -ilŏ », but « -ilāhŏ » could
also give « -ilāẇō », and these would easily result in the MB. and NB. forms
« -ilŭ, -iluŋ, ilum, -ilōm, -ilăm, -inu » etc., since in MB. « m » final
and intervocal interchanges with « ẇ », written ৬ « ŋ »; and MB. forms
like « -ilŏ, -ilŭ » could develop the off-glide « ẇ » (-ilŏẇ, -ilŭẇ), which
would easily resolve into « m ».

705. The affixes আম, আঙ, এম « -ăm, -ăŋ, -ĕm ». It is not unlikely
that « -ăm » has partly evolved from « -ăhŏ » as above (-ilăhŏ > -ilāẇŏ,
-ilăẇ > ilăŋ, -il-ăm). But this « -ăm » should rather be affiliated to
আমি « -ămi » *I (we)*, affixed to the past base, for this reason that in all
the spoken dialects, where « -ăm » occurs, the « -m » is retained intact,
and there is no trace of a nasalised form « *-ilă » or « *-ină » such as

we might expect to be present in MB. or NB. if « * -ilæw < -ilāhō » were the only source.

By Vowel Harmony, « -ilām » gives « -ilēm », which is regarded as a refined form, and is frequently used in literature and formal discourse.

706. A plausible etymology for the « -āmi, -ām » affix would be the OIA. substantive verb « asmi »: the use of the passive participle with « asmi » in the active sense is found in MIA. and medieval Skt. (e.g., « viditō'smi, vismr̥tō'smi » etc.: cf. E. J. Rapson, 'Specimens of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya in Chinese Turkestan: Tentative Transcriptions and Translations,' British Museum, 1903, p. 7). The Sinhalese past tense is formed on the same plan by affixing forms of « √ as », present tense, to the passive participle (Geiger, 'Litteratur u. Sprache der Sinhalesen,' § 60). The same method seems to occur in the Bengali perfect tenses (see *infra*, 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses'). But « asmi » does not occur as « āmi » either in Bengali or in other Magadhan: the equivalents of « asmi » in Bengali are « āchi » (* acchāmi) and « hāī » (* asāmi). A source like « paṭhita + asmi » is untenable for the NB. « paṛilām », not only because of the non-continuance of OIA. « asti, asi, asmi » in Bengali, but also because of the fact that personal affixation is late in the language, and is either pronominal, or is by analogical extension of affixes from the present.

Hoernle explained the « -ām » affix as being the Skt. « -āmi », present sg. affix: according to him, Bengali has preserved the original present indicative termination « -āmi », in forms like « paṛ(h)ilām » = Māgadhī « * paḍhidāmi ». But this derivation is inadmissible: MIA. « -d- » does not become « -l- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 433), and « -m- » intervocal of OIA. occurs in NIA. only as the nasalisation of the contiguous vowel.

(2) THE AFFIXES FOR THE SECOND PERSON, PAST.

707. The affix �’ « -ȧ » is the simple base form without any personal termination, found in MB. for the 2nd person as much as for the other two persons, but is now obsolete.

The affix ই « -i » is of obscure origin. It occurs with the past in
« -il- » and in the future in « -ib- ». It is not found in the radical tense
and with the past conditional. Bengali-Assamese alone among Magadhan
speeches has it. The fact that it is contemptuous, being used with the
familiar « tui (tōrā) » form of the 2nd personal pronoun, shows that it
was originally a singular affix. The corresponding affix in Oṛiyā is « -u »,
e.g., « tu thil-u » *thou wert*, « tu dēkhil-u » *thou didst see*. The Central
Magadhan languages have confused the plural and singular; but it
seems that the 2 pers. affix « -ē » in Magahī (as in « hal-ē » *thou wert* or
you were, « dēkhal-ē » *thou didst see* or *you saw*, beside « halē, dēkhal-ē » ;
Maithilī does not possess the « -ē » form, but the nasalised one only) and
in Bhōjpuriyā (as in « dēkhal-ē, dēkhal-as » singular, « dēkhalāh <
*dēkhalahu » plural) is connected with the Bengali « -i », it being
exceedingly probable that the « -ē » was formerly « -a-ï » (cf. Maithilī
« dēkhalaï » beside « dēkhalē, 2 personal forms).

There is the other singular 2 personal affix « -is, -s » (see p. 979
below) with which the « -i » cannot be connected. In the absence of any
other indication as to its source, it can only be referred to the 2 sg.
imperative in « -hi, -a-hi »· (see *supra*, p. 904), which would give « -i,
-aï (-ai, -ē) » by loss of « -h ». The Oṛiyā « -u » similarly can be best
explained as the 2 sg. imperative in « -hu » (*supra*, p. 906). This « -hi »
lost its original function as an imperative affix, and became associated, first,
it would seem, with the future base, and then with the past : we should
note that « -i » is the only 2 personal contemptuous or singular affix for the
future, whereas « -is » may be used for the past ; and « -i » is not found
with the past habitual (« cālib-i, dib-i », but « chil-is » beside commoner
« chil-i », and « cālit-is, dit-is » ; but we never find « cālib-is, dib-is ») :
this apparently shows that « -i » became first definitely attached to the
future base, and then it was extended to the past ; and the use of the
future and the imperative should be taken into consideration in this
connexion. There is an « -abi » affix (< OIA. -asi) for the 2 sg.
present tense in Western Apabhraṅśa, whence the imperative « -ē, -aï » affix
in the Western languages, e.g., Hindōstānī « tū kar-ē » Gujarātī « tū

kar-ē »; and Mārwārī « t(h)ū̃ kar-äī » (< tū̃ kar-ahi); but this present « -ahi » apparently did not occur in Māg. Ap., and is not represented in Bengali, which has only « -as, -is » < « -asi ».

708.   The affixes ইস, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēs » are contemptuous in sense, being used with « tui, tōrā », and were consequently originally singular. They represent the OIA. « -asi » which is preserved in the radical tense.   The affix « -asi » has been partly extended to the past base, but the future did not take it up, apparently deciding for the « -hi > -i » from the imperative.   The forms « -is » etc. are exceedingly rare with the past tense in NB., the employ of it with the « -il- » past being only occasional. MB. instances also are rare. In NB.   it may be used with the past of « √āch » to be, as ছিলিস « chil-is » thou wert, both by itself as well as in the past progressive and perfect tenses, e.g., যাচ্ছিলিস « jācchilis » thou wert going, গিয়েছিলিস « giyēchilis » thou hadst gone, দিয়েছিলিস « diyēchilis » thou hadst given; but the « chil-i » form would be preferred.   We may similarly occasionally hear নিলিস, দিলিস « nil-is, dil-is », but such forms would not be regarded as normal in the Standard Colloquial. It seems that analogy tried to attach « -is » to the past base, but has failed so far, although apparently this analogical use began early.   We have thus in Kṛttivāsa (' Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' VSPd. ed., col. 124) ব্রহ্মবধ করিয়া তুমি লুকাইলিস ডরে « brāhmā-bādhā̃ kāriyā tumi lukāilis ḍārē » killing a Brahman, you hid in fear (here we see the improper use of « tumi », instead of « tui », with an « -is » form).   I have not found « -is » with the past in the ŚKK., but apparently there is one case in the Caryās, e.g., Caryā 37, « jaïsaṇē acchilēsa taïchana (= taïsana) accha » = ? as thou wert, so be thou; in Caryā 39, we have « baṅgē jāā nilēsi parē bhāgēla tōhāra biṇāṇā » thy science (vijñāna) fled away after thou didst take a wife in Vaṅga: here « nilē si » may be either an « -ēsi » form, or it is « nilē » (conjunctive in « -ilē ») + « si » emphatic particle, as in Caryā 20—« jaubaṇa mōra bhailē si pūrā » on my youth being mature.   The « -ēsi » would thus seem to have been attached to the past as early as OB.   The vocalism in « -ēsi, -ēsa » seems to be due to a combination of the base form in « -a » + « -isi » (see p. 935): « * acchilla-isi > * āchilais(i) > āchilēs(a) ».

709. Grierson explained the « -i » as an instrumental pronominal enclitic : « mār-il-i » = *struck-by-thee* (karmaṇi prayōga), « cal-il-i » *gone-by-thee* (bhāvě prayōga) ; and the « -is » was explained by him (as an affix for the past habitual derived from the present participle) as being 'the direct pronominal suffix for the nominative '—« -s- » and « -i- » being respectively nominative and oblique forms of a second personal pronoun (JRAS., 1895, I, p. 371). There cannot be any question of a 2nd personal pronoun in « -s- » from the existing specimens of IA., and Grierson considered this « -s- » (as in Bengali « -is » in « mār-it-is » etc.) 'as a termination borrowed either from the first or the third person,' but at the same time the possibility of « -is » being the OIA. « -asi » is admitted by him (*op. cit.*, p. 374). The « -s- » form of the first person occurs in Lahndā and Sindhī, and in the Dardic Kaśmīrī : it is a singular form, if derived from OIA. « asmad » ; but the whole question is rendered extremely problematical (*op. cit.*, p. 365 for the « -s- » for the 1st person). The use of the 3rd person « -s- » (<Prakrit « sě » *his*, which is an enclitic : Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 347) for the 2nd pers. is hardly more satisfactory as an explanation. The well-known « -asi » which has survived in the radical sense should not therefore be ignored. And as for regarding « -i » as an oblique form of the 2nd personal pronoun, and referring it to the MIA. « bhě » or « uyhě » (JASB., 1895, p. 374, p. 346), there is this great difficulty that in Bengali-Assamese, which alone preserves the « -i », the form is contemptuous and as such cannot originally have been a plural suffix, whereas the MIA. « bhě, uyhě » are definitely plural ones.

710. The affix উ « -u » is found dialectally in 'South-West Bengali' and in North Central Bengali, and is distinctly of Oṛiyā affinity : কৈলু « kǎilu » *thou didst do*, গালু = গেলু « gyǎlu = gěl-u » *thou didst go*, etc. It is singular in origin, and can only be referred to the imperative in « -hu, -u » (see above, p. 906). It is found in the present also, *e.g.*, আছু « ǎchu » *thou art*.

711. The affixes আ, আহা « -ā, -āhā » were originally plural, being used with « tumi (tōmǎrā) », the old plural of the 2nd person, and never

with « tui ». They seem to be the same affix as the « -aha » of the radical 2nd plural (see *supra*, p. 935). The past base to which this 2nd person pl. affix was added (in Bengali-Assamese) apparently was extended by the definitive « -ā » : « calilā + -aha > * cǎlilāha, cǎlilāhǎ, * calilǎǎ, cǎlilǎ » (cf. « khāhā, jāhā » for the imperatives: *supra*, pp. 903, 907). The « -ā » might, again, be simply the base in definitive « -ā », without the personal termination « -ǎhā ». The « -ǎhā » form occurs in eMB. (ŚKK.) and in Early Assamese side by side with « -āhǎ, -ā ». Late MB. has only « -ā » ; and as a result of Vowel Harmony, through influence of the « -i » of « -il- », this « -ā » can be altered to « -ē » in NB., as in the Standard Colloquial চ'লে « cōllē » < « cǎlilā » *you went* (*supra*, pp. 400-401). Among ŚKK. forms in « -āhā » may be quoted আছিলাহা «āchilāhā » *you were*, গেলাহা « gēlāhā » *you went*, পড়িলাহা « pǎrilāhā » *you fell*, হৈলাহা « hǎyilāhā » *you became* ; cf. imperative ওলাহা « ōlāhā » beside ওলাহ « ōlāhǎ » *take down, put down*. In Modern Assamese, the affix is « -ā », honorific ; and Oṛiyā has retained it as « -ǎ (< -ǎhǎ) ». Cf. Maithilī simple form for 2nd person past « dǎkhalǎh < dǎkhalahǔ », and Bhōjpuriyā « dǎkhalahǔ », where we have the « -ahu » form as in the imperative.

712. The MB. forms এ, এঁ, এবেঁ, « -ē, -ēṁ, -ēhēṁ » make one group. Judging from the ŚKK., the nasalised form « -ēṁ » is the proper one for this affix, and this is only shortened from the older and fuller « -ēhēṁ ». In the ŚKK., it is either « -ēhēṁ », or « -ēṁ » : and it is rarely « -ē » without the nasalisation : thus আনিলেঁ, আনিলেহেঁ « āṇilēṁ, āṇilēhēṁ » *you brought*, এড়িলেহেঁ « ēṛilēhēṁ » *you abandoned*, কইলেঁ « kǎilēṁ » *you did*, করাইলেঁ « kǎrāyilēṁ » *you caused to make*, গড়িলেঁ « gǎṛhilēṁ » *you built*, নিলেঁ « nilēṁ » *you took*, সাধিলেহেঁ « sādhilēhēṁ » *you performed*, চাহিলেঁ « cāhilēṁ » *you looked at*, etc. No instance of « -ēṁ, -ehēṁ » with intransitive verbs occurs in the ŚKK. : originally it was probably used with transitive verbs. « -ēhēṁ > -ēṁ > -ē » is thus its development in NB. (Of course, in NB. the « -ē » can also be from « -ilā » by Vowel Harmony ; see preceding paragraph.) This affix is unknown to Assamese and Oṛiyā. But Maithilī « -ē, -aī », Magahī « -ē, -ahī » (« dǎkhalē, dǎkhalaī; dǎkhalē, dǎkhalahī ») seem to be the same affix.

The source of this « -ēhẽ, -ẽ, -ē » is obscure. The full form being « -ēhẽ », connexion with the Prakrit enclitic 2nd pers. pl. « -bhē, -uyhē » as suggested by Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 374, 346) is not impossible, but « bhē, uyhē » are otherwise unknown. It is a politer form than the « -i, -is » ones, both in MB. and NB. Is it that here we have the instrumental of the respectful or polite form for the pronoun of address « ahā, ahaī », which is still current in Maithilī? (see *supra*, pp. 850-852). The fact of « -ēhẽ, -ẽ > -ē » not being found with intransitive verbs in the ŚKK. should be recalled : « ānilēhẽ » can therefore very well be from MIA. « *ānilla- » + « *ahāhī, *ahẽhī » = instrumental pl. of « ahā- » (= OIA. ānīta-la- + āyuṣmadbhiḥ).

[3] The Affixes for the Third Person, Past.

713. The oldest Bengali had three forms for the passive participle as used with the pronoun third person or with the noun : « -ila (< -illa) », the simple base without any affix; « -ilawa, -ilaa (< -illa-a, i.e., -illa- + -ka) », with an extension by the pleonastic « -ka > -a » (*supra*, pp. 652-653); and « -ilā (< -ila + -ā) », strengthened by the definitive « -ā » (*supra*, pp. 658 ff.). The NB. equivalents of these are respectively, হেল্, হেল, (হেলা), হেলা « -ilₔ, -ilā (-ilō: MB. -ilā), -ilā ». All the three are found : « -ilₔ » is dialectal, occurring in North Bengali and North Central Bengali (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as well as in Eastern Vaṅga dialects (Sylhet, Kachar, Mayang, Chittagong and Chakma, where « -ilₔ » seems to be preferred with intransitive verbs) ; « -ilₔ » is also restricted to the intransitive verb in Modern Assamese ; « -ilā » is found in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the East Bengal dialects with both transitives and intransitives, and in the Standard Colloquial with intransitive verbs (see *supra*, p. 974); while « -ilā » is now archaic and poetic for NB., and is found commonly in MB. and in Early Assamese, and in Oṛiyā « -ilā » is the only form in which this affix occurs for the 3rd person singular (« -ilā » however, occurs in Eastern Vaṅga, in Mayang as honorific, i.e. plural).

All these three forms « -ila > -ilₔ ; -ilaa, -ilā > -ilā ; -ilā » lack a personal or pronominal termination and this colourless form was accepted for

the third person. Doubtless there were slight shades of difference between the three; « -ā̆ » and « -ā̆ » forms were possibly more emphatic. Also the base form without any affix, « -ila > -ilạ », retained its old adjectival nature unmodified in connexion with intransitive verbs, and this distinction is largely maintained now. In the Caryās, we find both « -ila » (= « -ila » as well as « -ilaa, -ilawa ») and « -ilā̆ » (see *supra*, p. 947).

714. The affix এ « -ē »: occurs in West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial), North Bengali and Assamese, with transitive verbs only: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial সে চ'লন, সে গেল, [ʃe ʧollo, ʃe gælo] *he walked, he went*, North Bengali চলিন, গেল [tsolil, gɛl], Assamese « si cǎlil, si gǎl », but for *he gave, he ate*, we have Standard Coll. সে দিলে, খেলে [ʃe dile, khele], North Bengali দিলে, খাইলে, খালে [dile, khaile, khale] besides দিন, খাইল [dil, khail], and Assamese « dilē, khālē ». The Bihārī dialects show a similar differentiation (see *supra*, p. 93). No such differentiation between intransitive and transitive verbs is found in the East Bengal dialects, in which typical forms would be [tsoǐllo, tsɔllo; gɛlo] and [dilo, khailo], or as in Chittagongese [tsolil, gɛl] and [dilo, khailo].

The restriction of the « -ilē » affix to the transitive verb past tense in a continuous tract embracing Rāḍha, Varêndra and Kāma-rūpa, and excluding Vaṇga (E. and S.-W.) and Caṭṭala (S.-E. Vaṇga), is noteworthy: equally noteworthy is the occurrence of the « -ila > -ilạ » for the intransitive in Varêndra (partially), in Kāma-rūpa, and in E. Vaṇga and Caṭṭala. The « -ē » affix occurs in the future 3rd person (-ib-ē) for all verbs, in the both « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but not in East Bengal dialects, in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, which use the « -ā̆ » (-ibā̆, -bā̆). The usage in the future does not help us here.

The explanation seems to be as follows. The intransitive past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject: here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intransitive, right down to eMB. (see *supra*, p. 958,—the feminine adjectival « -i » continued to be used with both the kinds of roots). Hence the simple « -ila > -ilạ », or « -ilaa > -ilā̆ >-ilā̆, -ilō », was enough for it. But the

transitive past was not like that, and its nature developed into that of
a proper verb with an object. So too the future form, both transitive
and intransitive, partook more of the nature of the verb. In some of the
dialects of the Bengali group, an affix gradually came to be attached to
these. And that affix we find in NB. as « -ē » for both transitive past, and
transitive and intransitive future.

The « -ē » was never a literary favourite in MB., the simple « -ā »
or « -ā » base being commonly employed for the past third person. The
composite « sādhu-bhāṣā » here followed the MB. preference for « -ā » in the
past tense, but not in the future. But nevertheless, the « -ē » is found in MB.
works—in the ŚKK., for instance. Thus, as 3 personal forms, we find in
the ŚKK., for *he did*, কৈলে, কইলে « kāilē, kāïlē » 4 times, করিলে « kārilē »
once (= NB. Standard Coll. ক'রলে, ক'ল্লে [korle, kolle]), while কইল, করিল
« kā(y)ilā » occurs 17 times and করিল « kārilā » 6 times (= NB. ক'রল,
ক'ল্ল [korlo, kollo]); for *he received*, পাইলে « pāïlē » (= NB. পেলে [pele])
occurs once, but পাইল « pāïlā » (= NB. পেল [pelo]) 7 times; for *he sent*,
পাঠাইলে, পাঠাইলে « paṭhā(y)ilē » (= NB. পাঠালে, [paṭhale]) 3 times,
পাঠাইল, পাঠাইল « paṭhā(y)ilā » (= NB. পাঠাল [paṭhalo]) 4 times; for *he
said*, বুইলে « builē » (cf. NB. ব'ল্লে.[bolle]) once, বুইল, বুইল « bu(y)ilā »
(cf. NB. ব'ল্ল [bollo]) 28 times; for *he gave* দিলে « dilē » once, দিল
« dilā » 10 times; for *he took*, নিলে « nilē » 5 times, নিল « nilā » 6 times,
and আনিলে « āṇilē » *he brought* is found once. The « -ē » for the 3rd
person thus goes back to the 14th century. It is not, however found in
the Caryās.

This « -ē » affix I take to be the « -ē » of the radical or present tense,
3rd person, extended to the past transitive base : দেখিল « dēkhilā » *seen,
he saw* changed to দেখিলে « dēkhil-ē », NB. দেখলে « dēkhl-ē », on the
analogy of দেখে « dēkh-ē » *he sees*; but an intransitive form like গেল
« gēlā » = *gone*, fem. গেলি « gēli », sufficiently retained its adjectival
nature not to require a verbal affix. We should note that the plural
affix « -ānti, -āntā, -entā » was similarly extended to the past verb,
as an honorific form merely (see *supra*) : « -ē » was the characteristic 3rd
pers. affix, and the plural as an honorific form was less frequent. This

extension of the « -ē, -anti » etc. was accomplished possibly during the transition from OB. to eMB.: it was established by the end of the 14th century, and if the ŚKK. does not use it exclusively, it is because the literary speech tends to preserve the older tradition (in keeping to the older, unaffixed « -ā » form).

A partial agreement with Maithilī may be noted. In Maithilī, in the honorific, the transitive past base takes the affix « -thi » (< -anti) of the present honorific (= original plural), because its nature is that of a verb: « dēkhala-thi » *saw*. But the intransitive past base (with its adjectival nature) to denote the honorific takes the affix « -āh(a) » which is found with *nouns* and *adjectives* in Early Maithilī: « sūtal-āh(a) » *slept*. (This « -āha » is very common in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' MS., see *supra*, pp. 102-103: it seems to be the Māg. Ap. genitive in « -āha » extended to form the plural, like « -rā » of Bengali, « -kā » of Bhōjpuriyā).

In the Standard Colloquial, some intransitive verbs are seen to employ the « -ē » affix, in apparent contradiction to the rule that it is confined to transitives only: thus নাচলে « nāclē » *he danced*, কাঁদলে « kādlē » *he wept*, হাঁটলে « hāṭlē » *he walked*, খাটলে « khāṭlē » *he laboured* (but খাটলা « khāṭlā » *it fitted*). Cases like these can be explained as a phonetic development out of « -ilā » forms of MB. — < « nācilā, kāndilā, hānṭilā, khāṭilā » etc. (see *supra*, pp. 400-401): but the proper explanation is that these verbs are really transitives with cognate objects like নাচ, নাচা, নাচন « nācǎ, nācā, nācǎnǎ », কাঁদ, কান্না, কাঁদন « kādǎ, kānnā, kādǎnǎ » etc. understood and sometimes expressed. The « -ē » is thus never extended to intransitives in the dialects in which it is employed. On the other hand, through the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and of East Bengal dialects, the « -ā » from is now being used at times by Standard Colloquial speakers with the transitive also—*e.g.*, পেল, খেল, দেখল, দিল « pēlā, khēlā, dēkhlā, dilā » *he obtained, ate, saw, gave*, beside the proper « -ē » forms.

The credit of first noticing the difference between the intransitive and transitive past bases in Bengali as well as of suggesting explanations belongs to Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 366, 374, 350; LSI., V, I, 1903, p. 13, foot-note; cf. also 'Prabāsī' for 1329, Pauṣa, pp. 382 ff.). In

the JASB. article, a form like মারিলেক « maril-ĕ-(ká) » *he killed* Grierson sought to explain (on the analogy of Maithilī forms with affixed object and subject pronouns)as being from « * māril-ai-ka », being either <« *māril-āya-ka » = *killed-this*(object)-*by-him*, where « āya » was the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « idam », and « ka » was a third personal pronoun with instrumental power having affinities in Kaśmīrī; or < « * māril-ahahī-ka » = *killed-that*(object)-*by-him*, where « ahahī » was the oblique of « aha », the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « adas ». But there is nothing in MB. and OB. to warrant such derivations. We have the « -ĕka » affix with intransitive verbs from the eMB. period. Grierson formulated another explanation in the LSI.: খালে « khālĕ » *he ate* = « khāilä » *eaten* + « -hi » *by him, by them*. But this « -hi » as an enclitic instrumental pronoun cannot be otherwise assumed from MB. and OB.

715. The « -ká » affix in the forms অক, ওক, এক « -āká, -ōká, -ĕká » in the past tense is pleonastic: possibly it was polite or honorific in Early Bengali. This is discussed below, under ' Pleonastic Affixes,' pp. 989 ff.

716. The honorific forms —অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, « -ănti, -ānti, -āntä, -āntä, -ĕntä » and এন, আইন, আকি, বীহে, « -ĕná, -āiná, -āni, -āï » have been extended from the present tense by adding to the past base in « -ilä ilä ». As has been explained before, they form two groups—the verbal « -anti » and the nominal « -ăna, -ana, -ăn-i, -an-i », the latter having ousted the former (see *supra*, p. 936). In the eMB. of the ŚKK., we find the verbal « -nt » forms only: কাড়িলান্ত « kāṛhilāntä » *took off*, চাহিলান্ত « cāhilāntä » *looked at*, গেলান্তি « gelānti » *went*, কহিলান্ত, কহিলেন্ত « kahilāntä, kahilēntä » *said*, etc.; and there are no « -n(i), -ñi » forms, which came in later. Early Assamese has « -āntä » — « thāilāntä, bhāilāntä » *was (were)*, « kāilāntä » *did*, etc. Maithilī and Magahī also have « -thi » (< -anti) » (*supra*, p. 937): but in Maithilī « -thi » occurs only with transitive verbs (Maithilī « dĕkhaḷä-thi », but « calal-āhä », whereas Magahī has both « dĕkhaḷä-thi, calaḷä-thī »).

In later MB., « -nt- » and « -n- » occur side by side in the texts. « -ĕntä, -āntä » are the common affixes in Chuṭī Khān's ' Mahābhārata ' (VSPd. ed.): and « -ĕná » is already well-established in Kṛttivās. The

nominal « -n- » form may thus be said to have successfully invaded the domain of the verb in the 15th century. In the ' Padmā-purāṇa of Vaṅśī-dāsa (17th century: Maimansing), « -āī (< -āni) » is almost the rule for the past third person honorific: *e.g.*, p. 43, পুলস্ত্য কহিলাঁ‘ই « Pulāstya kahilāī » *P. said*; p. 71, কহিলাঁ‘ই মেনকাসুন্দরী « kahilāī Menakā-sundarī »; p. 98, ব্রহ্মা চলি আইলাঁ‘ই « Brāhmā cāli āilāī » *B. came away*; p. 109, ধরিলাঁ‘ই « dharilāī » *caught*; p. 185, দিলাঁ‘ই « dilāī » *gave*; p. 194, বলিলাঁ‘ই « balilāī » *said*; p. 196, ভাবিলাঁ‘ই « bhābilāī » *thought*. The « -āni, -āñi, -āī » form is still current for the honorific in E. Vaṅga.

The nominal « -n- » figures in Bhōjpuriyā (*e.g.* « rahal-an » *was, were* = Bengali রহিলেন « rahil-ōnə̄ », « dekhal-an, dekhal-ani » *saw* = Bengali দেখিলেন « dēkhil-ōnə̄ »). In Assamese « dēkhila-hāk » *you saw*, « dēkhilō-hāk » *we saw*, the affix « -hāk » is found with the 2nd and 1st person to form the plural, and this also is undoubtedly the nominal « -na, -nha » with pleonastic « -ka ». In Maithilī and Magahī, the nominal « -nh- » is added to the verb, but commonly with a dative-accusative (and not nominative-instrumental, or simple plural) force: *e.g.*, Maithilī « dēkhathi » *he* (honorific) *sees* (< *they see*), but « dĕkhathī-nhi » (honorific) *he sees* (< *they see*) *them* (i.e. *a respected person*), and « dĕkhiai-nhi » *sees them* > *sees a respected person*: and so with the past tense—« dĕkhalə-thi » beside « dĕkhalə-nhi » (here active « -nhi » as an equivalent of « -thi »), « dĕkhalə-k-ai » (object), « dĕkhalə-thi-nhi » (object). In the intransitive, « -nhi » is used for the indirect object only. So Magahī « dĕkhalə-thī », « dĕkhalə-thī-n » (object « -n- »). Oṛiyā too adds the plural affix (found with the noun) to the past and future bases of the verb, but it is not « -n- » of the genitive, but « -ẽ- » < « -ahi » of the instrumental (see *supra*, p. 724): *e.g.*, sg. « dĕkhilā », pl. « dĕkhil-ẽ » *saw*; sg. « hōilā », pl. « hōil-ẽ » *were*.

[III] THE AFFIXES FOR THE FUTURE TENSE.

These are exactly on the lines of the past, and detailed treatment is not necessary.

717. The forms for the First Person in MB. and NB. are: ব (ও), ওবেঁ, ওঁ, (বোঁ, বুঁ > বুঁ, মুঁ, ওঁ), জাম « -ঁ (-ō), -ōhōঁ, -ōঁ (-b-ō, -b-ū > -mu, -m,

-ŋ = ŋ̃), -ām ». The base in « -ǎ » —ইব « -ib-ǎ » —occurs in OB. and MB. (including the ŚKK.), and has been adopted as the « sādhu-bhāṣā » form, without any personal affix. In the ŚKK., « -ô » is the affix for the first person, and « -āhô, -ōhô » do not occur there; but the « -hô » forms may be attested for eMB. from Early Assamese « hãibō-hō, dibō-hō » beside « hãibō, dibō » (= New Assamese « hãm, dim ») *I shall be, I shall give.* The eMB. « -ô » may have been also the result of « -aŵa, -ama ». In any case, it would seem to have extended from the past; and in the past, already in the 14th century, « -ilǎ-hô, -ilō-hô » had given « -il-ô ». The Early MB. « -ô » lost its nasalisation through confusion with the base in « -ǎ », and the Standard Colloquial « -ō » (-bō), is commonly written ব « -bǎ » following the « sādhu-bhāṣā » spelling. The « -m-, -ŋ- » forms have been noted before (p. 967). The affix « -ām » is found in Maimansing, and is evidently the same form as in the past (see *supra*, pp. 976-977).

718. The affixes for the Second Person are (in addition to the base form অ « -ǎ » in MB. and OB.) : ই « -i » contemptuous or familiar; উ « -u » contemptuous and familiar, in MB.; এ, এঁ, এই « -ē, -ễ, -ēhễ » polite, of which the shortened form « -ē » alone occurs in NB.; and আ, আহা « -ǎ, -āhā » polite and ordinary (besides এন « -ēnǎ » with আপনি « āpǎni » honorific, from 3rd person).

Of these, « -i » and « -u » are the same as in the past tense (pp. 978-980). « -ēhễ » is found in the ŚKK., *e.g.,* উঠিবেই « uṭhibēhễ » *you will rise,* করিবেই « kǎribēhễ » *you will do,* রুষিবেই « ruṣibēhễ » *you will be angry,* etc.; also the contracted « -ễ » and the denasalised « -ē » are found there; and in the same work « -ibēhễ » occurs as a contracted « -ibhễ » in বহিবে « bǎhibhễ » *you will carry* (p. 175). This « -ēhễ, -ễ, -ē » has also apparently been extended from the past. So, too, « -ǎ, -āhā », also polite forms. « -ǎ » is found in MB.—চলিবা, করিবা « cǎlibā, kǎribā »; and this « -ǎ » might by Vowel Harmony give the Standard Colloquial চ'লবে, ক'রবে [cɔlbe, korbe]. These last two forms (-ǎ, -āhā) are not found in the ŚKK., but the « -āhā » can be attested from Early Assamese: *e.g.,* « kǎribāhā » (as in p. 852 *supra*). The « -ǎ » affix is now quite common in East Bengal dialects: the Standard Colloquial prefers « -ē ».

719. The affixes for the Third Person are : অ « -অ» (< -অৱ,-অ) the base, in OB. and MB. (found at the present day in East Bengali and in Modern Assamese) ; এ « -ē », in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Coll. (= same as the « -ē » of the 3rd person past : some influence of the « -ē » in the 3rd person sigmatic future of eMB.— « -hē »—described before at p. 965 —is very likely here : « -ibə » is found in the ŚKK., in both transitive and intransitive verbs, and also in Early Assamese) ; and the honorific অৱ, এৱ, এন, আন্তি, অন্তি etc. « -ántá, -ēntá, -ēná, -áni, -áñi », as in the past tense. Besides, there is the affix এক « -ēká » with pleonastic « -ka », found in the ŚKK. and in Early Assamese, and also in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in West Rādha dialects : this is discussed below.

[IV] THE AFFIXES FOR THE CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL PAST.

720. They also agree with those for the other two participial tenses. There are some restrictions : for the 1st person, ই « -i » does not occur ; for the 2nd person contemptuous (= old singular), ইস্ « -is » is used, and never (or rarely in some dialects) ই « -i » or উ « -u » ; and for the 3rd person, similarly, এ « -ē » is not found.

[H] PLEONASTIC AFFIXES.

[I] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -KA ».

721. The pleonastic affixes added to the tense forms are noteworthy in Bengali as in the other Magadhan languages. The most common of these affixes is « -ka ».

In NB., the forms for the 1st person are free from the pleonastic affix, at least it is not added directly to the verb ; but it is added to the 2nd person past and future (ordinary, with « tumi »), and to non-honorific 3rd person past and future (and in some dialects to the 3rd person past habitual), as well as 3rd person imperative, and but rarely to the 2nd person imperative : e.g., তুমি দিলেক, দিলাক, দিবেক, চ'লুবেক « tumi dil-ēká, dil-āká, dibē-ká, cá'lbē-ká » (never, however, « tui dibi-ká, cá'lbi-ká) » ; সে দিলেক, চ'লুলেক, দিবেক, চ'লুবেক « sē dilē-ká, cá'llē-ká, dibē-ká, cá'lbē-ká » ; সে দিক্, চলুক « sē di-ká (< diu-ká), cálu-ká ». Except in the case of 3rd person

imperative, the use of « kĄ » is regarded as archaic in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and is to a great extent dialectal in Bengali.

Of the present-day dialects, that of West Rāḍha has a marked preference for the « -ka », commonly in the third person : and it is found also in North Bengali (which has a special employ with the 2nd person polite imperative = original passive ? : e.g., দ্যাখেক « dyākhēkĄ < dēkhē-ka = ? *ḷdēkhiai + ka », p. 130, LSI., V, I ; so রাখেক « rākhēkĄ < ? * rākhiai + ka », p. 179, ibid ; also cf. p. 216, in Haijong dialect : see supra, p. 918), in Mayang (where it seems to occur as « -gā »), and in Chittagong (in the Chakma dialect, rather rarely). It is found pretty frequently in MB., from the ŚKK. downwards, generally with the third person, occasionally with the second, and very rarely with the first. Already in the ŚKK. we have forms like ধরিলেক « dhārilēkĄ » caught, চাহিলেক « cāhilēkĄ » looked, হিফিলেক « hiphilēkĄ » cast, নহিবেক « nāhibēkĄ » will not be, করিবেক « kāribēkĄ » will do, লৈবেক « lĄibēkĄ » will take, etc. In the ŚKK., it is noteworthy that the « -ka » has also been found with the lst person future and with the 3rd person present—this sort of use with the first and third person is not noticed ordinarily : thus ŚKK. নিবোঁক « nibŏ-kĄ » I shall take (p. 287), and পোড়েক « pōṛē-kĄ » burns (p. 110). In the NB. Standard Colloquial, however « -ka » may be used with negatives in all persons and tenses as a detached word, without any special force, unless it be of some sort of finality : e.g., দেবো না ক' « dēbō-nā-kĄ » I shan't give, সে দিলে না ক', দেয় নি ক' « sē dilē-nā-kĄ, dēy-ni-kĄ » he didn't give, তুমি দিও না কঁ « tumi diō nā kĄ » you won't give, নাইক' = নাহি-ক' « nāï-kĄ < nāhi-kĄ » is not, are not ; in cases like the above, the negative phrase may be taken as one group-word to which the affix is added.

The « -ka » for the 3rd person imperative is already well-established in the ŚKK., although the older form without the affix is still equally common (see supra, pp. 903, 907).

The « -ka » is absent in the Caryās as a verbal affix.

722. Of the other Magadhan Languages, Bhōjpuriyā alone seems not to employ it with the past and future bases. It is fairly common in Early Oṛiyā, specially with the past in the 3rd person (sg. « -ilā-kĄ »,

pl. and sg. honorific « -ilē-ka »): but Oṛiyā never used it with the 3rd person imperative. The « -ka » affix for the verb, however, has fallen into disuse in Modern Oṛiyā. So, too, Early Assamese shows as· much preference for the « -ka » as Bengali; *e.g.*, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 3, « bhāilēka » beside « bhāila » *was*; p. 7, « bōlāntōka » *they say*, « thākāntōka » *they are*; p. 9, « thākibēka » *they will be*, « bulibēka » *they will say*; p. 20, « nā-hi-k-ānta » *they are not*; p. 28, « nā-hi-k-ay » *is not*; p. 36, « thāilēka » *was*; p. 43 « yōgāilēka » *supplied*, etc., and elsewhere « nu-hi-k-ō » *I am not* (cf. Standard Coll. Bengali নই ক' = নহিক' « nā(h)ï-ka » *I am not*, নাই ক' « nā(h)i-ka » *he is not*). All this usage is curtailed in Modern Assamese, where we find the « -ka » only with the 3rd person imperative, as in Bengali: *e.g.*, « kār-ō-kŏ » *let him do*. The unstableness of the « -ka » in Oṛiyā and Assamese is remarkable: and it is almost equally unstable in MB. and NB., being commonly attached to the imperative only.

The « -ka » features also in Central Magadhan. Its use in Magahī is rather restricted, it being found only in the 3rd person past both transitive and intransitive. The root « √ha » *to be* in Magahī also occurs as « √ha-k », for all the three persons. But in Maithilī « -ka » has a greater importance. It is added to the 3rd person of the simple past tense of the transitive verb (« dēkhala-k » beside poetic or earlier « dēkhala » *he saw*), where it apparently refers to the subject; but in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, it can be added pleonastically where the verb-form takes the pronominal affixes referring to the non-honorific object: *e.g.*, 1st person: « dēkhal-ī, dēkhala-hŭ, dēkhalŏ » *I saw* (simple form), « dēkhal-i-ai, dēkhal-i-a(h)u; dēkhal-ai, dēkhal-a(h)u » *saw* (with affixed « -ai, ahu » referring to the object in the 3rd and 2nd persons); and optionally, the latter group can have « -ka », as « dēkhal-i-ai-k, dēkhal-i-au-k; dēkhal-ai-k, dēkhal-au-k »; so 2nd person « dēkhal-āh » beside « dēkhal-ahā-k »; and 3rd person « dēkhala-k » *he saw* (simple), « dēkhal-k-ai, dēkhal-k-au » (with object pronoun « -ai, -au »), beside optionally « dēkhalŏ-k-ai-k, dēkhal-k-au-k » (in which two « -k- » affixes occur: the first « ka » refers apparently to the 3rd person subject, and the second « ka » is simply pleonastic). Early Maithilī as in literature does not show these curious extensions

the form for the 8rd person was simply in « -ala »—« dēkhala », and not
« *dēkhala-ka », as in Modern Maithilī. This we find in the old poetry,
in Vidyāpati, in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara.' The affixation of the pleonastic
« -ka » etc. thus developed along independent lines in Maithilī.

723. The usage in MB. and NB. and in Maithilī shows that the
« -ka » is not restricted to a single person: it is found with all the three.
We have a very popular pleonastic « -ka » affix in Bengali with other parts
of speech also : we find it with nouns (*e.g.*, plural affixes গুলাক « gulā-kə »
beside গুলা « gulā », আদিক > দিগ « -ādi-kə > -di-gə » beside আদি > দি
« ādi > -di », একটুক « ekə-ṭu-kə » *a little* beside একটু « ekə-ṭu » ; etc.), and
dialectally it is found with conjunctions (*e.g.*, কিন্তুক for কিন্তু » kintu-kə =
kintu » in North Bengali). This « -ka » is always handy to give a point,
a supposed elegance to a form in the speech of the uneducated classes in
many dialectal areas : we see that in the case of learned Sanskrit words.
The pleonastic « -ka » with verb forms appears to be the same affix noted
under ' Formative Affixes,' No. 36 (pp. 682-683). It came specially
to be associated with the 3rd person past and future in Bengali because
there was no prominent affix for these finite verb forms—nothing
comparable with the « -āhõ, -ŏ, -ām » etc. of the first person, or with « -is,
-āhā, -ēhŏ » of the second. Sometimes it was thought to be quite a polite
form too. The same apparently was the reason for the other Magadhan
speeches : and if Maithilī restricted it to the transitive past 3rd person (*e.g.*,
« dēkhalak » beside « calal »), it was because the past intransitive still
retained a great deal of the original adjectival nature.

The link vowel of the pleonastic « -ka » in the 3rd person already
occurs as « -ĕ » (and not « -ā » or « -ā ») in the ŚKK   In the future,
the 8 pers. affix was « -ĕ », and « -kə » was simply added to it. In the
past, it was apparently the transitive verbs in « -ĕ » in the 3rd person
that first took up the « -ka » (we should compare with the state of things in
Maithilī in this matter) : in the few instances of « -il-ĕ-ka » that we
find in the ŚKK., there is no case of an intransitive verb. From the
transitive it was apparently extended, as « -ĕ-ka », to the intransitive
forms from the 15th century onwards.

724· Grierson, basing his observations on the modern Maithilī use of « -ka » for the 3rd person past of the transitive verb, explained this « -ka » both as an instrumental pronoun referring to the subject (*e.g.*, « dĕkhal-k-ai » *seen + by him* [k] + *object* [ai]), and as a nominative pronoun (*e.g.*, « dĕkhal-ī-au-k » = *seen + by me* [ī] + *for you* [au] + *he* [k]: JASB., 1895, p. 350).   But an *ensemble* view of the whole question would certainly connect other facts with what we see in Maithilī, and make the simple explanation of the « ka » as the pleonastic affix as the more likely one, rather than regarding it as a problematic 3rd personal pronoun « -ka ». Grierson found support in postulating the 3rd personal pronoun « k- » from the Assamese forms « bōpāi » *my father*, « bāpā » *your father*, and « bāp-ĕ-k » *his father* : but another explanation may be suggested for these forms: « -āi (bōp-āi) » may be compared with the affix of endearment found in Bengali personal names (for which see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes,' No. 9, p. 662); « -ā (bāp-ā) » for the 2nd person is an affix of respect, such as we find in the Assamese 2nd personal forms of the verb; and « -k (bāp-ĕ-k) » is just the pleonastic affix, perhaps originally added as a polite form, to the naked word « bāp ».

Among other NIA. speeches, the Jaipurī form of Rājasthānī has a fondness for this pleonastic « -ka » which can be compared with the Magadhan usage (LSI., IX, II, p. 35).

725. The « -ka » affix has had a very important place among the affixes of IA. Already in OIA., from post-Vedic times, this affix was employed with a variety of forces (cf. Franklin Edgerton, 'The *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian,' Part I, Leipzig, 1911).   It seems to have been re-introduced in MIA., evidently through the influence of a large percentage of the Skt. *tss.* and *stss.* which showed it. The pleonastic use of it has been exhaustively noted by Pāṇini. We find that the « -ka » could be used in Skt. pleonastically, or with a sense of contempt, pity, littleness, or unfamiliarity, in connexion with all sorts of forms—inflected pronouns and inflected verbs (mainly 3rd pers. sg.), as well as indeclinables, in addition to noun bases (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 71-78, 85, 86): *e.g.*, the instances given by the grammarians,

« uccaiḥ : uccakaiḥ ; śanaiḥ : śanakaiḥ ; tvayā : tvayakā ; yuvayōḥ : yuvakayōḥ ; yuṣmāsu : yuṣmakāsu ; jalpati : jalpataki ; pacati : pacataki ; pāti : pātaki ; svapiti : svapitaki ; ēhi : ēhaki » ; etc. It is not unlikely that a revived « -ka,-kka » should develop in MIA. and NIA. a similar employ as a pleonastic.

[II] The Pleonastic Affix « -ra ».

726. An affix « -ra » occurs in dialectal NB. and in MB. In NB. this is found in West Rāḍha (*e.g.*, in the Sarākī dialect of Ranchi) in connexion with the conjunctive in « -i(y)ā » : *e.g.*, যাইযার « jāïā-rǝ = jāïā-rǝ » *having gone*, খাইযার « khāïā-rǝ » *having eaten*, উঠিযার « uṭhiyā-rǝ » *having risen* (LSI., V, I, pp. 88, 89) ; it is found also in the dialects of East Vaṅga—in Sylhet, Kachar and Mayang dialects, in Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong. The usage in East Vaṅga is more extensive : the « -ra » occurs not only with the conjunctive, *e.g.*, Chittagong দিযারে, করিযারে, আইযারে « diyā-r-ě, kāriyā-r-ě, āïyā-r-ě » *on having given, on having done, on having come,* Mayang « ěïlā-rā » *on having come,* but also with the present (radical) and the past conditional (< present participle) tenses, to indicate continuous or progressive action : *e.g.*, E. Sylhet যাইযার, যাইযাম, যাইযাম « jāïyā-rǝ, jāït-r-ām, jāï-r-ām » *I go, I am going* (beside যাইতেছি « jāïtěchi » as in Standard Bengali) ; করি « kāṛt-r-ǎ » *is* or *are doing* ; যাইযার « jāït-rā-y » *you are going* (beside যাইতেছ « jāïtěchǎ ») ; হয়র « hāyā-rǝ » *is happening* ; and Mayang « pait-rā » *are getting,* « jā-r-gā » *he goes,* « tumi-te ǎho-r-ai (= āïsa-r-āy) » *you are coming,* « sōre dākāite hin kōrta-r-ǎ » *thieves and robbers are making destitute,* « āmi kākuti kōriyā-r » *we pray,* « bāpōk gum jā-r » *the father sleeps,* « tā huōr rākhe-r » *he tends swine,* « bōk paiyā mōring-kōrau-r-i » *I am dying of hunger,* etc., etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.) ; Chittagong করির beside করি « kāri-rǝ, kāri » *I (we) do,* করন beside করন « kārǎ-rǝ, kārǎs » *you do,* করের beside করে « kārě-rǝ, kārě » *he does, they do,* খাইর, খাই « khāï-rǝ, khāï » *I eat,* খাওর « khāo-rǝ » *you eat,* খাযের, খার « khāyěrǝ, khā-rǝ » *he eats,* আই উযাসে মরির « āi uāsě māri-rǝ » *I am dying through starvation,* আই তোমার খেজমৎ করিযের « āi tōārǝ khězmǎt kāriyěrǝ » *I am doing service for you,* etc. ; and Chakma « mārǎṅ-ārǝ » *I am dying,* « gārǎṅ-ārǝ » *I am doing,* « bhābě-rǝ » *he is thinking,* etc.

The MB. examples are all found in the ŚKK., and the « -ra » there occurs, not with the conjunctive, but with the finite tense forms—present, past and future, as well as imperative: thus: p. 39, আছের « āchē-rå » *is*; p. 195, শোভের « śōbhē-rå » *is beautiful*; p. 69, বাজের « bājē-rå » *sounds*; p. 152, গেলির « gēli-rå » *it went* (=gēlå-rå?)); p. 2, চিন্তির « cinti-rå » *he deliberated* (non-l past in « -i »: *supra*, p. 947); p. 50, বেঢ়িলের « bērhilē-rå » *it surrounded*; pp. 50, 193, 279, দিবোঁর « dibō-rå » *I shall give*; p. 84, হৈবের « håibō-rå » *it will be*; p. 334, কহিয়ারোঁ « kåhiå-r-ō » *let me narrate*; p. 11, কহিয়ার « kåhiå-r-å » *do tell*; p. 72, খাআর « khåā-r-å » *do eat*; pp. 16, 115, 319, 336, 394 দিআর « diā-rå » *do give*; p. 38, দিআর্ « diā-r-u » *let him give*. In the imperative forms, the base seems to be the non-l passive participle in « -iå », to which « -rå » is added, and the whole is treated as a base to which the personal suffixes are attached. Cf. the Sylhet and Mayang forms, and the Chittagong idiom তুই দিরারে মুই দিয়া « tui diyā-r-ĕ mui diyå » *on your giving, I would give*, or *if you have given, then I have given also* (VSPdP., 1326, p. 251).

727. The fact of this « -ra » occurring in the two extreme dialect areas of Bengali—in Early West Bengali, in modern dialectal West Bengali, and in modern extreme Eastern and South-Eastern Bengali—would suggest that it was a common Bengali affix, but its development has been localised in certain tracts. It seems to occur sporadically in other dialects also in MB.: *e.g.*, Vijaya-gupta's ' Padmā-purāṇa ' (Barisal), ধূপের ধোঁয়া দিরারে বাসিত করে কেশ « dhūpērå dhōå diyārē båsitå kårē kēśå » *perfumes hair with incense smoke* (VSP., p. 186).

The « -ra » affix apparently occurs in other NIA., outside Bengal and the Magadhan area. We find it in Rājasthānī (*e.g.*, Mārwāṛī « hūya-r, whē-r » *having become* beside « hūy-naī, hō, hō-kar, whētō-kånaī », « māra-r » *having struck* beside « mār-kar, mār-naī, mārū-naī »; Central Rājasthānī, Jaipurī etc., « whai-r, hō-r » *having become*, « māra-r » *having struck*; Mēwātī « hō-r, mār-ar »), where the affix « -ra » is added to the conjunctive participle ; we find it in Pahāṛī, *e.g.*, Khas-kurā « gårē-ra » *having done*, « bhayē-ra » *having been* (where the « -ra » has been explained as a conjunction meaning *and*, which is added to the oblique form of the passive

participle), beside the « -i » conjunctive « gari, bhai » *having done, having been* (LSI., IX, IV, p. 36); Sirmaurī « khāy-rŏ » *having eaten* (where « -rŏ » seems to the a post-position : LSI., ibid., p. 465); also « -rŏ » in other Pahāṛī dialects (LSI., ibid., pp. 570, 602).

The etymology of the Bengali « -ra » is puzzling, and probably the source is not one, but many. In the NB. conjunctives, whether of West Rāḍha or of S.-E. Vaṇga, it can very well be post-positional in origin, from « pāṛẹ, pār-ě » *after*, used in an adverbial sense. We have Modern Bengali instances like W. Rāḍha বাদে বাদে « jāyě bādě » *after having gone* (where « bādě » *after* is the Perso-Arabic « baʿd ») = Standard Colloquial গিয়ে পরে « giyě pāṛẹ » : Cf. Haijong dialect (Maimansing) উঠিয়ামি « uṭhiyā-mi » *after getting up*, দেখিয়ামি « děkhiyā-mi » *on seeing* where « -mi » is the locative affix (see *supra*, p. 751); we can also compare Marāṭhī « uṭhilyā-var » *on having risen*, « sōḍilyā-var » *on having left*, where « var = par ». The « -ra » in Khas-kurā, explained by Grierson as meaning *and* (< apara), can similarly be a postpositional form. In the present forms, in Bengali, the « -ra » can very well be the conjunction « āra, ăara, aara < apara » *and* : « karě-rẹ » *does and = does, continues to do, is doing*. So, too, in the MḂ. past and future. But the addition of it to a verbal base, and then tagging on personal suffixes to it (as in the MB. imperative 1. « kăhiā-r-ŏ », 2. « kăhiā-r-ă », 3. « diā-r-u » and in NB. of E. Sylhet 1. « jāït-r-ām, jāï-r-ām » 2. « jāït-r-āy », 3. « jāït-r-ă », and Mayang 2. « āhŏ-r-ai », 3. « kŏrtā-r-ă ») is a unique phenomenon. I would suggest that here the « -r- » is the contracted form of « √kăr », and the affix is simply the verbal auxiliary added on to the root : « kăhiārŏ < *kahiā + karŏ » = « kathitaṁ karōmi » *I make it described*, for « kathayāmi » *I describe it* ; « diāru < *diyā + karu » = « dattaṁ karŏtu » for « dadātu » : « jāït-rām = * jāïta + karŏ, * karām » (Bengali « √kăr » + affix « -āmi ») = *going I do = I go on, I am going* ; and a form like « jāï-rām » or « āhŏ-r-āi » shows a combination of a regular conjugation in the present + the « -r- < √kăr » and personal affixes combined. The genitive affix « kara > -āṛẹ » implying connexion may also have something to do with it.

[III] The Pleonastic Affix « -li » of MB.

728. The affix লি « -li » occurs in the ŚKK. less than half a dozen times with the future or precative imperative : *e.g.*, করিহলি « kâribâli » *you will do* ; দিহলি « dihâli » *you will give* ; গাম গড়াহলি « gâŋ gâṛâhâli » *you will roll (your) body* ; চলিহলি « câlihâli » *you will go*. An equivalent of this affix has not been found in any NB. dialect Bhōjpuriyā among Magadhan speeches has an « -l- » form which is added to the old present (or radical) tense to form a present definite or future (LSI., V, II, p. 52). In some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Marāṭhī, in Khas-kurā, and in Gaṛhwālī and Kumāūnī (Central Pahāṛī), the future is also expressed by an « -l- » form.

The MB. « -li », occurring as it does with an original future form to strengthen its force, seems to be equally a future-indicating suffix, as in the other NIA. speeches, and to be identical with that. Various derivations of this « -l- » suffix have been suggested (cf. Beames, ' Comp. Gramm.,' II, p. 163 ; Bhāṇḍārkar, ' Wilson Lectures,' p. 272 ; Hoernle, ' Gaudian Grammar,' §§ 501, 509 ; Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' p. 241). The derivation suggested by Bloch for this suffix seems to be the most likely one : it is the passive participle of a Prakrit root « lē » *to take* (corresponding to the Skt. « √ lā » : cf. similar alternation between Prakrit and NIA. « √ dē » and Skt. « √ dā »), such as we find, for instance, in Hindōstānī « lī-ā », in Brajbhākā « lī-nau », in dialectal Bengali নিলে « li-l-ē » (= in Standard Bengali নিলে « ni lē » with merging of নী « √ nī » and নহ « √ lâh < √ labh » in it). This « *lī (a) > li » would seem to be added pleonastically, and in MB. it is used in both genders. Cf. similar future use of « gā, gau (< gata) » in Western Hindī (and in Maithilī).

[IV] The Pleonastic Affix « khan » or « khun ».

729. The colloquial of Calcutta and the surrounding districts uses the word খন « -khân » or খুন « -khun », or অখন, অখুন « -âkhân, -âkhun » after vowels, pleonastically with all persons in the past and future tenses : *e.g.*, যাবো-(অ)খুন, দিলুম-খুন, হবে-(অ)খন « jābō-(â)khun,

dilum-khunḍ, babē-(ā)khunḍ » *I shall go, I (we) gave, it will be.* There is just a suggestion of the finality or instantaneous completion of the action : here the force of the OIA. « kṣaṇa » *instant*, its source, is preserved. Its origin has been given *supra*, p. 857, under 'Adverbs of Time in ষণ « khānḍ ».' It seems to occur also in Magahī, in forms like « kailḍkai-khan » *did*, « kahalḍkai-khan » *said*, «chōralḍkai-khan» *gave up*, « chōraulḍkai-khan » *caused to give up*, « ailai-khan » *came*, besides « kariai-khan » *I do, I shall do*, etc. (as in the 'Gospel of St. Mark, in Magadhi,' Calcutta, 1890 : a form which does not occur in Grierson).

In dialectal Bengali (Khulna, Jessore, etc.), this form has been reduced to « nē » (< ānē < āānē < āhānē [ɔxone], =ākhānē) with the future only : দেবোনে « dēbō-nē » *I shall give*, যাবানে « jābā-nē » [zɑbɑne] *you will go*, etc.

[V] The Pleonastic Affix ' -ṬĀ.'

730. The Mayang dialect apparently uses a pleonastic affix « tā » : thus, « eil-tā » *he came* « eilā-tā » *they have come*, « peilāng-tā » *I got*, « koraurī-tā » *I am making* « ose-tā, āse-tā » *is*, beside « eil » *he came*, « dekhilo » *he saw*; « nā-peil-gā » *did not get*, « korauri » *I do*, « āse » *is*, etc. This « -tā » is found with nouns and pronouns also (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.).

Mayang does not distinguish between cerebrals and dentals, as much Assamese, and this « -tā » can well represent a cerebral « -ṭā ». This « -ṭā » apparently is the 'Enclitic Definitive' noted at pp. 780-781, and at p. 686. Its use with verbs is not noticed elsewhere in Bengali, but it seems to be present in Oṛiyā as « -ṭi », especially in Early Oṛiyā : *e.g.*, « tu jibu-ṭi » *will you go ?* (cf. LSI., V, II, p. 381, Expletive Additions) : Early Oṛiyā, 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai ed., p. 16) « pāïbā-ṭī kāhi » *where will one get it ?*; 'Bhāgavata, Vastra-haraṇa' p. 8, « nārākē pāribā-ṭi jāï » *will fall in hell*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 8, « sē dharmē bāñcā-ṭi-ki sukhē » *live happily in that* dharma (cf. Oṛiyā « ṭikē »=Bengali এবট্, টুক « ēkḍ-ṭu, -ṭu-kḍ », p. 780) ; 'Rāsa-līlā,' p. 8, « āmbhārā pūrilā-ṭi kāla » *my time is over* ; etc.

[VI]   The Pleonastic Affix « -ḌA ».

731. In the O.B., the two forms « gāi-ḍa » *sang* and « sanāiḍa » *signified* occur (Caryā 2). They represent OIA. causative passive participles « gāpitam » and « saṁjñāpitam » + the pleonastic affix « -ṭa > -ḍa » = « -ṛa » in NIA. (=Formative Affix No. 46, pp. 689 ff., *supra*). Use of this pleonastic affix for verb-forms is known in other NIA., although this figures no longer in that connexion in Bengali (of Rājasthānī dialects, LSI., IX, II, pp. 30, 59).

[I]   The Participles.

[I]   The Present Participle.

732. The present participle occurs in Bengali in two forms : in the base-form in অন্ত « -ántá », and in the locative in ইতে « -ité ». It represents the OIA. active present participle in « -ant- » (the « śatṛ » of the Indian grammarians). These have been discussed under 'Formative Affixes,' Nos. 3 and 28. Other instances of the « -ántá » form may be given : পড়ন্ত « pár-ántá » *falling*, নিবন্ত « nib-ántá » *dying out (as a flame)*, উঠন্ত « uṭh-ántá » *rising*, জলন্ত « jwál-ántá » *burning*, সাজন্ত « sáj-ántá » *fitting*, ফুটন্ত « phuṭ-ántá » *blossoming, boiling (bubbling)*, আফুরন্ত « á-phur-ántá » *unending*, etc. The affix « -ántá » is an archaic survival (doubtless a literary one) for Bengali, with the « -n- » fully retained : it ought to have been * আত « -át- » : we actually find « -át- » in some rare instances in MB. : *e.g.*, VSP., p., 658, জীয়ত « jīyátá » *living*. The participle as an attribute of the subject of a sentence, *e.g.*, as in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' p. 332), is not found in Bengali. The Assamese equivalent is « -ōt- » : « kár-ōt-á » *doer*, « cál-ōt-á » *walker*, « di-ōt-á » *giver*, etc. Oṛiyā has a form in « -u, -ū » as in « káru, kárū » (which is different in origin from the « -ántá » participle,) as the present participle absolute (see *supra*, p. 678). In Maithilī, the affix occurs as « -ait », fem. « -ait-i », in Magahī as « -ait, -at, -it » (feminine with « -ī » added); and in Bhōjpuriyā the same forms as those of Magahī occur.

The absolute or attributive use of the « -ántá » participle is found only with one root in the Caryās : thus in 18, we have « jīvantē māálá

(=maïlē) n̄āhi bisēsō » *there is no difference between the living and the dead*, where it is instrumental ; also in 49, « jïvantē maïlē nāhi bisēṣa »; and in 23, « jivantē bhelā bihan̄i maēla » *died without having been a living one*, where it is apparently nominative. The form is also restricted in use in eMB., but a few instances are found : thus ŚKK., p. 256, জীয়ন্ত « jïyantā » *living*, p. 276, মারন্তা « mārāntā » *one who strikes*.

733. The present participle in ইতে « -itē » represents the proper Bengali transformation of the MIA. « -anta » to « -ita- »—the native line of development in the language, represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual also. It is an inflected form—a locative absolute, and it indicates the condition under which an act is done. In dialectal Bengali, the uninflected form occurs either in forming the progressive tense (*e.g.*, করতাছে [kortase] < করিত্‌+আছে « kārit+āchē » in Maimansing Bengali), or to indicate either the simple participle, or when repeated a condition (*e.g.*, আসিৎ আসিৎ « āsit āsit » *while coming* in Manbhum, Khāriā-ṭhār dialect: LSI., V, I, pp. 93, 94). A locative of the present participle in « -it- » with the common postpositional affix for the locative case, *viz.*, ত « -tā » », seems to feature in the progressive tense in dialectal North Bengali: see *infra*, under ‘Compound or Periphrastic Tenses.’ By repeating the « -itē » form, continuity of the conditional or concurrent event is indicated : thus, আমি যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāïtē sē āsilā » *on my going* (lit. *I going*), *he came ;* আমি যাইতে যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāïtē jāïtē sē āsilā » *while I was going, he came*; আমি খাইতে খাইতে বলিব « āmi khāïtē khāïtē bāliba » *I shall narrate while eating*; তার এমন ভাই থাকতে সে কষ্ট পায় « tārā ēmānā bhāï thāktē sē kaṣṭa pāy » *with such a brother living, he suffers*; সে নাচিতে নাচিতে আসে « sē nācitē nācitē āsē » *he comes dancing*; গান গাইতে গাইতে সুতা কাটে « gānā gāïtē gāïtē sutā kāṭē » *spins while singing*, etc. The « -itē » form practically is in adverbial relation to the finite verb. This adverbial employ with an oblique form of the present participle is found in other NIA. speeches: *e.g.*, Early Assamese « -āntē » (fairly common); Oṛiyā « āntē », *e.g.*, (« kārāntē » *whilst doing*, also *on doing, about to do*: cf. « cālāntē mēdinï kāmpāï » *the earth trembles while he walks*, as in Jagannātha-dāsa) ; Maithilï « -itahï », (*e.g.*, « dekhitahï » *on seeing*); Hindōstānï

« -tē » (see Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 333, 335), *e.g.*, « sārī rāt talaphtē kaṭī » *the whole night passed in restlessness* (lit. *I being agitated*), « ḍartē ḍartē maĩ pās giyā » *I approached (it) in great fear* (*fearing much*), « ham gātē gātē sītī haĩ » *we* (fem.) *keep singing while we stitch*: in all the above, the oblique form is a locative; but in Old Western Rājasthānī, the source of Gujarātī and Mārwāṛī, where also this adverbial participle occurs, and in Marāṭhī similarly, the oblique form seems to be an absolute plural genitive (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 124: but Jules Bloch and V.K. Rājawāḍē suggest the MIA. absolutive in « -tvā-nam, -ttāṇaṁ » as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī as the source of the Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī « -tā »: 'Langue Marathe,' p. 260).

In the Caryās, the locative or adverbial participle occurs in a number of instances: *e.g.*, « (15) jāntē, jāantē *while going*; (16) buḍantē *while sinking*; (20) biārantē *while discussing*, (23) païsantē *while entering*; (30) suṇantē *on hearing*; (31) cāhantē cāhantē *while seeing*; (39) amiā ācchantē bisa gilēsi *while there is nectar thou swallowest poison*; (42) mūḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaï *while he remains a fool a man does not see*; dudha majhē laḍa ṇaccham̐tē dēkhaï =? dūdha mājhē laḍa ācham̐tē na dēkhaï *he does not see the butter (fat) while it is the midst of the milk*; (44) aṇa cāhantē āṇa biṇaṭhā *while asking for the one, the other is destroyed*; (50) jāgantē *while keeping awake* »; cf. also (6) « tarangantē = ? turaṁ gantē » *going quickly*; and « ghara acchantē mā jāṅga baṇē », *supra*, p. 960.

MB. instances: ŚKK., p. 11, পাছে পাছে জাইতে পথ হারাইল আম্ছি « pāchē pāchē jāïtē pāthā hārāïlā āmhi » *I lost the way while going after (her)*; p. 15, বাহুত বলয়া শোভে পাএত নুপূর। চলিতে চলিতে তোর রুণুঝুণু বাজে॥ « bāhu-tā balāyā śōbhē, pāē-tā nupūrā: calitē calitē tōrā ruṇu-jhuṇu bājē » *armlets grace (your) arms, on (your) feet anklets: while walking, these your (trinkets) tinkle*; p. 27, তাক সোঁঅরিতে মোর মনে বাঢ়ে তাপ « tākā sõarītē mōrā mānē bāṛhē tāpā » *sadness grows in my mind while I remember it all*; p. 355, যেবা কিছু দুখ দিলোঁ পার হৈতে নাও « jēbā kichu dukhā dilõ pārā haïtē nāē » *all the trouble I gave (thee) while crossing in the boat*;

ibid, না শুনিলি৺ তোর বোল নম্ব৺ জাইতে পাণী « na śuṇilṏ tōrẚ bōlẚ lẚẚ jẚitṏ pẚṵI » *I did not listen to thy words while fetching water*; p. 376, চাহিতে৺ চাহিতে৺ পাইল আচষিত « cẚhitṏ cẚhitṏ pẚïlẚ ẚcẚmbitẚ » *while seeking (looking for), found of a sudden*; etc., etc. ; Kṛttivāsa, ' Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 24, কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শক্রঘন « kẚnditṏ kẚnditṏ jẚnẚ Bhẚrẚtẚ Śẚtrughẚnẚ » *Bharata and Śatrughna go weeping* ; VSP., p. 709, নকুলক দেখন্তে সকল যায় মরি « Nẚkulẚ-kẚ dēkhẚntṏ sẚkẚlẚ jẚyẚ mẚri » *all go dead while seeing N.* ; ibid, p. 182, দুই চক্ষু থাকিতে « dui cẚkṣu thākitṏ » *while the two eyes exist* ; etc., etc.

This adverbial or locative absolute present participle goes back to OIA., and occurs throughout the history of IA. : cf. Rig-Veda, I, 184, « ucchántyām uṣási » *at Dawn as it shines forth* > *when Dawn shines forth* (Macdonell, ' Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 205); see also *supra*, p. 959.

From MB. times, the adverbial present participle in « -itē » has been confused with the infinitive in « -itē », for which see *infra*, under ' Verbal Nouns and Infinitives.'

[II] The Past (Passive) Participle.

734. The Bengali Passive Participle comes from the OIA. « -(i)ta », fortified either by « -ā » or by « -il-, -il-ā ». We have thus two types, the « -ā » type, and the « -l- » type, of which the latter is obsolete in the Standard Colloquial. They have been fully discussed under the ' Past Tense,' *supra*, pp. 940-959. In NB., the perfect tenses are made with a verb form in ইয়া « -iyā » + the auxiliary substantive verb « āch » (and « thāk ») : করিয়াছি « kẚriyā-chi » *I have done*, করিয়াছিলাম « kẚriyā-chilām » *I had done*, করিয়া থাকিব « kẚriyā thākibẚ » *I shall have done*. In Early Bengali, this « -iyā » occurs as ই « -i », and also as ইঅঁ, ইয়ঁ, ইঞা « -iẚ̃, -iyẚ̃, -iñẚ » etc.,—and the nasalised forms are still in use in West Bengali dialects.

This « -iyā » form is commonly explained as the conjunctive form = *having done,* but in the periphrastic combination of the tense, it is likely that it is the passive participle rather than the conjunctive indeclinable (see *infra*, under ' Compound or Periphrastic Tenses ').

That the « -iyā, -i » form represents the Passive Participle also (in addition to the conjunctive) is seen from its adjectival or adverbial employ which has occasionally a present participial force : thus, মাঝে লক্ষ্মীর মূর্তি, দুই পাশে দুই হাতী শুঁড় উচু করিয়া দাঁড়াইয়া « mājhē Lakṣmīṛ mūrtti, dui pāśē dui hātī śūṛ ūcu kåriyā dåṛāïyā » *in the middle the figure of Lakṣmī, on two sides two elephants standing with trunks raised high* ; শিব নাচি নাচি যায় « Śibå nāci nāci jāy » *Śiva goes dancing* ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহির « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āïlå bāhirå » *the queen came out weeping* : cf. কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন at p. 1002. The transition in significance from the passive participle adjective to the active present participle can easily happen through intransitive verbs.

Causative and Denominative verbs form their passive participle in আন, আনো « -ānå, -ānō », which is discussed below under those verbs.

[J] The Conjunctives.

735. There are two Indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in ইয়া « -iyā » (> Standard Coll. এ « -ē » with mutation of preceding vowel), the other in ইলে « -ilē » (> Standard Coll. লে « -lē », with accompanying mutation through influence of the « -i- »). Both mean *having done*, or *having finished* : but « -iyā » indicates merely a *succession of actions or events* done by or with reference to the *same* subject, while « -ilē » implies a *condition or precedence in a succession of acts* performed by the same subject or by different subjects : *e.g.,* আমি আসিয়া দেখিলাম « āmi āsiyā dēkhilām » *having come, I saw = I came and saw* ; সে আসিলে (এলে) পরে আমি দেখিলাম « sē āsilē (ēlē) pårē āmi dēkhilām » *I saw after he came* ; আমি সময় মত ফিরলে যেতে পারি « āmi såmåyå-måtå phirlē jētē pāri »*= I may go if I return in time* ; খেয়ে নাও, খেলে পর হাঁটতে পারবে « khēyē nåå, khēlē pårå hā̃ṭṭē pārbē » *eat (your fill), you will be able to walk if you eat (enough)* ; আমি গেলে তুমি যেও « āmi gēlē tumi jēō » *you will go if I go (after I have gone)* ; দিলে দেয় « dilē dēy » *gives when one gives him,* পেলে দেয় « pēlē dēy » *gives if he gets* beside পেয়ে (পাইয়া) দেয় « pēyē=pāïyā dēy » *gives after he gets,* etc., etc. There are other points of difference in the idiomatic use of these two forms (cf. Milne, ' Bengali Grammar,' pp. 180-189), but

the outstanding fact is that « -ilē » is conditional with reference to the same subject or different subjects, and « -iyā » is sequential with the same subject.

[I]   THE CONJUNCTIVE OR ABSOLUTIVE IN ইলে «-ILĒ ».

736. The conjunctive in ইলে « -ilē » is based on the passive participle in « -il- », and it is occasionally an adjective and occasionally a noun, like the « -(i)ta- » participle in Sanskrit and also like its cognate « -al- » form in Bihārī. It is adjectival in character when it occurs absolutely with a noun or pronoun : e.g., রামে মারলেও ম'রবে, রাবণে মারলেও ম'রবে « Rāmē mārlē-ō morbē, Rābānē mārlē-ō morbē » he (Kālanēmi) will die, whether Rāma kills him or Rāvaṇa; আমি তাকে দিলে তবে সে বাঁচে « āmi tākē dilē tåbē sē båcē » he would live only if I give him ; and it is a verbal noun where it occurs with the genitive, e.g., আমার না দিলে কিছু আসে যায় না, কিন্তু তোমার দেওয়া চাই « āmārå nā dilē kichu āsē jāy nā, kintu tomārå dēwā cāi » it doesn't matter (lit. nothing comes or goes) through my not giving, but you should give (lit. your giving is wanted) ; or where it forms an absolute clause word : e.g., দিলে হয় « dilē håy » it would be well to give, it won't be bad to give, lit. if there were a giving, it may be (good); cf. Standard Colloquial (dialectal) আমার আদেখলায় = * আদেখিলাএ « āmārå ādēkhlāy < * ā-dēkhil-ā-ē » me not seeing, during my not seeing.

« -il-ē » is a locative form, and as a locative it has an absolute or conditional force. It can be compounded with other verbs in « -itē » and in « -iyā », to express, in the former case, a subjunctive or purposive gerund (e.g., করিতে গেলে « kåritē gēlē » if one is do, when one is to do, খাইতে দিলে « khāitē dilē » when one gives to eat, if one is given to eat), and, in the latter case, to denote a past conditional (e.g., খাইয়া গেলে « khāiyā gēlē », after one has eaten or after one has started to eat on, or, after one has finished eating, দেখিয়া নিলে « dēkhiyā nilē » after one has finished seeing, etc.). Unlike the conjunctive in « -iyā », it cannot be repeated to indicate repetition or continuity : e.g., করিয়া করিয়া, ক'রে ক'রে « kåriyā-kåriyā, kōrē-kōrē » having done again and again, but not « kårilē-kårilē », the reason apparently being that as a past base « -ilē » is already perfective and final, and continuous or imperfect action cannot be well expressed by it. This

doubling of the « -iyā » or « -i » conjunctive is found OB., and also its equivalent form in MIA. and OIA. (*e.g.*, saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya, pītvā pītvā, etc.)

Instances of the conjunctive in « -ilē » from OB. and MB. : (Caryā 2) « rāti bhāilē » *when it is night* ; (5) « sāṅkama-ta caḍilē » *after getting upon the bridge* ; (20) « -jaubaṇa mōra bhāilē si pūrā » ? *as soon as my youth was mature* ; ŚKK., p. 84, নান্দ গোপ শুনিলেঁ দেহবের কোণ গতী « Nanda-gōpā śunilē hāibērā kōṇā gātī » *what will be the fate (then), when the cowherd Nanda hears?* ; p. 98, তপত দুধ নালে ন পীয়ে, জুড়াইলে সোআদ তার « tāpātā dudhā nālē nā pīē, juṛāilē sōādā tārā » *hot milk is not drunk through a straw, its taste (comes) when it is cooled* ; p. 107, বল কইলেঁ জানাম্বিবৌ রাজাএ « bālā kāīlē jāṇāyibō rājāē » *shall make the king know if you use force* ; p. 297, যে বুধি করিলেঁ রহে আম্হার জীবন « jē budhi kārilē rāhē āmhārā jībānā » *by doing such contrivance by which my life can endure* ; p. 299, হেন কাম করিলেঁ নাসিবৌ তোর পাশে « hēnā kāmā kārilē nāsibō tōrā pāśē » *shan't come near you if you do such a thing* ; etc. etc.

The conjunctive use of the locative form of the « -il- » base is found in other Eastern Magadhan : *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « dēkhilē » *if one had seen, when one has seen* ; Assamese « hāl-ē, hāl-āt » (= Bengali « hāilē, * hāilē-tē »). In Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, the ablative of the verbal noun in « -al- » is used : *e.g.*, Maithilī « carī nahī bhēṭālā-sā » *through not getting fodder*, « ghumalā-sā kī lābh ahī » *what profit is there from wandering about* (Grierson, ' Maithilī, Grammar,' p. 48 : the adjectival « -al- » is rather restricted in Maithilī, see Grierson, pp. 113-114, and hence the locative absolute use of it is not found in Maithilī, corresponding to Bengali সে এলে « sē ēlē » *on his coming*, etc.) ; Bhōjpuriyā « paṛhalē, paṛhalē-sē » (Hoernle, ' Gauḍian Grammar,' § 488). With the locative use of the « -il- » participle in Bengali we may compare the Hindōstānī oblique use of the past participle to denote a condition or sequence (see Platts, ' Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 337-338 : *e. g.*, kyũ itnī rāt gayē tum āyē « *why have you come at this late hour of the night*, lit. *when so much of the night is gone :* = কেন এত রাত গেলে তুমি এলে « kēnā ētā rātā gēlē tumi ēlē »), « pahar din caṛhē, maĩ utrā » *when the sun had risen to one watch, I came down* = বেলা এক পহর হ'লে « bēlā

ēk$ phr$ hōlē »). Compare also Marāṭhī « cālalyā-s », dative of the perfect participle in « -l- », =*having walked.*

The use of the passive participle locative, absolutely, with a noun or pronoun in the locative, to indicate the conjunctive, is found in OIA. and MIA.: *e.g.,* « dr̥ṣṭē sūryē, punar api bhavān vāhavēd adhva-śēṣam » (Mēgha-dūta) : « alē, lāa- śālaē haggē ; gōṇā malē (=maḍē), aṇṇē kiṇissaṁ ; pavahaṇē bhaggē, avalaṁ gha.āïssaṁ ; tuma ṅ malē (=maḍē), avalē pavahaṇa-vāhakē huvissadi » *I say, I am the king's brother-in-law ; if the oxen are killed, I shall buy others ; if the carriage is broken, I shall have another built ; if you die, then there will be another carriage-driver* (Mr̥cchakaṭika) ; etc., etc.

[II] The Conjunctive in ই « -ɪ », ইয়া « -ɪyā », ইয়ঁা « -ɪyā̃ ».

737. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā », the gerund or conjunctive is formed by adding « -iyā » to the root : চলিয়া « cāl-iyā » *having gone,* রাখিয়া « rākh- -iyā » *having kept* : in the Standard Colloquial, this « -iyā » is contracted to « -ē », and there is mutation of the preceding vowel : চ'লে [c̣ole , রেখে [rekhe]. In MB., especially in West Bengal texts, « -iyā » also occurs in a nasalised form, side by side with the non-nasalised one, and this is written ইয়ঁা, ইঞা, এঞা, ইঞ্ঁা « -iyā̃, -iñā, -ñā, -iñā̃ » etc. This nasalised form was a living one in some forms of West Bengali, and at the present day it occurs as (ই)য়ে, ইয়ঁ্য « -(i)yē̃, -iyyā̃ » [iš] in the West Rāḷha dialects. In addition to this « -iyā, -iyā̃ », MB. (and the NB. language of poetry) has another form—in « -i » ; *e.g.,* চলি, রাখি « cāl-i, rākh-i ». The Caryās show all the three, as « -iā, -iā̃, -i (-ɪ) » : thus, « -i, -ɪ » : « (1) pāṇḍi *having spread* ; (2) duhi *having milked,* cauri *having stolen,* thira kari *making steady* ; (4) cāpī *having prssed,* cumbī *having kissed* (6) chāḍī *giving up* ; (7) dēkhi *having seen,* gaï *having gone* ; (9) païsi *having entered* ; (15) chāḍī ; (16) suni *having heard* ; (21) uṭhi *having got up* ; (22) raci raci *building again and again* ; (26) dhuni dhuni *carding (cotton) again aqain* », etc., etc. ; « -iā » : « (1) diṭa (=diḍha) karia *making firm,* pucchia *questioning* ; (5) phā(ḍ) ḍia *splitting* ; (10) bhañjia *breaking* ; (15) bujia *having closed* ; (39) nāsia *destroying* », etc. ; « -iā̃ » : « (2) dēkhaïā̃= ? dēkhiā *having seen,* bāhiā

walking (<*bearing*) ; (11) mǎriǎ *having killed* ; (12) tōḍiǎ *destroying*, kariǎ *having done* ; (35) bhaṇiǎ *having spoken* ; (50) laiǎ *having taken* » ; and « -iǎ » : « (26) laiǎ *having taken*, (50) diǎ *having given* (= instrumental postposition) » ; etc.

In South-East Bengali (Chittagong and Chakma dialects) there is an affix লে « -nē » (-iǎ-nē), or নৈ « nǎï » (-i-nǎï) which figures in connexion with the « -iyā -i » conjunctives : *e.g.*, আইয়ালে « āïyā-nē » *having come, on coming* (Chittagong : LSI., V, I, p. 313), and « jēi-nǎï » *having gone*, « ēi-nǎï » *having come* (=āïsi-nǎï), « jāgi-nǎï » *having kept awake*, « hǎi-nǎï » *having become*, « di-nǎï » *having given*, « dēi-nǎï » *having seen* (=dēkhi-nǎï), « bēi-nǎï » *having sat down* (<bahi-nǎï, basi-nǎï), etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 324 ff.). This « -n- » affix seems to be connected with the « -ǎ, -ñǎ, -yǎ »̣ of OB., MB. and dialectal NB. (W. Bengali). We can compare the Early Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -iṇǎ », found plentifully in literature (*e.g.*, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Bhāgavata, Kaṅsa-janma' : « emǎntē śuṇi Śukǎ yǎti, hāsiṇa rājā-ku kǎhǎnti » *hearing this, the sage Śuka after having smiled, says to the king :* ibid., 'Rāsa-līlā,' « pǎśiṇǎ gǎlē ēhi bāṭē, dēkhiṇǎ cāhǎnti ucǎṭē » *entering, they went by this way ; seeing, they look sadly* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' « kǎnyǎku kǎrǎiṇǎ snānǎ » *afer having bathed the bride* ; « bhǎjiṇǎ sǎrbē kǎlē cūrǎ » *breaking, they pulverised everything*, etc., etc., occurring side by side with the other Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -i », the one which in actual use now. But apparently this « -iṇǎ » form is obsolete now.

In the other Magadhan speeches, the « -i » affix is the only one which obtains, and in the Bihārī dialects this « -i » conjunctive is strengthened by the conjunctive of « √ kar »—« kar-i » (also in Oṛiyā, where it often becomes « kiri », *e.g.*, « dekhi-kiri » *having seen*), « kar », or by a dative postposition « kai, kǎ, kē ». The « -i » conjunctive features in other NIA.: the « -i̯ » is sometimes dropped (as in Awadhī and Hindōstānī), but generally it is reinforced by « kari, kar » or by some post-position.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we have thus these forms : « -i ; -i-ǎ ; -i-ǎ » ; and connected with the last is S.-E. Bengali « -i-nē, -iǎ-nē ; -i-nǎï, -iǎ-nǎï », and Oṛiyā « -iṇǎ ».

In the Māl Pāhāriā dialect of Western Bengali (Santal Parganas), the word হেনক « hĕnăkĕ » is added to the conjunctive, which sometimes retains the nasalisation characterising this West Rāḍha speech : *e.g.*, গুটিয়াই হেনক « gụṭiyăi hĕnăkĕ » *having collected*, উঠি-হেনক « uṭhi-hĕnăkĕ » *having risen*, গেয়ে-হেনক « găyĕ-hĕnăkĕ » *having gone*, আসি-হেনক « ăsi-hĕnăkĕ » *having come*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 99, 100). This word « hĕnăkĕ » occurs also with the noun : *e.g.*, চালুচলন-হেনক « cālĕ-cālănĕ-hĕnăkĕ » *following (bad) ways, through bad ways*. This « hĕnăkĕ » is obscure, but it may be a verbal noun from « √hā—hāănĕ » (= Standard Bengali হওন « hāŏnĕ ») put in the dative and used postpositionally (cf. the change of « √kăr » to « √ kĕr » in the same dialect). In any case, the conjunctive with « hĕnăkĕ » stands apart in Bengali dialects.

738. The conjunctive has always had a most important place in the history of IA., and in giving this place to this form in IA., Dravidian influences seem to have something to do. In the Vedic speech, the conjunctive is formed by « -tvī́, -tvā́, -tvā́ya », which are old cases of a verbal noun stem in « -tu » (this « -tu » also figures, in the accusative and dative « -tum » and « -tave », as infinitive affixes in OIA.), and by « -yă, -yă (-t-yă, -t-ya) » (Whitney, ' Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 989 ff.). The « -tvī́, -tvā́, -tvā́ya » group occurs with the root not compounded with a preposition, adverb or substantive, and the « -(t)yă, -(t)ya » group occurs with the root when it is so compounded : but this rule was not adhered to in many early Skt. works (Whitney, ' Sanskrit Grammar,' § 990, 2), and was entirely ignored in MIA., no discrimination along that line being made in their use. In addition to these affixes, it can be assumed, from the statements of grammarians (*e.g.*, Pāṇini, VII, i, 48) and from the forms actually in use in Early MIA. (Pali, Aśokan Prakrits), that other ones—« -tvī-nam » and « -tvā-nam », and probably also « tū-nam » —were also in use in OIA., although they have not been found in Vedic and Skt. literature. In Early MIA., the affixes employed are : (Pali) « -tvă, -tvăna, -tūna, -ya » (the last often assimilated with preceding consonants), « -iya » (with a developed « -i- », from the preceding one), and « -yă-na, -iyă-na » (a comparatively rare form, with « -na » added to « -yă », or « -yă », by analogy of « -tvă :

-tvā-na.»: cf. W. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' §§ 208 ff.), as well as
« -tuṁ » of the infinitive (in a few rare cases: E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,'
p. 128); and (Asōkan) « -tpā<-tvā », « -ti=-tti<-tvī », « -tunaṁ », « -ya,
-tya » (assimilated), besides « -tu » (= « tuṁ » of the OIA. infinitive,
transferred to the conjunctive: cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Inscriptions,
Text and Glossary,' Calcutta, 1924, I, p. xxxvii). In Second MIA. the
forms employed or noted are: « -tvā > -ttā, -tā (after nasals) »; « -tvā
> * -tu(v)ā > -dua »; « -tvānam > -ttāṇaṁ »; « -tvānam > * -tuvāṇaṁ >
-tuāṇaṁ »; « -tūṇa(ṁ) > -dūṇa > -ūṇa(ṁ) »; « -tvī > -ppi, -pi, -vi »;
« -tvīnam > -ppiṇu, -piṇu, -viṇu »; « -tya > -cca »; « -ya > -ia » (also
assimilated forms); and also « -(i)yāṇa(ṁ) », like the Pali « -(i)yāna »; and
through a blend of « -tvā » and « -tyā, -tya », there is « -ccā », and through
contamination with « -tvāṇa(ṁ) > -ttāṇa(ṁ) » and « -yā > -yāṇaṁ », there
arose also the further extended form « -ccāṇa, -ccāṇaṁ »; besides, there is
« -āē » (< OIA. -āya), as well as « -ya > -ia > -i » as in Apabhraṅśa
(Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,' §§ 581-594). And in
addition to all these, a form « -dāṇi » is given by Vararuci (X, 16)
for Māgadhī (this « -dāṇi » is probably for « -ttāṇa », with « -d- » on
the analogy of « -dūṇa < -tūṇa »).

Of all these forms found in Second MIA. through the whole of the
Indo-Aryan tract, the employ of particular ones in different parts of the country
can roughly be noted. The « -tvī(naṁ) > -ppi(ṇu), -vi(ṇu) » form occurred
in the Gujarātī-Rājasthānī area (cf. H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' p. 42;
'Sanatkumāra-carita,' p. 18; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, 1).
The « -tūna > -dūṇa > -ūṇa » affix was current in Mahārāṣṭrī (but the
Modern Marāṭhī « -ūn » for the conjunctive, with the dental « -n- »,
does not represent the Mahārāṣṭrī « -ūṇa », but is another form, « -ō-n-i,
-au-n-i » in Early Marāṭhī, of nominal origin, in which « -n-i » is a post-
position: cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 261-262). The affix which
seems to have been commonly employed in the North-East, in the Midland,
and in the North-West, and also in the South-West, in the Late MIA.
period, was « -ya > -ia, -i », and probably also « -ī ». The MB., Oṛiyā,
Assamese, Bihārī, as well as Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī « -i » is

obviously derived from it : also the OB. strengthened form « -ī » ; and « -ia » occurs also as an archaic literary form in OB. It also seems very probable that the extended form of « -ya », namely, « -iyāṇa, -(i)yāṇa(ṁ) » (as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī, the latter an eastern speech : Pischel, § 592) was current in the form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa prevailing in Bengal : and this « -(i)yāṇa (ṁ) » can easily give the dialectal Bengali ইয়া « -iyā », ইঞা « -iññā » : cf. MIA. « tāṇa(ṁ) » > আ « tā », « tēṇa(ṁ) » > এ « tē » (supra, p. 373). In S.-E. Bengali, the nasal could well be preserved (cf. East Bengal তান « tāṇi » honorific genitive < « tāṇa[ṁ] = tēṣām ») ; and this « -iyāṇa(ṁ) » form (of which « *-iṇa, - iṇa » is evidently a contraction), looking like a verbal noun, was put in the locative in Chittagong Bengali and in Chakma (-iyāṅ-ē, -in-aï). Cf. the use of « -mi » in Haijong : দেখিয়ামি « dēkhiyā-mi » having seen, etc. (supra, pp. 751, 775). We cannot postulate any post-positional form « -inai » for the S.-E. Bengali (like the suffix in Gujarātī « karī-nē » having done, « thaī-nē » having been) : such a post-position (« -nai < kaṇṇahī- < karṇa- » : Tessitori, ‘ Grammar of OWR.,’ § 131, § 71) is unknown to Bengali. The Oṛiyā « -i-ṇa » is simply by analogical addition of the « -ṇa » to the « -i » form : MIA. « *calia, caliyāṇa(ṁ) » probably gave rise to a similar juxtaposition in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa « cali, caliṇa(ṁ) ». The Bengali strong form, and the most characteristic one, viz., « -iā, -iyā » is apparently the « -i » form fortified either with the definitive « -ā » or with the « -ā » from « -iyāṇa(ṁ) » > -iā ».

739. Tessitori derived the Gujarātī conjunctive in « -ī » (as in « cālī-nē » having walked, « mārī-nē » having struck) from the passive participle in « -ia » (nom. « -iu », locative « -ii », whence « -ī »), rather than from the Apabhraṅśa absolutive in « -i » (‘ Grammar of OWR.,’ § 131). This is quite likely, and the use of the postpositional affixes is indeed a strong support. It is even probable that in the North Indian languages, where the conjunctive has been fortified by a postposition (like « kē » in Hindōstānī), the passive participle form had exerted some influence. But « OIA. *cal-ya > calia > calī, cali > NIA. cali, cal » is a perfectly normal development. And even the OB. form in « -ī », « cāpī » having pressed, etc., can represent a MIA. « -ia » : it can be well surmised

that in some dialects of Apabhraṅśa, Second MIA. « -ia » became « -I »
in the NIA. (cf. *supra*, ' Phonology,' pp. 302-303, 307), side by side
with « -i » by simple dropping off the « -a » in this most commonly
used affix.

740. The lavish use of the conjunctive is a noteworthy characteristic
of Bengali, as of other NIA. speeches. Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence
has been suggested in this connexion (J. D. Anderson, 'The Origin of
Bengali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 524). Dravidian influence is equally likely,
or perhaps likely to a greater extent, from MIA. times (see *supra*, p. 175).
For NIA., this is a characteristic inherited from MIA. There is nothing
unnatural in a Bengali sentence like ভোরে উঠে, স্নান সেরে চারটি খেয়ে নিয়ে,
জিনিষগুলো সঙ্গে বেঁধে নিয়ে গাড়ীতে চড়িয়ে দিয়ে, পথে তার বাড়ী হ'য়ে তাকে তুলে
নিয়ে, সময় থাকতে ষ্টেশনে পৌঁছে টিকিট ক'রে আটটার গাড়ী ধ'রে চ'লে যেও « bhōrē
uṭhē, snānɖ sērē cār-ṭı khēyē-niyē, jiniṣɖ-gulō sāṅgē bēdhē-niyē gāṛı-tē
cɑṛiyē-diyē, pathē tārɖ bāṛī hɑ'yē tāxō tulē niyē, sāmɑyɖ thāktē ṣṭēśānē
pɑuchē, ṭikiṭ kɑ'rē āṭ-ṭā-rɖ gāṛī dhɑ'rē cɑ'lē jēō » (with 15 conjunctives
and only one finite verb) = *get up early, finish your bath, have some
breakfast (of rice, etc.), bind up the articles 'and take them with you, put
them down on the top of the cab, go to his house on the way and pick him
up, arrive at the station in time, buy your ticket and catch the 8 o'clock train
and leave* : and such « -iyā > -ē » sentences have their prototype in MIA.
—in Pali and in Classical Sanskrit : *e.g.*, Pali, « cōrā kujjhitvā,...tiṇhēna
asinā brāhmaṇaṁ dvidhā chinditvā, maggē chaḍḍētvā, vēgēna anuban-
dhitvā, tēhi cōrēhi saddhiṁ yujjhitvā, tē sabbē pi mārētvā, dhanam
ādāya puna dvē kōṭṭhāsē hutvā, aññamaññam yujjhitvā, aḍḍhatiyāni
purisa-satāni ghātētvā, ētēna upāyēua yāva dvē janā avasiṭṭhā ahēsuṁ
tāva aññamaññam ghātayiṁsu » (Vēdabbha Jātaka); and Sanskrit,
« atha sa brāhmaṇas tam paśuṁ rākṣasam matvā bhayād bhūmāu nikṣipya
dāivaṁ nirbhartsya gṛham uddiśya prasthitaḥ », or « sa duṣṭāśayō bakaḥ
kramēṇa tān pṛṣṭham ārōpya jalāśayasya nātidūrē śilāṁ samāsādya
tasyām ākṣipya svēcchayā bhakṣayitvā bhūyō' pi jalāśayam samāsādya
jalacarāṇām mithyā-vārttā-sandēśāiḥ manāṁsi rañjayann (=rañjayitvā)
āhāra-vṛttim akarōt » (Pañca-tantra).

741. The conjunctive in « -iyā » is frequently used as an adverbial gerundive : it is either repeated, or is used singly : in the latter case, generally it is of similar meaning with the finite verb modified by it, and the two form a compound verb : *e.g.*, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহিরে « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āilā bāhirē » *the queen came out weeping* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20) ; কষিয়া বাঁধা « kaṣiyā bādhā » *to bind tight* ; টানিয়া ধরা « ṭāniyā dharā » *to hold tight* ; চুটিয়া বলা « cuṭiyā balā » *to speak fully, not to mince matters* (colloquial) ; চাপিয়া বসা « cāpiyā basā » *to sit heavy* ; হাঁটিয়া > হেঁটে চলো « hāṭiyā > hēṭē cālō » *walk quick !* ; চ'লে এলো « cà'lē ēlō » *come quick !* (see *infra*, under '. Compound Verbs.')

742.· Occasionally in MB. we find « -ā » for the « -i » of the conjunctive : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 348, পরিধান কৰ নেত বাসে « pāridhānā kārā nētā bāsē » *having put on a fine garment* ; p. 361, কেনহে সৰ জাইতে মোকে বোল « kēnhē sārā jāitē mōkē bōlā » *why do you ask me to move away ?* ; VSP., p. 860, চৰণ পাখাল আসুন মহাশয় « cāraṇā pākhālā āsunā mahāsāyā » *please go wash your feet, sir* (lit. *come after having washed*). Cases like these do not demonstrate the presence of a form in « -ā » in MB., either a verbal noun, or due to the loss of « -i », for the conjunctive : these are simply due to scribe's mistakes for করি, সরি, পাখালি, etc. In Caryā 27 : « adha-rāti bhara kamala bikasiu » *through half the night the lotus blossomed*, where « bhara » may be for « bhari », as in other NIA. speeches, or it may be regarded as the second part of an adverbial compound « adha-rāti-bhara » (see *supra*, p. 702).

[K]   Verbal Nouns, and the Infinitive in ইতে « -ite »

743. The following are the forms for the Verbal Noun in Bengali :

(1) 'the অন «-ānā » noun, with extensions of the affix as অনা, না « -ānā, -nā » and অনী, উনী, নী « -ānī, -unī, -nī » ;

(2) the আ « -ā, -ā » nouns, with an extension ঈ, ই « -ī, -i »

(3) the ই « -i » nouns ;

(4) the nouns in আ « -ā » from the simple passive participle ;

(5) the nouns in ইল « -il- » from the « -il- » passive participle ;

(6) the nouns in ইব « -ib- » from the future passive participle.

744. (1) This group of affixes has been discussed before ('Formative Affixes,' No. 5, 5a, 5b,' pp. 656-658, *supra*). It is one of the most widely used forms from OB. times. Instances from the Caryās: « (2) dharaṇa; (22) ` maraṇa; (30) cĕaṇa, būaṇa (< cĕtana, vĕdaṇa); (46) phudāaṇa = phudaṇa (sphuṭanā) » ; MB. examples are copious. The extended « -ā » form is also found in *the Caryās: *e.g.*, (21) « jŏṇa tuṭaa (= tuṭaī, ṭuṭaī = truṭyati) avaṇā-gavaṇā (= āgamana-gamana) » ; cf. also (7) « avaṇā-gavaṇē Kāuhu bimana bhaīā (= bhaīā) » K. *has become sad at this coming and going* (= saṁsāra) : this « avaṇā-gavaṇā », or « *āvaṇā-gavaṇā* » of OB. has given the.NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gŏnā ».

In Hindōstānī the « -ṇā » affix (= « -nau » in Braj-bhākhā, « -nō » in other W. Hindī dialects), same as the Bengali অনা « -anā », is used as, the infinitive : also its equivalent « -ṇā » in Panjābī.

745. (2) This is a verbal noun in অ « -ā » which is quiescent, but which is traceable only in roots ending in a consonant (see *supra*, pp. 895-896). Thus, NB. বোল « bŏlā » *speech*, «MB. (ŚKK.) « bōl-ā », OB. (Caryā 4) « bōl-ā », MIA. « bŏll-ā » (cf. Suffix No. 1, p. 652). There was a feminine (diminutive) extension of this by « -i » < « -ī < -ia » < « -ikā » (see *supra*, Suffix No. 24, pp. 672 ff.) : thus, NB. and MB. বুল্, বুলী « bul-i, bul-ī » *speech*, OB. (Caryā 41) « bōl-ī », MIA. « *bŏlliā < bŏllā » ; so ফেরি, ফিরি as in ফিরি করা « phĕri, phiri kārā » *to hawk goods*, মুড়ি as in মুড়ি দিল « muṛi dilā » *covered (oneself) up* (< *gave a covering up*), etc.

This verbal noun affix (-ā, -ā), and the next one (-i), have become much confused in Bengali (in the Standard Colloquial), owing to the formative affix being dropped in each case : but it is still possible to distinguish the latter by the presence of the epenthetic « -i » in the dialectal forms of words which originally had it.

746. (3) The verbal nouns in ই « -i » form a much larger class, but the affix is now no more a living one (see *supra*, Suffix No. 25, p. 674). The verbal noun in « -i » is known to Maithilī, *e.g.*, « dekhī, dĕkh » (Grierson, ' Maithilī Grammar,' p. 109) ; and it seems that it is used to form the compound tenses like « dĕkhai-chī » *I am seeing, I see*

(« dĕkhai » = oblique of « dĕkhī »), « dĕkhai-achĭ, dĕkhaĭchĭ, dĕkhaĭch »
he sees, etc. It seems to occur in the other Bihārī speeches—« dĕkh =
* dĕkhi », oblique « dĕkhē ».

747. The Infinitive in Bengali appears to be the Verbal Noun
(3) put in the locative. The Infinitive proper in Bengali has the
characteristic affix ইতে « -itĕ » (in the Standard Colloquial reduced to
তে « -tĕ » with mutation of preceding vowel) : *e.g.*, করিতে, চলিতে, যাইতে
« kăr-itĕ, căl-itĕ, khā-itĕ » *to do, to go, to walk.* This « -itĕ » of course
is entirely different from the present participle affix « -itĕ » (*ante,*
p. 999). The « -itĕ » of Bengali is best · explained as the old verbal noun
in « -i », *plus* the locative affix « -tĕ », dialectally « -t » as in Chittagong.
The formation seems to a new one in Bengali. Thus, আমাকে যাইতে হইবে
« āmākĕ jāïtĕ hăibĕ » *I shall have to go, I must go* (lit. *with-reference-
to-me in-the-act-of-going* i.e. *to-go it-will-be*) ; সে চলিতে পারে « sĕ cālitĕ
pāre » *he can walk* (= *he in-the-act-of-walking is-able*) ; করিতে লাগিল
« kăritĕ lāgilă » *began to give,* দিতে চাহিল « ditĕ cāhilă » *wanted to give*
(but দিতে দিতে চাহিল « ditĕ ditĕ cāhilă » *wanted* [or *gazed*] *while giving*) ;
যাইতে দাও « jāïtĕ dāo » *let go.* The « -itĕ » form is used with roots like
চাহ « căh » *to want, to look at,* হ « hă » *to be,* দে « dĕ » *to give, to allow,* পার
« pār » *to be able,* যা « jā » *to go,* to denote Acquisitives, Permissives,
Desideratives and Gerundives (see below, under ‘ Compound Verbs ’). In
other NIA. speeches, a verbal noun is also used : *e.g.,* « mōtĕ jibāku hĕbă »
I shall have to go, besides « jāï hĕbă », where « jāï » is certainly a
verbal noun in the locative ; Bhōjpuriyā « bahĕ lāgal », Maithilī
« bahĕ, bahai laglăh » *began* (plural or honorific) *to blow* ; Assamese « băbā-
-lāi dharĕ » *blows* ; Early Awadhī « lagĕ parōsana nipuna suārā » *clever cooks
began to serve* (Tulasī-dāsa, ‘ Rāma-carita-mānasa ’) ; W. Hindī « bolnĕ
lagā » *began to say,* « jānĕ dō » *let go,* « khānĕ hōgā » *will have to eat,*
etc., etc. Cf. the use of the « -ibā- » noun in OB. and MB. (below,
pp. 1017-1018). For the use of a verbal noun form in a similar construction
in OWR., see Tessitori, ‘ Grammar of OWR.,’ §§ 132, 134.

There is in Ardha-māgadhī an infinitive in « -(i)ttaĕ » (cf. Pischel,
§ 578) : « pucchittaĕ » *to ask,* « sumarittaĕ » *to remember,* « tarittaĕ »

to cross, etc. This could easily give the Bengali ইতে « -itē », through a Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form « *-ittaï » (this form « -ittaē », attested from Ardha-māgadhī, could very well have occurred in Māgadhī Prakrit also). But it is not likely that this has been preserved in Bengali. The « -itē » form does not occur in any other Magadhan language. The Standard Bengali « -i-tē » has a dialectal form « -i-tẹ̄ », where the « -tẹ̄ » is obviously the locative « -tẹ̄ », and this « -i-tẹ̄ » cannot represent the MIA. « -ittaē »—the loss of two final syllables would be an insurmountable difficulty. The evidence in favour of a later, nominal origin of « -i-tē » as a locative form is exceedingly strong, not only from Bengali itself (with its use of the « -iba » noun), but also from other cognate speeches.

The OIA. infinitive affixes were « -tum, -i-tum » and « -(i)tavē », respectively the accusative and dative forms of the verbal noun in « -(i)tu ». They are preserved in Pali as « -(i)tum, -(i)tavē », and in Asokan as « -(i)tum » which passed on to the conjunctive in some dialects (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asokan Text and Glossary,' I, p. xxxvii), but it remained in Second MIA. as an Infinitive as « -(i)ḍum, -(i)um » (Pischel, § 573 ff.). This affix is not preserved in NIA. and neither is « -(i)tavē », which seems to have fallen into disuse in Second MIA. itself (unless « -ittaē » is its form in Second MIA., as Pischel thinks with E. Müller, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 578).

The « -itē » Infinitive is liable to be confused with the « -itē » Present Participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is: *e.g.*, তাহাকে যাইতে দেখিলাম « tāhākē jāitē dēkhilām » *I saw him going*, where « jāitē » may be equally the Present Participle = (*while*) *going*, or the Verbal Noun locative = *in the act of going*. (See *infra*, under 'Periphrastic Tenses.') In Chittagong Bengali, this verbal noun has become so much confused with the participle that by contamination it takes personal affixes: *e.g.*, আই যাইতাম নাগগিলাম « āi jāitām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুঁ ই যাইতা নাগগিলা « tūi jāitā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতা নাগগিল « hitē jāitẹ̄ lāggilẹ̄ » *he began to go*, (Basanta Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 114); Noakhali dialect,

যাবাইতা নাইগ্‌জ « khābāita laĭg-ja [laigzɔ] » *to feed you have begun* = Standard Bengali যাওয়াইতে নাগিয়াছ « khāwā-itē lāgiyāchā » (LSI., V, I, p. 309). The « itē » also figures in Chittagong as ইতু « -itu » *e.g.*, য ইতু নাইল [zaitu lail] *began to go* (=Standard « jāitē lāgilā »), where the « -u » seems to be for « -ō » < « -ā », by confusion with the present participle base in « -it-ā ».

748. (4) The passive participle in « -ta, -ita » can be used as a noun of action in Skt. and in Pkt.: *e.g.*, « na bahunā śrutēna ; tasya gatāgatam kō ' pi na jānāti ; nṛtyād asya sthitam manōharam ; mahā-svanair dundubhi-nāditāiś ca ; madhuram hasitam, madhuram aśitam, madhuram calitam madhuram ramitam ; madhuram tassa bhāsitam ; ēkassa caritam seyyō ; katañ ca sukatam seyyō ; sucaritañ carē ; avakidē viśumalēdi (= apakṛtam vismarati) » ; etc. The passive participle in « -(i) ta » > « -(i)a » obtained the definitive « -ā » in OB., and from that resulted the Bengali verbal noun as well as passive participle in « -ā » (see *supra*, ' Formative Affixes, No. 7,' p. 660 ; also non l passive participle form, *supra*, p. 944). The « -ā » form occurs in Assamese : *e.g.*, « jowā » [zowa] *going*, « sōwā » [xowa] *sleeping*, « kārā » *doing*, etc. It is found in Oṛiyā : *e.g.*, « dēkhā » *sight, seeing*, « jānā » *knowing*, etc. It does not occur in the Bihārī dialects and in Eastern Hindī. But in the Hindōstānī passive participle formation (*e.g.*, iu expressions like « kiyā-karnā, jāyā-karnā, dēkhā- cāhnā », compound verbs) the form is really a verbal noun.

In MB., the « -ā » verbal noun is not so prominent, nouns in « -ibā » and « -ānā » being more popular : but its occurrence is not rare. Thus, VSP., p. 68, বান্ধা নিছে « bāndhā nichē » *taken in pledge* ; p. 83, চিনা পুছা « cinā puchā » *recognising and enquiring* ; p. 123, দিয়া নাড়া দেই তাড়া « diyā nāṛā dēi tāṛā » *gives a shake, and then drives away* ; elsewhere MB. and NB. লেখা জোখা « lēkhā-jōkhā » *writing and computing*, নাচা « nācā » *dancing*, কেনাবেচা « kēnā-bēcā » *buying and selling*, রাঁধাবাড়া « rādhā-bāṛā » *cooking and serving*, etc., etc.

The Bengali « -ā » form has been derived by some from the verbal noun in ইবা « -ibā » : « cālibā > * cāliwā > * cālwū > cālā ; khāïbā > * khāïwā > khāwā » (cf. 'Prabāsī' for Aṣāḍha, 1324, p. 264). But this line of

derivation is inadmissible : the MIA. « -bb- » results in « -b- » in Bengali, whereas a form like « khāwā » can be written and pronounced « khāā », and the « ẇ » there is euphonic only (see *supra*, pp. 338-342, 533). To derive « khāā » from « khāibā » would be to postulate the entire loss of a MIA. double consonant group in a NIA. language—a phonological development not found in the Bengali Standard Dialect : and the « -ā » form is a Standard Dialect form. It would indeed be difficult for the same form to occur as « -ibā » and as « -ā » side by side in the same dialect and at the same time.

749. (5) The verbal noun in ইল « -ilā » is now obsolete in Bengali, but it occurred in Early Bengali, though not very commonly. The verbal form in « -ilā- » in the locative figures partly as the absolutive conjunctive (in « -ilē »), for which see *supra*, p. 1004. It occurs also in Assamese and Early Oṛiyā. In the Bihārī dialects its equivalent, the « -al » verbal noun, is exceedingly common. It figures also in Marāṭhī. Examples in Bengali : OB. : « bhēlā bihani » (Caryā 23) = হইলে বিহনে (বিনে, বিনা) « hāilō bihānē (binē, binā) » *without having been* ; MB. : ŚKK., p. 249, বিনি যাচিলে « bini jācilō » *without asking* ; Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 435, হারাইলা হেনা বাসি « hārāilā hēnā bāsi » *I regard it as lost = as a loss*; তুমি জনমিলা হতে « tumi janāmilā-hātē » *from your birth* ; 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 71, তুমি দিলে বিনা « tumi dilō binā » *without your giving* ; etc., etc. Cf. Oṛiyā, 15th century Inscription of Puruṣottama-dēva at Puri Temple (see *supra*, p. 107) : « hārilā-dōṣā » *sin of robbery*, « kālā » *doing*, genitive « kālā-rā » ; Early Assamese, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 72, « Śaṅkārē dēkhāilā cāhilā » *wanted to show Śaṅkara* ; Modern Assamese « bul-il-āt » *on having said*.

For Bihārī, cf. Grierson, ' Maithilī Grammar, ' § 183 ; for Marāṭhī, see LSI., VII, pp. 27, 31.

750. (6) The verbal noun in ইব « -ibā » is from the same source as the future base. This form occurs in all Magadhan languages : it is regularly declined like any other verbal noun, although in NB., its employ has been restricted to the base ইবা « -ibā » (combined with মাত্র « mātra » to form an adverb—*e.g.*, বলিবামাত্র « bālibā-mātrā » *immediately*

after speaking, দেখিবামাত্র « dēkhibā-mātrā » *on seeing,* etc.) and the genitive
ইবা-র « -ibā-rĕ » (*e.g.,* দিবার « dibā-rĕ » *for giving* ; ইবা « -ibā » itself may
represent an old genitive form : ꜱᴇᴇ *supra,* p. 752). Thus, OB. (Caryā 8)
« bāhaba-kĕ (=bāhiba-kĕ) pāraa (=pāraï) » *is able to row,* = MB. বাহিবারে
পারে « bāhibārē pārē » ; eMB. (SKK.), p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবা-কা তাএ
« mānuṣa niyōjila māribā-kā tāē » *employed a man to kill him* ; p. 200, ফুল
তুলিবাক তরে « phulā tulibā-kā tārĕ » *with a view to pluck flowers* ; p. 395,
হাঠীবাক « hāṭhibā-kā » *to walk,* etc. ; ' Caitanya Bhāgavata,' p. 11, মথুরা দেখিব
করি « Mathurā dēkhiba kari » *for to see Mathurā* ; Vaṁśī-dāsa's ' Padmā-
puraṇa,' p. 108, আছে আছিবার মত নদীয়া নগর « āchē āchibārĕ mata Nadīyā-
nāgarĕ » *there is the city of Nadīyā (if at all a town were) to exist* ; p. 165,
লাগে বলিবার « lāgē bālibārĕ » *begins to say* ; p. 473, আছুক ছুইব আরে « āchu-
kĕ chuibā ārē » *ah, let alone merely touching* ; p. 592, দেখাইব করি « dēkhāïbā
kāri » *with a view to show* ; p. 608, দিবা করি « dibā kāri » *with a view to give* ;
VSP., p. 609, ভূমিতে টানিব করি « bhūmitē ṭāliba kāri » *with a view to
throw on the ground* ; p. 620, মারিবার মোক « māribārĕ mōkă » *to kill me* ;
etc., etc. The « -ib- » form is much used in North Bengal. The present
progressive tense is formed in Assamese with the verbal noun in
« -iba » : *e.g.,* « kāribā-lāi dhārē » *is doing.* In Assamese, the « -iba » noun
is fully declined : *e.g.,* « kāribā, kāribā-r, kāribā-lāi, kāribā-t » ; so in
Oṛiyā : « kāribā, kāribā-ku, kāribā-rĕ, kāribā-ru », etc. ; also in the Bihārī
dialects, *e.g.,* Maithilī « karab, karābā-k, karāb-ĕ, karābā-sā, karābā-mĕ ».
The use of the « -(i)tavya » form as a verbal noun is found in other
NIA., like E. Hindi, *e.g.,* « calab, karab » ; W. Hindi, *e.g.,* Brajbhākhā
« calibaŭ, karibaŭ », oblique « calibē, karibē » ; Rājasthānī (Mārwāṛī),
e.g., « mārabō, calabō » ; Gujarātī, *e.g.,* « mārvŭ, cālvŭ » ; and Marāṭhī,
e.g., « uṭhāvayā-, māravayā- », etc. In most of these (*e.g.,* E. Hindi,
Brajbhākhā, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī) this form is used as an infinitive.

751. Relative Participle Adjectives are formed in Oṛiyā and in the
Bihārī dialects with the past and future passive participles used adjectivally :
e.g., Oṛiyā « mu-dēbā dhană » *money that is to be given by me,* « mu-kālă
kāmă » *work that was done by me* = Bihārī « hamar kail kām ». The
« -ib-, -il- » forms are not used in Bengali as adjectives for this purpose.

The past participle in « -ā » is so used, to denote the past relative idea : *e.g.*, আমার পরা কাপড় « āmārḍ párā kāpárḍ » *cloth (dhōtī) worn by me*, তার করা কাজ « tārḍ kárā kāj̄ » *work done by him* : the employ of the « -il- » form is unknown. The « -ib- » verbal noun is used in the genitive, beside the verbal nouns in « -ā » and in « -ānḍ », to indicate the present or future relative participial idea : *e.g.*, আমার পরিবার (পরার, পরনের) কাপড় « āmārḍ páribā-rḍ (párā-rḍ, párān-ērḍ) kāpárḍ » '*dhōtī' worn by me, to be worn by me* ; ভিক্ষা দেবার চা'ল « bhikṣā dēbārḍ cā'lḍ » *rice set apart for giving as alms ;* জল খাবার ঘটী « jālḍ khābārḍ ghaṭī » *(water) vessel to drink water from ;* etc., etc. We have this genitive use of the verbal noun, rather than mere adjectival juxtaposition, from Early Bengali times.

Verbal Nouns of Reciprocity are treated below, under 'Reduplicated Verbs.'

[L] THE COMPOUND OR PERIPHRASTIC TENSES :
PROGRESSIVE AND PERFECT.

752. The following are the types of these tenses which are found in New Bengali :

(1) চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল (চলিতে থাকিবে) « cǎlitēchē, cǎlitēchilǎ (cǎlitē thākibē) » *is walking, was walking (will be walking)* ; করিতেছে, করিতেছিল (করিতে থাকিবে) « kǎritēchē, kǎritēchilǎ (kǎritē thākibē) » *is doing, was doing (will be doing)*. This is the typical Progressive Form of Standard Literary Bengali. It is made up of the verbal form in « -itē » *plus* the substantive verb « āch » conjugated and employed as an auxiliary (« āch » for the past, « thāk » for the future). The « ā- » of « āch » is absorbed by the preceding « -ē » of « -itē », but in dialectal Bengali of East Bengal the full forms চলিতে আছে, চলিতে আছিল, করিতে আছে, করিতে আছিল « cǎlitē, kǎritē + āchē, āchilǎ » etc. still occur.

This progressive form is the recognised one in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and is found in the Vaṅga dialects : some typical forms may be given [tso(ĭ)ltese, tso(ĭ)ltesilo, ko(ĭ)rtese, ko(ĭ)rtesilo ; tso(ĭ)lte ase, tso(ĭ)lte asilo, ko(ĭ)rte ase, ko(ĭ)rte asilo], also [tsɔltase, tsɔltasilo ; kɔrtase, kɔrtasilo]. But it is not current in the spoken dialects of Rāḍha (including

the Standard Colloquial of Calcutta and the Bhāgīrathī basin), of Varēndra, and of Kāmarūpa.

(2) A type, which occurs in MB. as a verbal form in ই « -i » *plus* the substantive verb « āch » (contracted to « -ch- »), in the present generally, and rarely in the past. The future with this « -i » form is unknown. Thus, MB. চলিছে, চলিছ « cāli-chē, cāli-chā », করিছে, করিছ « kāri-chē, kāri-chā », চলিছিল « cāli-chila », করিছিল « kāri-chilā ». This form is used in MB. in a vaguely continuative or progressive sense, and also in a perfect sense. With static verbs, it can easily indicate the progressive idea. In NB., the « -i » of « cāli », which underwent epenthesis, is now dropped. It occurs in Assamese (where the « -i- » is retained), generally as a progressive in the present, and always as pluperfect in the past, but the perfect sense for the present form is also found.

This ill-defined tense form of MB. has given the West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial) present and past *progressive* forms, like চ'ছে, চ'ছিন, ক'রছে > ক'ছে, ক'রছিন > ক'ছিন [c̣olc̣(h)e, c̣olc̣hilo ; korc̣(h)e, kocc̣(h)e, korc̣hilo, kocc̣hilo] ; in North Central Bengali and North Bengali, it retains its vague employ, being used both for the present progressive and the present perfect in the present form, and for the simple past or past perfect in the past form, exactly as in Assamese. In the East Bengal dialects, it is used regularly for the *perfect* only, *e.g.*, [tsolse, tsolsilo ; korse, korsilo ; tsolse, tsolsilo, korse, korsilo] = *has walked, had walked; has done, had done,*—the progressive sense being indicated by the « -itē » form in the East Bengali dialects.

The « -i » form occurs also in Oṛiyā, but here it is definitely perfect, and in the past and future Oṛiyā employs its characteristic root « √tha » : thus « kāri-āchāï, kāri-chāï » *has done,* « kāri-thilā » *had done,* « kāri-thibā » *he will have done.*

(3) A Perfect form made with the passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- » *plus* the substantive verb « āch « (contracted as usual). This is comparatively a rare form, and occurs in West and Central Rāḍha dialects (*e.g.*, হ'লছে « hōlā-chē » *has become,* ম'লছে « mōlā-chē » *has died,* গেলছে, গেলছিন « gēlā-chē, gēl-chila » *has gone, had gone,* in Murshidabad, Birbhum

etc.; cf. LSI., V, I, p. 72); and also in North Bengali (*e.g.*, আইন্ চে « āin-cē = āil-chē » *has come*: LSI., V, I, p. 174); and it seems to be confined to intransitive verbs and to denominatives and causatives of denominative origin.

(4) A Perfect form in ইয়া « -iyā » *plus* the substantive verb (« āch » in the present and past, and « thāk » in future): in the MB., « -iyā », or « -iā », occurs also in the nasalised form « -iñā, -iyā̃, -iā̃ »: thus, MB. and NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিয়াছে, চলিয়াছিল (চলিয়া থাকিবে) « cāliyāchē, cāliyāchila (cāliyā thākibē) » *has walked, had walked (will have walked)*; করিয়াছে, করিয়াছিল (করিয়া থাকিবে) « kāriyāchē, kāriyāchila (kāriyā thakibē) » *has done, had done (will have done)*; MB. (generally in West Bengal), besides the simple « -iyā » form in a variety of spellings, we find also চলিঞাছে, চলিঁাছে, করিঞাছে, করিঁাছে « cāliñāchē, cāliyāchē, kāriñāchē, kāriyāchē » etc. This perfect is found in NB., specially in the Rāḍha dialects, with « -iyā » contracted to « -ē, -iyē » and « -iñā, -iyā̃ » to « -ē̃, -iyē̃ » [-ā̃, -iā̃]: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial চ'লেছে, ক'রেছিল [cʰolecʰ(h)e, korecʰhilo], in other Rāḍha dialects, চলেঁছে, ক'রেঁছিল [cʰolē̃cʰhe, korē̃cʰhilo], etc. It occurs also in the Vaṅga dialects, but never with the nasalised form: and it seems there it is less common for the perfect than the « -i » form (No. 3 above). The « -iyā, -iyā̃ » form seems properly not to belong to the dialects of the North, and its presence there is due to literary and other influences. In some cases, this form indicates a static or continuous process also: see *infra*, § 757.

753. The progressive (whether in the « -itē » form or in the « -i » form), as can be plainly seen from MB. literature, is comparatively a late time-idea in the Bengali verb. The progressive does not seem to have been fully established in the language before the 17th century; and although both the « -itē » and « -i » forms occur in literature of the 15th, their occurrence is but extremely rare and hesitating, in authentic texts, and the « -i » form is found both for the progressive and the perfect. In Early MB., the simple present is used for the progressive. The beginnings of the development of the compound progressive in « -itē » and of the compound indefinite tense in « -i », however, can be taken back to the 14th century: for

already in the ŚKK. we have instances of both : thus, *e.g.*, কালিনীর তীরে বহে মন্দ পবন। তোমাক চিন্তিতে আছে নান্দের নন্দন ॥ « Kālinīrā tīrē bāhē māndā pābānē : tōmhākē cintitē āchē Nāndērā nāndānē » *the gentle breeze is blowing* (lit. *blows*) *by the bank of the Kālindī* (= *Yamunā*) : *the son of Nanda is thinking of you* (p. 202 : here in « cint- » we have not a native Bengali root, but a *ts.* one, as described *supra*, p. 879), and ধিরে ধিরে কাহাকি মো আইলে। নিকটে। নিহুরিষা চাহে পানি লইছে মোকটে ॥ « dhirē dhirē Kānhāñī mō āīlō nikāṭē, nihuriā cāhŏ pāṇi lāïchē mōkāṭē » *gently, O Kṛṣṇa, I have come closer* : *I bend down and look, the water has come up* (or *is coming up ?*) *to the brim* (p. 153). The form নইছে « lāï-chē » would show that it was an old one, some time having elapsed for the fuller « lāï+āchē » to be so contracted. The « -itē » form for the progressive is thus certainly found in West Bengali of the ŚKK., but it is most curious that it would not be used in the West Bengal dialects of present day as a proper native dialectal form.

The origin of these different periphrastic methods may be now discussed.

754. (1) The « -itē », MB. « -itē », is doubtless the present participle : চলিতেছে = চলিতে আছে « cālitēchē < cālitē+āchē » *he is walking < he is while in the act of walking.* The « -it-ē » is apparently the locative : or is it merely the nominative—MIA. « calanta-ka- », nom. Māgadhī « calantakē > calantaē > calantaï > calantē > cālitē » ? (see *supra*, p. 741). The non-locative form, presumably the nominative, occurs in dialects as « cālt-āchē = cālit-āchē » etc. But « -itē » is more likely the locative. In Early Assamese, there was a similar construction with the locative, but the periphrasis here did not develop into a compound tense by combining the participle of the verb substantive, as it has in Eastern Bengali and in Standard Bengali : thus Śaṅkara-deva (15th century) and other Early Assamese writers frequently employ constructions like « sūryā-sāmā sābē jwālāntē āchāhā » *you are all shining like the sun,* « āchē prākāśāntē » *are manifesting,* « upāsāntē āchē » *are worshipping,* etc. As in Assamese, so in W. Bengali this participle progressive did not catch on in the spoken dialect, although the « sadhu-bhāṣā » took it up. It does not seem to occur in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. edition), nor even in Kavi-kaṇkaṇa, both West Bengal writers (of the 15th and 16th centuries). But

in East Bengal writers, *e.g.*, Mādhavācārya, author of ' Caṇḍī-kāvya ' (16th century : cf. VSP., p. 335, হোতেছে « hōtēchē » *is happening*), Chuṭī Khān (Noakhali : ' Mahābhārata,' VSPd. ed., p. 59 : তবে সেই রক্ষিগণ দেখিতে আছেন « tăbē sēi rakṣi-găṇ dēkhitē āchēntā » *then the guards remain watching*), Vaṅśī-dāsa (' Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 380, দেখিতেছি « dēkitēchi » *I am seeing*, p. 580, করিতেছে « kăritēchē ») etc., the « -itē » is well-established from the 16th century. And from the early 17th, it is found in the West Bengal writers also, like Kāśī-rāma Dāsa (*e.g.*, VSP., p. 676, হইতেছে « hăitēchē », p. 685, দিতেছে « ditēchē »). The prose documents, whether in East or in West Bengal, had to employ a definite form for the progressive, and it seems « -itē » became accepted in epistolary and documentary Bengali in the 17th century, and from that it was adopted into the « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 18th and 19th centuries ; but West Bengal spoken dialects did not use it. The progressive « -i » form of the spoken dialects of West Bengal has now been adopted for the progressive, as a matter course, in the new literary dialect of Bengali based on the Calcutta Colloquial.

The construction, present participle (< « -ant- » of OIA.) *plus* verb substantive, occurs in other NIA (excepting Oṛiyā and Assamese) : in the Magadhan speeches (*e.g.* Maithilī « dĕkhait-chī, dĕkhait-chalahŭ », Magahī « dekhait-, dekhit-, dekhat+hī, halu » ; Bhōjpuriyā « dĕkhāt bănī > dekha-tănī », etc.) ; in E. Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī « dēkhat ahŭ, dēkhat rahĕŭ ») ; in W. Hindī (*e.g.*, « dēkhtā hai, dēkhtā thā ») ; in Panjābī (*e.g.*, « jāndā hai, jāndā sī »), in Rājasthānī and in Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « māratō hatō », Mārwāṛī « māratō hō » *was beating*) ; in Marāṭhī (*e.g.*, « uṭhat āhē, uṭhat hōtā » *is, was rising*) ; in Pahāṛī (*e.g.*, Khas-kurā « garda-cha, garda thiyo » *is doing, was doing*), etc., etc.

755. (2) The « -i » form is rather rare in eMB., but it becomes noticeable from the 15th and 16th centuries : *e.g.*, KKC. (Vaṅga-vāsī edition), p. 112, পীত তড়িত বর্ণ, হেম মুকুলিকা কর্ণ, কেশ মেঘে পড়িছে বিজলি « pītă tărită bărṇē hēmā-mukulikā kărṇē kēśă-mēghē părichē bijuli » *yellow, like lightning in colour, a little flower of gold has fallen* (= *is disposed*) *like lightning in the clouds of her hair*; p. 122, কেমতে ধরিছ হিয়া « kēmătē dhărichă hiyā » *how are you holding your heart* (=*how can you remain*

unconcerned) ? ; Vaṅśī-dāsa, p. 3, শোভিছে « śobhichē » *is appearing beautiful* ; p. 34, ভাবিছেন « bhābichēnẹ » *is thinking*, etc. Cf. also Chuṭī Khāṅ's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.), p. 10, এহেন বুলিছে পূর্ব্বে ধর্ম্ম মহীপাল « ēhēnẹ bulichē pūrbbē dhārmmā-māhīpālẹ » *so has said formerly the righteous king* (*Yudhiṣṭhira*) ; p. 21, যত পুণ্য করি আহম কায় বাক্য মনে « jātā puṇyā kāri āchāmẹ kāyā-bākyā-mānē » *all the merits I have earned in body, word and mind* ; p. 22, রাজার সাক্ষাৎ বসিছেৰ মুনিগণ। পাত্র মিত্র চারি পাশে করিছে শোভন। « rājārẹ sākṣāt bāsichāntā muni-gāṇẹ, pātrā-mitrā cāri pāśē kārichē śobhānẹ » *in front of the king are sitting (were seated) the sages, and courtiers and friends are adorning in the four sides* ; etc. It is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Late MB., but the meaning is not often fixed for either of the two tenses. In Early Assamese of the 15th century, this « -i » form is already well established.

The source of this form in this construction is not clear. It would appear at first sight to be merely the conjunctive in « -i ». The perfect in « -iyā, -iyā » would similarly appear also to have the conjunctive in it. But the conjunctive would not accord well with the progressive sense, which we see is connected with this construction, side by side with the perfect one, in both MB. and NB. and in Early and New Assamese. The « -i » form, to indicate the perfect, might be, in the case of the intransitive verb, the non-l passive participle in « -ita > -ia > -ĭ, -i » : « calia > calī > cali + āchē » *gone + is = is gone, has gone* (= calitŏ' sti). The Maithilī Progressive tense in « -ai » + « √ch », e.g., « calai-chī » *I am walking*, « karaï-ch » *he is doing*, seems to indicate a possible source for the « -i » form of Bengali. Grierson explains this « -ai » progressive of Maithilī as being a contracted form of the « -ait » present participle (' Maithilī Grammar,' p. 173 : « dēkhai chī < dēkhait chī »). But, as suggested in the present work, p. 1022 *supra*, the « -ai » may well be a verbal noun locative : for it would be strange indeed for the full « -ait » and a contracted « -ai » to be in living use side by side in the same dialect and at the same time. So also compare the Magahī forms like « dēkha, dēkhē + hī » *I see*, beside progressive « dēkhait (dēkhat, dēkhit) + hī » *I am seeing*. The Rājasthānī dialects and Gujarātī, as well as some forms of Western Hindī, have a periphrastic

present in which the present forms of the verb properly conjugated are used with the verb substantive in the corresponding person and number: *e.g.*, Marwārī « caḷū-hū » *I go*, « caḷā-hā » *we go*, « caḷai-hai » *he goes*, « caḷai-hai » *they go*; Jaipurī = « caḷū-chū, caḷā-chā ; caḷai-chai, caḷai-chai »; Gujarātī « cāḷū-chū, cāḷiē-chiē; cāḷē-chē »; Brajbhākhā « caḷaū-haū, caḷai-hai; caḷai-hai, caḷai-hai », etc. The Bihārī compound tenses are not of the type found in the Western languages : here the form of the principal verb is unchanged—it is « -ai, -a, -ē » in all cases. Can the « -i » in Bengali-Assamese be a locative form of an OB. verbal noun in « -ia » =the OIA. passive participle in « -(i)ta » ? OIA. « calita » > « calia », in Late MIA. (Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa) ; locative OIA. « calitē » > « caliē > *calii »; this would become « *calī, cali » in OB., and then used with the root « āch » : « cali-āchē, cali-chē » therefore would mean *in-the-act-of-walking is = is walking*; so « dēkhi-chē » *in-the-act-of-seeng is = is seeing*. The « -i » form in Bengali can thus include both the locative (to develop into the progressive) and the nominative (in the case of the intransitive verb, to indicate the perfect—later this sense occurring with the transitive verb also by extension) of the « -ita > -ia » passive participle—in the former case it being the veral noun, in the latter the participle. The Oṛiyā « -i » form, indicating as it does the perfect tense only, naturally is to be taken as the Oṛiyā variant of (4), for which see below (p. 1027).

With the idea that the composite « sādhu-bhaṣā » is the source of the dialects, the W. Bengali চ'লছে, চ'লছিল, ক'রছে (ক'চ্ছে), ক'রছিল (ক'চ্ছিল) etc., are commonly regarded as contracted forms of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল, করিতেছে, করিতেছিল, etc. But that such is not the case is seen from the occurrence in MB. and in the NB. language of poetry of forms like চলিছে, করিছে in the progressive. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে করিতেছে, etc. can only give চ'লতেছে, ক'রতেছে [čoltečhe, kortečhe], etc. in the Standard Colloquial, but such forms are not proper to the dialect, and when they occur at all, they are artificial, being due to an attempt to find colloquial equivalents of a literary form which is only too familiar : the froms চলিতে, করিতে « cālitē, kāritē » (as participles and verbal nouns in « -itē ») occur as চ'লতে, ক'রতে [čolte, korte (kotte)]. The doubling of the

affricate in the case of roots which end in a vowel, like খাচ্ছ, যাচ্ছ, পাচ্ছ, দিচ্ছ, শুচ্ছ « khācchē, jācchē, pācchē, dicchē, śucchē » [khacc͞(h)e, jͅacc͞(h)e, pacc͞(h)e, dicc͞(h)e, śucc͞(h)e] *is eating, is going, is receiving, is giving, is lying*, with past tense in ছিল « -cchilā », would at first sight suggest that it is a case of assimilation of the « -t- » of « -itē », and would thus connect these with the « -itē » form (« ditēchē > *dit-chē > dicchē »). But other West B. and North B. dialects do not show the doubling, even when in West B. these forms indicate the progressive. MB. দিছ « di(i)chē », যাইছ « jāïchē » should occur in West Bengali as দিছ « dichē », যেছ « jēchē » (see *supra*, pp. 386-387), and so they do, for example, in Murshidabad and Birbhum (as present progressive : the corresponding past progressive forms are দিয়েছ « diyēchē < diyā-chē, গেলছ « gēl-chē »). But in the Standard Colloquial, MB. « jāïchē » became « * jāy-chē », and it is this « -y- » which assimilated with the following « -ch- » : « jācchē »; so in « * di(i)chē » it assimilated (it is possible by first becoming a glottal stop) to the « -ch- », as « * diy-chē [diʔͅhe] > dicchē »; so śui-chē > *śuy-chē > śucchē », etc.

The Oṛiyā speech forms its progressive tenses with the help of a verbal form in « -u », + the substantive verb : *e.g.*, « kāru-chi, kāru-chũ; kāru-chu, kāru-chā; kāru-chi, kāru-chānti ». (For this « -u » affix, see *supra*, p. 678.) It is not unlikely that a similar form in « -u » was used in Rāḍha dialects contiguous to Oṛiyā, and that in Late MB. this form with the « -u » (not understood, and becoming quiescent in the middle of the word) merged into the « -i » form, or restricted the « -i » form to the progressive in West Bengali. But from extant documents, we cannot postulate with any amount of certainty a Rāḍha form « *cālu-chē, * kāru-chē » beside « cāli-chē, kāri-chē ».

756. (3) The perfect with the participle in « -la » is very much restricted in Bengali, and is only local for West Bengal, and probably also for North Bengal. In eMB. it may have been more prominent,

The construction, restricted as it seems to be to a few intransitive verbs, and to denominatives and causatives, is perfectly plain : W. Bengali আলছ « āl-chē » *has come*, হ'লছ « hōl-che » *has happened*, ম'লছ « mōl-chē »

has died (< MB. « māilā-chē » = « mr̥tō'sti »).   From the intransitive, the
« -l- » affix first spread to the denominative and then to the causative.   It
agrees with the Bihārī perfect of the intransitive verb; but is different from
that of the transitive (and by analogy, often of the intransitive) verbs (in
the present and past perfect tenses) in Bihārī, where we have either the juxta-
position of two tenses (the past in « -l- » and the substantive verb present or
past) each properly conjugated, or the instrumenal of the « -al- » participle
used with the substantive verb (cf. LSI., V, II, pp. 28-29, 38-39, 52-53).

   757.   (4) The perfect in « -iyā, -iñā » is by far the most common
of the compound tenses in eMB.   It is found in a number of instances
in the ŚKK.; and in Kr̥ttivāsa (VSPd. ed., Ayōdhyā, Uttara) it is well-
established, and may be said to be fairly common in subsequent MB.
literature.   In Early Assamese, the « -iyā » form occurs with the substantive
verb, but only as a separate word, and the « -iyā » and the substantive do not
express the perfect idea.   This « -iyā » form fell into disuse in later
Assamese.   Oṛiyā never developed the « -iyā » form, but had only the ones
in « -i » and « -iñā ».

   Examples from eMB.: ŚKK.: p. 143, পাতিআছে « pātiāchē » *has
established*; p. 175, শুণিআছ « śuṇiāchā » *you have heard*; p. 317, সুতিআঁ
আছিলোঁ « sutiā āchilõ » *I was asleep, I was sleeping*: p. 325, নিআঁছিস
« niāchisā » *thou hast taken*; p. 376, বসিআঁ আছেন্ত « basiā āchēntā »
has sat down, is sitting; Kr̥ttivāsa, ' Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 16, হঞাছেক « hañā-
chēkā » *has become*; p. 24, দিঞাছি « diñāchi » *I have given*; p. 177, সুআ
আছে « suā āchē » *is lying*; p. 201, জুড়িঞা আছে « juriñā āchē » *is spread*,
পড়িঞা আছে « pariñā āchē » *lies*; etc., etc.   The form is found copiously
in other MB. works.

   It would be seen that progressive or continuous action may be
indicated in the case of intransitive verb; and such action is emphasised
upon by keeping the « -iyā, -iyā » separate from the verb, in both MB.
and NB.

   The « -iyā, -iñā » form is doubtless the conjunctive : « niāchisā »
being « niā + āchisā » = *having taken thou art = thou hast taken*.   The
nasalised form, current in West Bengal, is sufficiently indicative of its

proper nature. But that is not all. In the case of intransitive verbs, the « -iyā » form can equally represent the passive participle (see *supra*, p. 955) : শুয়া আছে « suā āchē » *is lying (has lain)* < *lain* (* svapita- > suvia- > suia- > su-ā) + *is*, চলিয়াছে « cāliāchē » *has gone* < *gone* (calita- > caliā) + *is*. Cf. N.B. এখানে যে বেশ গান চ'লেছে ! « ēkhānē jē bēśā gānā cā'lēchē » *so, fine singing is going on here*; মাদ্রাজে খুব উদ্যোগ চলিয়াছে or চলিতেছে « Mādrājē khubā udyōgā cāliyāchē (cālitēchē) » *great preparations are going on in Madras*; রাস্তায় কাদা হ'য়েছে « rāstāy kādā hōyēchē » *there is mud in the street*; র'য়েছি « rōyēchi » *I am staying*, etc. Cf. also the perfect with the participle in « -la »; and the perfect of the intransitive verb in the Bihārī dialects, and in other NIA. languages, like W. Hindī, etc. (*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « wuh gayā hai » = « asāu gataḥ asti »; Gujarātī « hũ cālyō chũ » = « ahaṃ calitaḥ asmi »). The static and continuous use with the substantive verb separated or united can in this way be explained. So that the « -iyā, -iñā » form would seem to combine in Bengali both the conjunctive and the passive participle (the latter in the case of intransitives); but from Early M.B., from the similarity of forms (« -iyā » for both of them) and from the nature of the constructions, any such original distinction was lost sight of.

The participle in « -iyā, -iñā » and the auxiliary have coalesced but loosely in Bengali. To emphasise an « -iyā-chē, -iyā-chilā > -ē-chē, -ē-chilā » form, the emphatic particles ই « i » and তো « tō » *indeed, surely* generally come in between, and not at the end. This is especially noticeable in the Standard Colloquial. Thus, প'ড়ে-ই-ছে « pōṛē-i-chē » *it has fallen, to be sure* : দিয়েই-তো-ছিলুম « diē-i-tō-chilum » *I had indeed given, I had very nearly given*; দিয়ে-তো-ছি « diyē-tō-chi » *I have given in truth*; etc. The emphatic, however, can also come at the end : *e.g.*, প'ড়েছে-ই প'ড়েছে « pōṛēchē-i pōṛēchē » *it has certainly fallen*; etc.

The use of root « thāk » for the future progressive and perfect is rather rare in M.B. : « √thāk », when not put in the future, expresses a continuous state in compound verbs with the « -iyā, -iñā » form : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 176, বসিঞা থাক « bāsiā thākā » *remain sitting, remain seated.*

758. Two dialectal forms for the progressive tense may be noted.

(5) The ' South-West Bengali ' progressive, made by combining the present tense of principal verb with « √ṭha » *to remain* regularly conjugated : *e.g.,* কৰিঠি « kåri-ṭhi » *I do + I remain = I am doing*; যাউঠু « jåu-ṭhu » *thou goest + thou remainest = thou art going*; হয়ঠে « håyḍ-ṭhē » *he is + he remains = he is* (= Standard Colloquial হ'চে « hōochē »). In some cases, the principal verb is not conjugated, but put in the conjunctive : খাবায়ঠ « khåbåyḍ-ṭhå » *you are feeding.* (See LSI., V, I, pp. 108, 109 ff.) The Common Bengali « -i » + « åch > -ch- » form is also known in this dialect. The root « √ṭha » (< sthå) is not found elsewhere in Bengal. This use of two finite forms side by side is exactly of the type found in Brajbhåkhå and in Råjasthånī-Gujarātī noted at pp. 1024-1025.

(6) In the district of Bogra, and in some other North Central Bengal tracts, there is a progressive form in « -(i)t, -it- » + root « åch » : thus কৰিতিতেছি « kårtitēchi » *I am doing,* কৰ্তুতুছু « kårtutuchu » *thou art doing,* কৰিতিতিছে « kårtitichē » *he is doing,* খাটিতিতেছি « khåṭṭitēchi » *I am labouring* (LSI., V, I, pp. 152-153). This form appears to be merely the « -itå, -it- » participle further strengthened by the locative affix « -tē »—it is really a double locative form : « kåritē + -tē ». The personal termination of the auxiliary substantive verb seems to have influenced the « -itē-tē » of the principal verb form, and to have altered it accordingly, at least in the 2nd person : « kåritētē, * kårit̤tē + åchu > *kårt(ē)tē-chu > * kårtutu-chu ».

The use of the « -r- » affix for the progressive in E. Vaṇga and S.-E. Vaṇga has been discussed before (pp. 994 ff.).

[M] CAUSATIVES.

759. The Causative in Bengali is made by adding the affix আ « -å- » to the root, with euphonic « ৱ » or « য় » between vowels : *e.g.,* কৰ « √kår » *to do > করা « √kårå » *to cause to do*; খা « √khå » > খাৱা, খাওয়া « √khåå, khåwå » *to cause to eat*; দে « √dē » > দেখা, দেওয়া, দেয়া « √dēå, dēwå, dēyå » *to cause to give*; জী « √jī » > জীয়া « jiyå » *to cause to live.* There are of course old causatives of OIA. which do not add this « -å » affix, but show original root-modification (Ablaut) and behave like independent roots, which have been noted before (*supra,* pp. 876-877).

The source of this « -ā- » is the MIA. « -āva- », from OIA. « -āpa-ya- »,
which has been indicated above (*supra*, p. 880). The normal OIA. form
« -aya- », with modification of the root vowel, became considerably curtailed
from First MIA., and « -āpaya- » largely took its place. Thus we have
in the Aśōka Inscriptions forms like « kārāpita-, pārāpita-, vivāsāpaya-,
sāvāpaya- » (= Skt. kārita-, hārita-, vivasaya-, śrāvaya-), and in Pali
« vasāpēti, sarāpēti (√smṛ), pucchāpēti (√pṛcch), siñcāpēti, palāpēti », etc.,
etc. This « -āpaya- » even invaded the domain of the denominative. In
Second MIA., it became « -āva-, -āv-ē- », and when there grew a confusion
between the « -aya- > -ē- » causative and the simple verb (see *supra*,
pp. 933-934), the « -āv-, -v- » form with the unmistakable « -ā-, -v- » in it
easily became established as the causative affix in Late MIA. and NIA.

In the Caryās, the causative affix occurs as « -āva- », as in « bandhāvaē »
causes to bind (Caryā 22) ; and this « -āva- » was contracted to « -ā- » in
MB. (*supra*, p. 350, *Phonology*). The « -ā- » causative has been extremely
common in Bengali from its very origin.

760. The Verbal Noun from causative roots takes the affix আন, আনো,
« -ānā, -ānō », which represents « -āpa- » base + « -na » : cf. Skt. « dā-
-pa-na » *causing to give*, « jñā-pa-na » *causing to know, announcement*, etc.
On the model of these, First MIA. built up forms like « *kārāpana,
*cālāpana » etc. ; and a generalised « -āpana » gave Second MIA.
« -āvaṇa », extended to « -āvana-a » by the « -(k)a » affix, which became the
Bengali causal noun affix « -ānā, -ānā, -ānō » (' Formative Affixes Nos. 13,
13a,' *supra*, pp. 664, 665).

761. Participles of the Causative.

The Active Present Participle has the usual affix ইত, ইতে « -it-, -itē »,
contracted to « -t, -tē » in the Standard Colloquial (see *supra*, ' Formative
Affix No. 10,' p. 663). The archaic form « -anta » is not found with
causative verbs. Assamese has « -āōtā » : « kārāōtā » *one who causes to do*
(beside « kārāōwā » = « kārā-ū-ā » with « -ū-ā » affix, for which see pp. 678,
679), « khuwāōtā » *one who causes to eat* (beside « khuōwā »). Bengali has to
indicate the active causative participle idea by a clumsy phrase—যে করায় সে,
যে খাওয়ায় সে « jē kārāy sē, jē khāwāy sē », etc.

The Causative Passive Participle affix is আন, আনো « -āna, ānō » (see *supra*, p. 666). Instances of « -ānā » are not very common in MB., but they do occur: thus, ŚKK., pp. 109, 116, 318 গুখান « śukhānā » *dried*; KKC. (Vaṅga-vāsī edition), p. 147 হারান « hārānā » *lost*; VSP., p. 263 (17th century text), সিজান « sijānā » *boiled*; etc. The more favourite way seems to have been the « -il- » affix (see *infra*, p. 1032). On the analogy of the verbal noun in « -ā », presenting an identical form with the passive participle in « -ā » (« cālā » = *a going*, also *gone*; « kārā » = *a doing*, also *done*), the « -ānā » affix, found also in the causative verbal noun, seems to have been strengthened for the passive participle in Modern Bengali.

The « -ānā- » affix does not seem to occur in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in the Bihārī dialects, but it is found in E. Hindī, and in W. Hindī, and it also occurs as a passive form in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī; thus, Tulasī-dāsa has forms like « phirānō, juṛānī, harakhānē, lapaṭānī, akulānī », etc.; in Early W. Hindī, the « -āna » was found, but now it seems to have fallen into disuse: thus, Kabīr has (ed. Kshiti-mōhan Sēn, III, p. 62) « māyā dēkha-kē jagata lubhānō, kāhē rē nara garabānō?......prēma-kē hātha kāhē na bikānō? » *the world has been charmed seeing Māyā*; *why, O man, has been this boasting? why hast not been sold in the hand of love?* (it would be seen that in « bikānō » we have the causative passive participle; in the other two cases, and also in E. Hindī « harakhānē, akulānī, lapaṭānī » given above, the forms are denominative passive participles); in Rājasthānī, forms like « suṇāṇō, batāṇō » *was heard, was displayed*, etc., are past passive forms (from passive participles: cf. LSI., IX, II, p. 58); and in Northern Gujarātī, « -āṇō » is the passive participle affix for roots in « -ā », *e.g.*, « mārāṇō » *was killed*, « dīthāṇō » *was seen*, « bharāṇō » *was filled*, etc. (LSI., IX, II, p. 343).

The source of this « -ānā » seems to be « -māna », the OIA. affix for the present participle for *ātmanē-pada* and passive verbs. The past sense can easily evolve in the passive verb: *being done, being caused to be done, caused to be done*, and also simply in the passive participle, *done*. There might be in this matter some influence from the « -na » passive participles of OIA., which in some cases came down to Late MIA., *e.g.*

« diṇṇa, kiṇṇa, ruṇṇa, * liṇṇa » etc. ; and already in one instance at least we have a passive participle use of « -māna » in Pali, in combination with « -ta », in « vibhāta-māna » *become bright* (Geiger, ' Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 191, note : Geiger, however, regards the reading as doubtful). The form « -māna » in Epic and Classical Sanskrit becomes « -āna », and « -āna » is the more common form (Whitney, ' Skt. Grammar,' § 1045 f.). The form « -āna » also occurs in Pali, and in later MIA. it is also found as « -āṇa-», though there it cannot be said to be common. The passive participle use of « -āṇa » came in during Second MIA.: a form like « palāṇa » (= Skt. « palāyita » = Bengali † পলান, পালানো « † pālānā, pālānō ») already occurs in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [2]).

762. In MB. and dialectal NB., the passive participle of causatives occurs with the usual « -il- » affix : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 58, লোটাইল « lōṭāilā » *caused to be rolled, rolled* ; p. 318, আখাইল « ākhāilā » *scoured, washed*; East Bengali কৰাইল « kărāilā » *done, caused to be done*, জুৰাইল « jurāilā » *cooled* = Standard Literary and Colloquial « kărānā, jurānā ». In West Bengali, as in W. Murshidabad for instance, the « -il- » participle (contracted to « -l- ») occurs in the compound tense (perfect), but not independently : *e.g.*, নাগালচে [lagalǒuo] *have you fixed*?, কি খআলছিল [ki khoalǒhila] *what were you feeding with* ?, দেওয়ালছে [dǒoalǒje] *is causing to give*, etc. The « -l- » form occurs in the Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects. Assamese however prefers the « -ā » form (« kărōwā » *caused to be done* = « * karāpita- » + « -ā »).

763. Double Causatives—such as are found in Bihārī (*e.g.*, Maithilī « dēkhab » *see*, causal « dēkhāǒb » *show*, double causal « dēkhābāǒb » *cause to show*; « girab » *fall* > « girāǒb » *fell* < « girābāǒb » *cause to fell*; Bhōjpuriyā « dēkhal, dēkhāwal, dēkhāwāwal », etc.), in Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Lakhimpurī Awadhī « hāsab » *smile*, « hāsāwab, hāsāwāwab »), in Western Hindī (*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « karnā, karānā, karwānā; dēnā, dilānā, dilwānā »), in Panjābī (*e.g.*, E. Panjābī « sikkhṇā » *learn*, « sikkhāuṇā [sikkhlāuṇā, sikkhālṇā], sikkhwāuṇā »), in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « karvū, karāvavū, karavāvavū »)—have not been found in Bengali and in Oṛiyā.

But they occur in a restricted way in Assamese (*e.g.*, « kār, kārā, kārōwā »). The « -l- » causatives of Western Hindī and Panjābī, and of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, and the « -ḍ-, -r- » causatives as in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 141 [3]), are also unknown in Bengali and its sister speeches. A few Hindōstānī « -l- » forms occur as loans : *e.g.*, বাতলান « bātạlānạ » *to inform, to describe*, in slang or familiar colloquial ; দেলান « dēlānạ » *to cause to give* in Late MB. ; and the nouns ধোলাই « dhōlāi » *a causing to wash* > *cost of washing*, সেলাই « sēlāi » *sewing* and চোলাই « cōlāi » *distilling*.

764. There is in Bengali a periphrastic way of forming the causative with the verbal noun in « -ā » and the verb করান « kārānạ » *to cause to do*. This method is exceedingly common in Rāḍha Bengali, outside the Standard Colloquial : thus রাখ « √rākh » *to keep*, রাখা করান « rākhā-kārānạ » *to cause to keep* ; so আনা করান « ānā-kārānạ » *to cause to bring*, ডাকা করান « ḍākā-kārānạ » *to cause to call*, খাওয়া করান « khāwā-kārānạ » *to cause to eat*, দেওয়া করান « dēwā-kārānạ » *to cause to give*, etc. The use of the causative form করান « kārānạ » with *ts.* or *sts.* nouns is also common in Standard Bengali : *e.g.*, স্নান করান « snānạ-kārānạ » *to cause to take a bath*, গান করান « gānạ-kārānạ » *to make sing*, নাচ করান « nācạ-kārānạ » *to make dance*, দাঁড় করান « dāṛạ-kārānạ » *to cause to stand*, etc. ; such instances are extensions of nominal compound verbs with কর « √kār », and we have cases in the ŚKK. also—*e.g.*, চেতন করান « cētạnạ kārānạ » *to bring to senses*, পান করান « pānạ kārānạ » *to cause to drink*, etc.

[N] DENOMINATIVES.

765. Denominatives have occurred in all the periods of the language : *e.g.*, « mātạla » (Caryā 50 : māta < matta) ; ŚKK., p. 159, খঙাইবে « khāṅgāibē » *will be angry* (khāṅgā *anger*) ; p. 158, খেআইলোঁ « khēāilõ » *I ferried* (khēā = *ferry*) ; p. 191, ভাণ্ডসি « bhāṇḍạsi » *jestest*, ভাণ্ডাইলি « bhāṇḍāili » *didst jest* (bhaṇḍa *fool, buffoon, knave*), আউলাইল « āulāilạ » *dishevelled* (ākula) ; p. 372, বিষাইল « biṣāilạ » *poisoned* (viṣa), etc.

Commonly in Bengali, the noun, if it is a short form (disyllabic > monosyllabic), is used as a root : চিন « cinạ » (cihna)—চিনিবে, চিনৰে

« cinibē, cinbē » *will recognise*; তাত « tāt̪ǎ » *heat* (tapta)—তাতিল, তাত্‌ল
« tātilǎ, tātlǎ » *became hot*; পাক « pākǎ » (pakva)—পাকিতেছে, পাকছে
« pākitēchē, pākchē » *is becoming ripe*; কম « kǎm » *small, less* (Persian kam)—
কমিল, ক'মল « kǎmilǎ, kǎ'mlǎ » *became less* জম « jǎm » *gathering* (Perso-
Arabic jamᵉ)—জমিবে, জ'ম্বে « jǎmibē, jǎ'mbē » *will gather, will flourish*; etc.
But the distinctive affix for the denominative in Bengali is আ « -ā- » :
শাণ « śāṇǎ » *hone, whet-stone*, শাণাইল শাণা'ল « śāṇāïlǎ, śāṇā'lǎ » *whetted*;
দাঁড় « dāṟǎ » *stick, rod*, দাঁড়ায় « dāṟāy » *stands upright, stands*; তল « tǎlǎ »
bottom, তলায় « tǎlāy » *goes to the bottom*; ঘন « ghǎnǎ » *thick*, ঘনাইতেছে
« ghǎnāïtēchē » *is thickening*; MB. দঢ় « dǎṛhǎ » *firm*, দঢ়ান « dǎṛhānǎ »
to make firm; etc., etc. No definite rule can be laid down where the
formative affix is employed and where it can be dispensed with. Here-
in the NIA. Bengali is as arbitrary as OIA. and MIA.: cf. Sanskrit
« bhiṣakti, kṛṣṇati » beside « kṛṣṇāyatē, kavayati ». It may be noted
that in Dravidian, Kōl and Tibeto-Chinese, the root could be used both
as a noun and a verb.

The OIA. affixes to form the denominative (apart from cases where
no such affix was used) were « -a-, -ya-, -ā-ya-, -a-ya, -ī-y-a-, -i-y-a, -ū-ya,
-u-ya-, -s-ya (-ṣ-ya) ». The form « -ā-ya- », resembling the causative
affix « -āpaya (-āvaya) », seems to have become more common than the
rest in Early MIA. ; and the colourless or « -a- » form also was largely used
(cf. Geiger, ' Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 186, § 188). The causative
largely influenced, and then encroached upon the domain of the deno-
minative. In Pali, *e.g.*, we find denominatives with the generalised MIA.
causative affix « -āpaya- », like « ōpuñjāpēti » = Skt. « ava-puñjayati »,
« ussukāpēti » = « utsukāyatē », and also causative-denominatives like
« sukhāpēti, dukhāpēti » (Geiger, § 187). In Second MIA., there is a
greater mix-up with the causative ; the old forms are retained, but « -āya- »
is more prominent, and « -āya- > -āa- » and « -āpaya- > -āvē- -āv- »
approach each other (Pischel, §§ 557 ff.). As it has been seen before
(Bengali Denominative Passives in « -ā- », *supra*, p. 929), the distinction
between the denominative and the causative is all but lost in NIA.,
being preserved only in the Bihārī dialects.

The verbal noun as well as the passive participle affix for the denominative is আন « -ānă », which seems to be extended from the causative (see *above*, pp. 1030-1032). The verbal noun in « -ila » is also found in dialectal Bengali : OIA. « daṇḍāyita » > MIA. « daṇḍāïa » + « -illa » > Bengali দাঁড়াইল, as in W. Bengali (Murshidabad) দাঁড়ালছে « dăṛălă-chĕ » *has stood* so ; জুতুলছিল = জুতাইলছিল « jutulăchilă < jutăilăchilă » *gave a beating with the shoe*, < jută *shoe* ; etc.

[O] VERB SUBSTANTIVE, AND DEFECTIVE VERBS.

766.   Five roots express the substantive idea in NB. : আছ « āch », হ or হো « hă, hō », থাক « thāk », রহ « răh » and বট « băṭ ».

Of these, « āch » is the most important. Bengali « āchē » *is, are* comes regularly from Second MIA. « acchaï » (which is found in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Āvantī, Paiśācī and Western Apabhraṅśa : cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 480), First MIA. « acchati » (as in Pali). Various derivations of this MIA. root « acch » have been proposed, connecting it with either « √ās » *to sit* or « √ as » *to be* (see Pischel, *loc. cit.*) The derivation favoured by Pischel is from OIA. « √ ṛ, ṛcch » *to go*, which also meant « mūrtti-bhāva, indriya-pralaya, dravya-kāṭhinya » *to take a form, to have loss of the senses, to become hard*, according to the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. A verb meaning *to go* may develop the sense of *being*, and we find that in Kaśmīrī « gatsh » *to go* is very often used in the sense of *being, becoming* (cf. Grierson, ' Dictionary of the Kaśmīrī Language,' ASB., pp. 313, 315).   But it is highly unlikely that this most widely used IA. substantive root (see following paragraph) should be merely a semantic development out of a verb meaning *going*, and that this development should have taken place as early as the First MIA. period, if not earlier.   The most satisfactory derivation of « √acch, āch, ch » is from an OIA. « * √acch », which is not preserved in Vedic or Sanskrit. The Indo-European root « * es », = « as » of OIA., occurred in thematic forms as well : « * es-e-ti » (which would correspond with a possible OIA. « * as-a-ti ») and « * es-ske-ti » (which would agree with an OIA. « * as-cha-ti, * acchati »), beside the athematic « * es-ti » (= OIA. « as-ti »). Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise « -cha-, -ccha- »

as a verbal theme (= « * -ske-, -sko- » of Indo-European), occurring as it does in less than a dozen roots of Skt., *e.g.*, « icch (< is̤), ucch (< us̤), r̤cch (< r̤), gacch (< gam), pr̤cch (< * pr̤s̤, cf. pr̤s̤-t̤a), mr̤cch (< mr̤), mūrch (< mūr), yacch (< yam), yucch (< yu), vāñch (< van) » : but the source of this « -ccha » in Indo-European, namely, « * -ske, -sko- », was a distinctive verbal theme which is of greater frequency and importance in other branches of IE. (cf. Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, French trans., pp. 549, 550 ; A. Meillet, ' Introduction à l' E'tude comparative des Langues indo-européennes [5],' pp. 185, 186).   The « * -ske/o- » theme is found with « * √es » in a number of ancient Indo-European speeches—Greek (*e.g.*, Homeric preterit « éskon, éske »), Latin (Old Latin future « escit ») ; Tokharian (« sketar » *is*, « skente » *are*), Armenian (subjunctive « içem »). This derivation of « acch, acchati » has been suggested by Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet ('Remarques sur les Formes grammmaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B : I, Formes verbales,' p. 28, from the 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' 1912). Cf. पहुँच « √pahũch », *supra*, pp. 344, 473.

The root « āch (ch) » is now found in all Magadhan speeches except Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā.   It seems that these two dialects also at one time possessed them, for it is occasionally met with in old poetry in Bhōjpuriyā (see *supra*, p. 167).   Eastern Hindī similarly seems to have had it also : in Early Eastern Hindī, as in Malik Muhammad Jāyasī for instance, it figures (*e.g.*, at pp. 31, 35, 45, 53 of the ASB. edition,— « āchahi, āchaĭ, āchabī », which have been explained as meaning *good*, « acchā », by Sudhākara Dvivēdī).   The MIA. source dialect of Western Hindī, Śaurasēnī, possessed it, according to Vararuci (XII, 19 : « astēr acchah ») ; « achnā » is recognised in Hindī as a root, and it seems that instances of it occur in Old Western Hindī poetry, but it is no longer a living form in that speech. It is found in Gujarātī as much as in Bengali, and it is equally common in some of the Rājasthānī dialects.   In Marāṭhī, it is common as « asn̤ē ». It figures also in most of the Pahārī speeches.   The range of « acch » thus appears to have been fairly extensive (see *supra*, p. 167).   The loss of it in some of the NIA. speeches is nothing exceptional : witness the disuse of the Old English substantive verb « weorðan » in New English,

while it is retained (as « werden ») in New High German. But it seems this root, despite its mention as a Śauraséni form by Vararuci, was not a popular one in the Midland : its being ignored by Sanskrit may be due to a restricted occurrence in the Midland ; and Midland influence may have further curtailed it in Eastern Hindī and in Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī in recent times.

« āch » is a defective root in NB. as well as in MB. It occurs only in the present and the past in NB., but in MB. the imperative, present participle, conjunctive and verbal noun in « -iba » also are found. Thus,

Present : 1. আছি « āchi », 2. আহিস, আছ « āchis, āchā », 3. আছে « āchē », MB. আছএ « āchāē »; 2 and 3 honorific আছেন « āchēnẻ », MB. আছবি, আছেহ, আছহ « āchānti, āchēntā, āchāntā »;

Past : 1. (আ)ছিলাম, ছিলুম, ছিলেম « (ā)chilām, chilum, chilēm », MB. (আ)ছিলে'l « (ā)chilẻ » etc. ; 2. (আ)ছিলি, ছিলিস « (ā)chili, chilis », (আ)ছিলা « (ā)chilā », ছিলে « chilē », etc. ; 3. (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilā », ‡ আছলেক « āchẻlēkẻ », MB. also (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilā »; 2 and 3 honorific ছিলেন « chilēnẻ », MB. (আ)ছিলবি, (আ)ছিলাবি, (আ)ছিলেহ, (আ)ছিলহ « (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilēnta, (ā)chilāntā »;

Imperative, MB. 3. আছউক « āchāukẻ », (আ)ছুক, « (ā)chukẻ »;

Present Participle, MB. (আ)ছিতে « (ā)chitē »;

Conjunctive, MB. (আ)ছিয়া « (ā)chiyā, ছিয়'l « chi(y)ā »;

Verbal Noun, MB. আছিবা « āchibā ».

The aphæresis of the initial « ā- » is as old as eMB.: e.g., ŚKK. p. 124, ছিতে « chitē », p. 232, ছুক « chukā »; cf. also p. 124, আওছিম'l « āguchiā » *having been before.*

In Oṛiyā, the past and future tense of « āch » shows another root, « tha » (as in « thilā » *he was*, « thilũ » *I was*, « thibē » *they will be*, etc.), of which the source seems to be OIA. « √sthā » (« sthita > thia+-illa > thila »; but cf. Early Assamese « thāila » *remained* < « *thaẏa- » + « -illa »). 'S.-W. Bengali' uses a base « ṭha », also from « √sthā », but with cerebralisation, in the equivalents of Bengali ছিল « chilā » etc., in

the compound tenses (see *supra*, p. 1029). Beside equivalents of « * acchita + -illa », MIA. forms based on « sthita + -illa » were thus current in the Prakrit dialects brought to Bengal.

767. Root ই, হো « hā, hō ». This is apparently a single root in NB., but the form really represents two roots which have merged into one—one being « √ah » or « √ha » from OIA. « √as », the other « √hō » from OIA. « √bhū ». The distinction between the two is preserved in many NIA. speeches, at least in form : Thus, we have Magahī past forms « hal, halai » from « √ha », beside « hōl, bhēl » from root « √hō, bha = √ bhū » ; W. Hindī has « hai » *is*, « hū̃ » *am* (in Early W. Hindī literature frequently occurring as « ahai, āhai ; ahaũ, ahũ̃, āhũ̃ » etc., from «√ah, as »), beside « hōwē, hōē ; hōwũ̃, hoũ̃ » *may be* (from « √hō=bhū »). Cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 219, for « √ah » in Maithilī. And in West Bengali, in the Khāriā-ṭhār dialect of Manbhum District, the verb occurs as আহয় « āhăy » *is* (LSI., V, I, p. 97).

The OIA. « √bhū » became « hō, hū » in the NIA. languages. In MB., we have হুএ, হোএ « huē, hōē », with its equivalents « huăï, hōi » in Oṛiya and « hōwē » in Early Assamese. MB. and Assamese show beside these the form হএ, হয় « hăē, hăy », honorific MB. হয়ন্তি « hăyănti=hăănti » (p. 9, Chuṭī Khān's ' Mahābhārata '), হয়ন্ত « hăyăntă=hăăntă » (ibid., p. 56), হন্তি « hănti », etc. In the ŚKK., however, the « hō » form is extremely rare, occurring only once, and « hă » is the common form. In the Caryās, we find « hōi » and « hōnti », and the « ha, ah » form does not occur. The past tense of « √hō », apart from হোইলা « hōilă » which has merged in হইলা « hăïlă » (<*ăh-il-ă), shows in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Assamese, the forms ভইলা, ভয়িলা, ভইল, ভইলা « bhăïlă, bhăyilă, bhăilă, bhăilă », etc. A conjunctive ভই « bhăï » is also known. The « bha » base occurs also side by side with « hō » in other NIA. *e.g.*, W. Hindī (Hindōstānī) « hūă » beside dialectal « bhăyă » ; and we can also note the Hindī verb « bhāwē »=« bhāvayati », (cf. the MB. ভায় « bhăy ») *seems*. OIA. « √bhū » gave « hō » through the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence (see *supra*, p. 553), and side by side with this intervocal « -h- » modification, the original initial « bh- » seems to have remained as a stereotyped form in the same area.

In MIA., all roots of OIA. tended to conform to the thematic « -a- » group. Root « as », athematic in Vedic and Sanskrit, would thus seem to have developed a thematic form « * as-a-ti » beside « as-ti », if this did not already exist in OIA. OIA subjunctive forms, like « ásati, ásat » might have exerted some influence here. The OIA. athematic « as-ti » survives through MIA. « atthi » in the Gujarātī negative form « nathī < nầsti », and is not found elsewhere in NIA. The form « * as-a-ti » seems to be the source of NIA. আহয় « āhầy » (West Bengali), হএ হয় « « hầē, hầy » (Standard or Common Bengali), « ahaï, hai » (W. Hindī), « āhē » (Marāṭhī), etc. This « * as-a-ti » however, has not been found in MIA., and the phonetic puzzle of the change of « -s- > -h- » remains unsolved (*supra*, pp. 549-550). Jules Bloch suggests connecting Marāṭhī « āhē » with OIA. « ā-bhavati », as a likely derivation of it ('Langue Marathe,' p. 294). But the loss of prefix « ā- » over a great part of the North Indian area would be strange. In any case, with the distinct occurrence in NIA. of « hō, ha » side by side, « ha » cannot with any certitude be derived from « bhū ». Bengali phonology shows that the source of « ha » in OB. was « * ah » and not « hō=bhū » : নয় « nầy » *is not* < ন-হয় « nầ-bầy » = « na + * ahaï » ; নইলে < নহিলে « nāïlē < nāhilē » *on not being* < « na + * ahilē » ; MB. নহিব « nāhiba » *shall not be* = « na + * ahiba » : the change is of « ă+ă > ā > ầ » (for which see *supra*, pp. 347, 555). In the Standard Colloquial, MB. করিব, চলিব « kầribầ, cầlibầ » *I shall do, I shall go* by loss of the interior « -i- » and mutation of the preceding « -ầ- » give [korbo, c͡olbo], but there is no such mutation in the case of বহিব, সহিব « bầhibầ, sầhibầ » *I shall bear, I shall suffer* > [bɔbo, ʃobo], when the « -i- » is dropped ; but when the « -i- » is retained (the presence of « -h- » preventing the hiatus in OB. and eMB. has something to do with the preservation of the « -i- » in such cases), we have mutation : [boibo, ʃoibo]. Now হইব « hầïbầ » *shall be* gives in the Standard Colloquial [ɦobo] : this would seem to be based on *অহিব, * অহ্ব «* ầhibầ, *ầhbầ », which then by metathesis becomes হব « hầbầ » [ɦobo]. A form from « hō=bhū », হোইব « hōibầ » would give in the Standard Colloquial * [ɦoibo], with « -ō- » in the root, but such a form is unknown. In the past tense (first person), we

have for the above roots, respectively, [korlum (kollum), ǒollum], but
[boilum, ʃoilum] and [ɦolum] : [bolum, ʃolum] would be exceedingly rare,
and wrong for the Standard Colloquial dialect ; and [ɦoilum] never occurs.
[ɦolum] apparently is not based on « * ȧh-il-um < √ ah », but rather on
« hō-il-um < √bhū » : in the former case it would have fallen in line with
[boilum, ʃoilum], and with [koilum] < «√kȧh » *to speak* etc., and preserved
the « -i- » (in the Standard Colloquial).   The future tense thus seems to
preserve « √ ȧh », and the past « √ hō ».

768.   The root रह « rȧh » *to remain, to continue to be* (the causative
of which occurs in the ŚKK., रहाइ « rȧhȧē » *stops*), is a regular verb
which can be said to form one of the substantives in Bengali.   It occurs in
other NIA.—Marāṭhī « rahāṇē̃, rāhṇē̃ », Gujarati « rahēvũ », Sindhī
« rahaṇu », Panjābī « rahiṇā », W. Hindī « rahnā », E. Hindī « rahab » :
it is found also in the Dardic Kaśmīrī.

This root is of obscure origin.   A common derivation is to regard it
as an intransitive formation from a passive verb : Skt. « rakṣyatē » *is
preserved, is kept* > MIA. « rakkhiaï » > « rākhiaï, * rãhiaï, * rãhiaï » >
NIA. « rahaï » *remains* (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Dictionary,' under
« rabnā »).   Despite the presence of the Marāṭhī « rāhṇē̃ », this derivation
is not convincing.   Then the NIA. form « rah » cannot be affiliated to
any of the Sanskrit roots, « rah » *to separate, to aba don*, « raṅh » *to
hasten, to speed*, and « laṅgh » *to leap over*, because of the insurmountable
difference of meaning.   This root however occurs in MIA., *e.g.*, Jaina
Prakrit « rahaē » *remains, stays*, and MIA. *dēśī* « rāho = nirantaraḥ »
(as referred to by Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' p. 393).

It would be strange indeed if such an important NIA. root, a
root of elementary significance, and so widely spread too, should not
be of OIA. origin.   There is the Skt. root « arh=argh » *to deserve,
to merit, to be worthy of, to have a claim to, to be entitled to, to be worth,
to be able*, etc.   This is connected with the Greek « alphḗ » *worth, value* ;
and Skt. « √ arj » *to acquire* is also supposed to be related to this « √argh,
arh » (Uhlenbeck, ' Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischer Sprache ' ;
also J. Leumann, ibid., I Theil, Dissertation, Strassburg, 1893).   In Pali

« √ rah » figures as « araha- » : but the old meaning is preserved. Skt. « √ arh » in the present tense second person is used with the infinitive as a polite request : « kartum arhasi, dātum arhasi » *please do, please give.* This « arh, araha- » does not agree with the NIA. « rah » in sense, although in form they are almost identical.

There is in Middle High German a verb « rëgen » meaning *to raise oneself up, to be rigid, to be fixed,* in Modern German « emporragen » *to tower,* « hervorragen » *to rise above, to project, to stand out.* There is also in Latin a verb « rigeo, rigēre » *to be be fixed, to stiffen.* It has been suggested that the Latin and the German forms are connected, and the hypothetical Indo-European root « * régh-o-, * ṛgh-é- » has been proposed as the source of both (August Fick, 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen,' Göttingen, 1890, p. 5l7 : Fick regarded this as belonging specially to the West European i.e. "centum" group of Indo-European, and he further connected the Greek « √arkh » *to be first* and Lithuanian « rãgas », Old Slav « rogŭ » *horn* : W. Prellwitz accepts all this in his 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,' Göttingen, 1905, under « árkhō » ; E. Boisacq, however, regards these etymologies as dubious, 'Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque,' Heidelberg, 1906, under « arkhós » ; and A. Walde also disputes them, 'Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,' Heidelberg, 1910, under « rigeo, recens, frīgeo »).

Was there a root « * ragh, rah » = *to stand, to be fixed, to be stiff* also in OIA. ? The possibility of an OIA. form like « * ragh, rah » is made a probability by the presence in most NIA. of « √ rah », and also of « √ raha » in MIA. (as in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « sō ẏa aĩva jūẏa-pasaṅgī ; nivasaṇa-mĕttaṁ pi na rahaē » *he is exceedingly addicted to gambling : not even his clothes remain :* Jacobi, 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī,' Leipzig, 1886, p. 58 : it features also in the Jaina *kāvya* « Siri-sirivāla-kahā » : cf. 'Pāïa-sadda-mahaṇṇavō' by Hargovinddas Trikamchand Seṭh, Calcutta, 1925 ; it occurs also in the late work 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala'). The use of this root in MIA. Jaina texts favours the assumption that it also occurred in the traditional Ardha-māgadhī from Early MIA. times. The eastern dialect of Aśōka undoubtedly

is Ardha-māgadhī of the Early MIA. period (cf. H. Lüders, ' Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' p. 41). In that puzzling passage in Aśōka's Pillar Edict IV, « lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭicalitavē maṁ (,) pulisāni pi mē chaṁdaṁnāni paṭicalisaṁti », the word « laghaṁti=laghanti » has been interpreted to mean *are eager* (=« raṅghantē » : Bühler) and *they must* (= « arhanti » : *auch die Lajjukas müssen mir gehorchen*, H. Lüders, ' Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wisschenschaften,' Vol. LIII, 1913, p. 993). But it seems very likely that it means *remain,* and is the Aśōkan equivalent of the NIA. « rah » : *the Lajjūkas also remain (are staying) to serve (obey) me, and they will also serve (obey) the officials who know my will* seems to be the proper translation (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Text and Glossary,' 1925, II, p. 86). The sense of « √arh », with an implication of compulsion, is hardly suitable in this general statement in the above passage. In Bhabra Inscription, however, we have the OIA. « √arh » in the form « alah » with the « a- » retained : thus, « alahāmi hakaṁ taṁ vatavē » (= arhāmy ahaṁ tad vaktavē=vaktum). The assumption of an OIA. root « * ragh, rah, lagh », from the occurrence of it in NIA. and in (Late) MIA. (Jaina Prakrit) and from the presence in extra-Indian Indo-European of « rēgen, rigeo » etc., seems to be borne out by the Aśōkan « laghaṁti ». And it is not unlikely that there was a confusion between this « * ragh, rah, lagh » and « argh, arh, arah, alah » in MIA.

769. Root थाक « thāk » *to remain* < *to be fixed*. It is commonly derived from the OIA. « √sthā », but Hoernle connects it with « √stabh + kṛ » > MIA. « thakka » (see *supra*, p. 680). This is certainly the true derivation, although it is possible that OIA. « √sthā »> « thā, tha » has merged into it : cf. Oṛiyā « √thā » beside « √thāk », Assāmese past form « thāilā », Bengali causative থোয় « thōy » *places* (sthāpayati). Equivalents of this root occur in other NIA.—in Bihārī, in W. Hindī, in Gujarātī ; and it is found in Late MIA.,—in the ' Prākṛtā Paiṅgala,' for instance.

770. Root বট « baṭ » as a substantive verb in the Standard Colloquial is frequently used to express doubt or polite assent, and as such is ordinarily restricted to the 3rd person present only—বটে

« bāṭē »—which has practically been reduced to a particle of assent or query in Standard NB. The root is defective in not having past and future forms, and conjunctives, participles and verbal nouns. The forms for the 1st and 2nd persons, and the honorific, are sometimes used: বটি « bāṭi » *I am, I may be*; বটিস, বট « bāṭis, bāṭa » ; বটেন « bāṭēnə », generally with the conjunction যদি, যদিও « yădi, yădi-ō » *if, although*. The 3rd personal form is sometimes used for emphasis—সেই বটে « sēi bāṭē » *it is he indeed*. In the West Rāḍha dialects, the use of « bāṭē » as the equivalent of « āchē » and « hăy » is still preserved : *e.g.*, in Manbhum, তোমার হাতে ঘটিতে কি ? « tōmārə hātē ghāṭi-tē ki ? » *what have you got in the vessel in you hand ?* জল বটে « jălə bāṭē » *it is water*.

In Oṛiyā, the counterpart of « bāṭ » is « āṭ », also a defective verb. The loss of the initial « b (<v) » in Oṛiyā seems to have been brought about by the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence, which helped to reduce the « v- », which became « b- » in Bengali, to a glide « ẇ » which came to be dropped. Maithilī and Magahī have not preserved the root, but in Bhōjpuriyā it is a very common and useful substantive verb, its forms there being « bāṭ-, bāṛ-, bā, bā-ni » etc.

The source of this root is the OIA. « vṛt » *to turn, to revolve, to roll, to take place, to occur, to exist, to remain* etc. : « vartatē », MIA. Māgadhī « vaṭṭati, vaṭṭaï » > বটে « bāṭē » (see *supra*, p. 319).

771. Some Bengali verbs present irregularities in their conjugations, especially in the past bases. But these irregularities are not so great as in Panjābī or Marāṭhī. The process of standardisation early levelled down the passive participle bases derived from MIA. to a regular « -il- » form in Bengali. A few survivals, however, remain. Thus কর « √kăr », past tense MB. করিল « kărila » (> NB. ক'রল ক'নল, করলে ক'নলে [korlo, kollo, korle, kolle]) is a new and regular formation in eMB. from the root, but the earlier form derived from MIA. « *kaya-illa » is the OB. and MB. কৈল « kăila », now obsolete or dialectal : cf. Oṛiyā « kăla », Bihārī « kail ». So মরিল « mărila » *died* > ম'রল ম'নল [morlo, mollo], beside the older মৈল « măila », which is found in both standard and dialectal Bengali as ম'ল [molo] ; and on the analogy of « kăila, măila », we have in MB.

a seemingly archaic মাইল « mā̆ilă » (whence the dialectal West Bengali মেলে « mĕlĕ », i.e., « mā̆il-ĕ ») for a regular মারিল « mă̆r-il-ă » *he struck* (« mārita + -illa », a causative form, which occurs in the Standard Colloquial as মারলে, মাল্লে [marle, malle < *marile]); and also পৈল « pă̆ilă » *fell* in MB., for পড়িল « pă̆rilă » > NB. প'ড়ল [porlo]. Root যা, জা « jā » (OIA. « yā ») has the past base গেল « gĕlă » = Early Assamese « gă̆ilă », Oṛiyā « gă̆lā », Bihārī « gail », from OIA. « gata » + « -ila »; this is the genuine and current form, and যাইল « jă̆ilă » is a regular « sādhu-bhāṣā » creation out of যা « √jā », which is not the spoken form. The conjunctive forms are গেলে « gĕlĕ » and গিয়া, গিয়ে « giyă, giyĕ » *on going, having gone* (cf. Early Bengali, Early Assamese গৈ « gă̆ï », also found in OB.); but যেলে « jĕlĕ » and যেয়ে « jĕyĕ » would appear to be extremely uncommon in colloquial Bengali, and would seem to be based on the literary forms যাইলে, যাইয়া « jă̆ilĕ, jă̆īyă ».

772. The roots meaning *give* and *take* have had a close inter-influence in their history. OIA. root « dā » *to give* did not use its reduplicated forms in MIA., and already in Transitional MIA. (Bharhut), it figures as « dĕti » < « *dayati », apparently through analogy of « nayati > nĕti » (from « √nī » *to lead, to take away*). The passive participle base was « datta » in OIA. (which seems to be preserved in the Panjābī « dittă »); and a form « *dita » also occurred in OIA., which gave W. Hindī « diyă », Bengali দিল « di-lă »; beside another in « -nn- », attested from MIA. « diṇṇa- » and NIA. « dīnau » (W. Hindī, Brajbhākhā), « dīnha » (Early Awadhī), « dīdhō = *dindhaü, dinhaü » (Gujarātī : cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [3]). We have besides the form « dĕl- » in Bihārī, in which occurs the vocalism of the present. NB. Vowel Harmony has largely modified the original disposition of the « -i- » and « -ĕ- » vowels (see *supra,* p. 894). For *take,* we have as many as *three* roots in Bengali. The standard « sādhu-bhāṣā » knows only ল, লহ « √lă, lah » (which, if it is not the Skt. « labh », is at least influenced by its *tbh.* form « √lah ») : Present 1. লই « lă̆ï », 2. লইস, ল'স « lă̆ïs, lă̆'s », লহ, লও « lă̆hă, lă̆ō », 3. লহে, লয় « lă̆hĕ, lă̆y », honorific ল'ন, লয়েন, লহেন « lă̆n, lă̆yĕnă, lă̆hĕnă »; Imperative 2. ল « lă̆ < lă̆hă », লও, লহ « lă̆ō, lă̆hă < lă̆hă̆hă »,

3. নউক « lăuk̤ », honorific নউন « lăün̤ »; Past base নইল « lăĭlă- », Future base, নব, নইব « lăbă-, lăĭbă- », Conjunctive নইয়া « lăĭyă| », Passive Participle নওয়া « lăwă ». This « lah, lă » root occurs in MB. literature also. But it is never used in spoken Bengali. The vocalism parallels that of roots নহ, বহ « săh, băh » as given above (e.g., Future [ʃoĥibo > ʃoibo, ʃobo], so [loĥibo > loibo, lobo]), and thus indicates the form « lah » (< « labh ») as a source of the NB. root. The dialects (other than Standard Colloquial) use a root লে « lē », e.g., Present 1. লি(ই) « li(i) », 2. লিস্ « lis », লেও > লাও « lēo > lăo », 3. Present লেয় « lēy » [læĕ], Past লিলে « lilē », Future লিবে, লেবে « libĕ, lĕbĕ », Conjunctive লিয়ে « liyĕ », etc. : this root is now regarded as vulgar; but it figures in MB., and in OB. (e.g., Caryā 14, « kawaɖī na lēi, bōɖī na lēi » takes not a cowrie shell, takes not a farthing; Caryā 10, « lēmi » I take; 32, « lēhu » you take; 49, « lēlī » taken). It seems that this « √lē », and « lă, lăh » were confused with each other : « lē » was made to approach « lăh » as an elegant, literary form. The OB. conjunctive forms « laï » (Caryās 29, 38, 47), « lăĭă » (28, 45), « laĭă » (26) seem already to be the result of this confusion in changing the root vowel of « lē » to « la » as in « lah » (cf. NB. dialectal « liyĕ » having taken < « √ lē »). This « lē » is found in Bihārī, in E. Hindī, in W. Hindī (lē-nă), etc. The source of it seems to be the OIA. root « lă » to take, as in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, however, this root is not so common. The popular Skt. root is « grah », which is represented by forms in some of the NIA. speeches. The change of « lă » to « lē » is probably the result of the influence of « dēï, dēti = dăti, dadăti » (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe', p. 400, under leɳeɱ). The Standard Colloquial root meaning to take (occurring also in MB.) is নি, নে « ni, nĕ », now conjugated exactly on the model of « dĕ » (see supra, p. 894). It may be that this form is due to the change of the initial « l- » of « lē » to « n- » (see Phonology, p. 545); but it is at least equally likely that here we have the OIA. root « nī » to lead, to carry off for one's self > to take. We have আন « ăn » = « ă + √nī » as a common verb in Bengali; and it is exceedingly likely that OIA. « √nī » has also survived in Bengali.

OB. had the root « ghēn » *to take* (< OIA. gṛhṇāti): cf. Caryā 6, « ghini (= ghēni) mēli » = « gṛhītvā muktvā », according to the Commentary. It is lost to Bengali now, but Oṛiyā still retains this root as a common form (√ghēn).

It is curious that the root for *taking* also means *wearing (clothes)*, in Oṛiyā (« √ghēn »), in Marāṭhī (lēṇ̃ē), and in MIA. (« laïaṁ parihitaṁ: laïaṁ aṅgē pinaddham ity anyē » —' Dēsīnāma-mālā ' quoted by Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' p. 400 : cf. Skt. « vāsāṁsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti narō' parāṇi »).

773.   Root আ « √ā » *to come* is a defective root, which is affiliated to root আইস, আস « √āïs, ās » *to come* (< OIA. ā+√viś), to supply an optional past form and the familiar imperative (= singular). Thus—

3 Present, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আইসে, আসে « āïsē, āsē », NB. Standard Coll. আসে « āsē »; 3 Past, MB. আইসিল « āïsilā », NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিল « āsilā », also MB. আইল « āïlā », NB. Standard Coll. এল [elo], East Bengali আসল [aʃlo]; 3 Future, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিবে « āsibē », NB. আস্বে [aʃbē]; Imperative, 2 familiar or inferior আয় « āy », 2 ordinary « sādhu-bhāṣā » আইস « āïsₐ », Standard Coll. এসো [eʃo], আইসুক, আসুক « āïsukₐ, āsukₐ », 2, 3 honorific আ(ই)সুন « ā(i)sunₐ », Future Imperative 2 inferior আ(ই)সিস্ « ā i)sis », ordinary NB. আইসিও « ā(i)siō » > এসো [eʃo]; Conjunctive আসিয়া « āsiyā », এসে « ēsē »; Absolutive, আসিলে « āsilē » > আস্লে « āslē », beside আইলে « āïlē » > NB. এলে « ēlē »; Present Participle আসিতে « āsitē » > আস্তে « āste ».

The form « ā » comes from OIA. « ā + √yā »: « āyāta+-ila- > * āāilla- > * āïlla- » > আইল « āïlā- > এল [elo]. The verbal noun connected with this root is আনা « ānā », which is not found by itself: but here, as the OB. form « avaṇā-gavaṇā » *coming and going* (found in the Caryās : = NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ») shows, we have « √gam » — « āgamana- + gamana- ». It seems a MIA. form like « * āāᵛaï » (= OIA. * ā-gamati) has merged into « ā +√yā ». The present tense of « √ā » is not found in NB., but OB. shows « āvaï » (Caryā 42; also spelt « āvayi » in Caryā 43). Corresponding to this OB. « āvaï, avaṇā- » we have W. Hindi 3 Present « āwē », Verbal Noun or Infinitive « ānā »; in Bihārī

(Maithilī), Verbal Noun « āb », Present Participle « ābait » beside « āŏt »,
3 Future and Conditional Past (= original Present Participle) « auta- »,
Present 3 person original singular « āĕ » beside « ābai », plural >
honorific « ābathī », Future 1st person « āĕb, āŏb », conjunctive « ābi,
āï, āy ». (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' §§ 312, 313). The Maithilī
« -b-, -o- » forms, both from original « -w- », clearly show that as in
Bengali, we have also the OIA. « *āgamati » > MIA. « *āaẅaï » form :
Maithilī « āĕ = āï < āyāti », and « ābai = āwaï < *āgamati, ābathi <
āgamanti, āeb < āyātavya, āob < *āgamitavya ». The Maithilī past base
always is « ail- », where it is < « āyāta + -illa », as in Bengali « āïlā » :
cf. W. Hindī « āyau, āyā » (< ā-yāta-ka).

Three OIA. roots preceded by the « ā » particle thus feature in the
Bengali verb for *coming* : « ā-viś », « ā-yā » and « ā-gam ».

[P] DUPLICATED VERBS.

774. Certain verb-forms are doubled in Bengali to indicate repeated,
intense or continuous action. These are either conjunctives in « -iyā »
(or « -i » in Early Bengali), or present participles in « -itē », used with
an adverbial force with reference to the finite verb. Thus we have in OB.
(Caryā 10) « chaï chōï = chōẅï chōẅi » *frequently touching* ; (26) « dhuni
dhuni » *by continually carding (cotton)*; (31) « cāhantē cāhantē » *continually
scrutinising* ; MB., Caṇḍī-dāsa, ঝুরিয়া ঝুরিয়া কান্দে « jhuriyā jhuriyā kāndē »
weeps (silently) shedding tears continually ; Gōvinda-dāsa, উড়িয়া পড়িয়া মাতাল
ভমর ঘুরিয়া ঘুরিয়া বুলে। « uṛiyā paṛiyā mātālā bhramarā ghuriyā ghuriyā
bulē » *the drunken bee flies and moves and circles round and round,* হাসিয়া
হাসিয়া অঙ্গ দোলাইয়া নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় « hāsiyā hāsiyā aṅgā dōlāïyā nāciyā
nāciyā jāy » *goes smiling always, swinging the body and dancing always* ;
NB. দেখে দেখে « dēkhē dēkhē » *seeing for a long time,* খেটে খেটে « khēṭē
khēṭē » *working continuously,* etc. This usage goes back at least to MIA. :
cf. Late Skt. « pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā, patitvā ca mahītalē », an
idiom based on MIA.

775. There are a number of roots which are used in pairs—roots
similar in meaning, or indicating connected ideas, and together they

convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved (cf. under 'Onomatopoetic Roots,' p. 891). These do not make what are known as 'Compound Verbs,' as both the roots take inflexions ; e.g., NB. বুঝে-সুঝে « bujhē-sujhē » *understanding well*, ধুয়ে-মুছে « dhuyē-muchē » *washing and wiping=making clean completely*, মেরে-ধ'রে « mērē-dhŏrē » *striking and restraining=forcibly*, কাঁদে-কাটে « kādē-kāṭē » *weeps and fidgets*, past tense কাঁদল-কাটল « kādlā-kāṭlā », future কাঁদবে-কাটবে « kādbē-kāṭbē » ; নাচে কোঁদে « nācē-kõdē » *dances and capers*, past নাচ্‌ল-কুঁদল « nāclā-kūdlā », future নাচবে-কুঁদবে « nācbē-kūdbē » ; লাফাল-ঝাঁপাল « lāphālā-jhāpālā » *leapt and jumped* ; হটকানো-পাটকানো « huṭkānō-pāṭkānō » *to turn topsy-turvey, to ransack*; etc. They occur in earlier Bengali as well : ŚKK., ছিণ্ডি-জুলি « chiṇḍi-juli » *tearing and scattering* ; so ভাঁগি-জুলি « bhāgi-juli » ; উথাষি-পাষাষি « uthāṣ̄-pāthāṣ̄ » *cheering and heartening*; 'Sayings of Ḍāka,' ধোইয়া-পোঁচ্ছিয়া « dhōiyā-pāucchiyā » *washing and wiping = thoroughly washing* ; etc.

There is another kind of reduplication, behaving like the roots which are used in pairs, in which, following the habit of Bengali with regard to nouns, the verb is repeated by an artificial form in which the vowel or the consonant in the initial syllable of the verb is changed, and a jingle thus results, which continues the idea of the verb, or brings in notions of a similar nature : e.g., খেয়ে-দেয়ে « khēyē-dēyē » *having finished one's meal* ; জিরিয়ে-টিরিয়ে « jiriyē-ṭiriyē » *resting and reposing*; কাঁদে টাঁদে « kādē-ṭādē » *weeps and sorrows*; ঝাড়ে-ঝুড়ে « jhāṛē-jhuṛē » *wiped and cleaned* (see *supra*, p. 176, on 'Echo Words'). This form is also found in M.B. : e.g., Ḍāka, খায়-দায়, না পালে হাঁড়ী « khāy-dāy, nā pālē hāṇḍi » *eats and enjoys, but does not attend to the cooking pot*.

776. There is in Bengali, as in other NIA., a common Verbal Noun of Reciprocity, which may be noted in this connexion. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and they are connected by a link vowel « -ā- », and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix « -i < -I » : e.g., জানাজানি « jānā-jāni » *knowing in common*, বলাবলি « balā-bali » *informing each other*, হুড়াহুড়ি « huṛā-huṛi » *pushing and pulling each other*, মারামারি « mārā-māri » *striking each other > fighting*, দেখাদেখি

« dēkhā-dēkhi » *seeing each other, mutual seeing,* সুষাষুষি « ghusā-ghusi » *fighting with fisticuffs,* কানাকানি « kānā-kāni » *talking with mouth by each other's ears, whispering,* হাতাহাতি « hātā-hāti » *hand-to-hand fight,* মুখামুখি « mukhā-mukhi » *face-to-face,* etc.   These nouns can be used adverbially.

Similar formations are known to OIA. Pāṇini has already noted them, under *Bahu-vrīhi* compounds (cf. 'Aṣṭādhyāyī,' II, ii, 27, and V, iv, 127 : « kēsā-kēsi, daṇḍā-daṇḍi, karṇā-karṇi, muṣṭā-muṣṭi, jalpā-jalpi » etc.)   In OIA., these are nominal compounds only, the « -ā- » being the modification of the stem-vowel of the word. This formation occurred with concrete nouns as well as verbal nouns in OIA. (cf. « jalpā-jalpi ») ; and the final « -i » seems to have been strengthened by « -ka » in MIA., so that it could be retained in NIA. as « -ī, -i » (-ika > -ia > -ī, -i : * karṇā-karṇi-ka > *kaṇṇākaṇṇia > kānākānī, -ni).

Repeated roots of the type noted above in § 775 form by analogy compounds of a similar type, only the reciprocal sense is absent : *e.g.,* চেঁচামেচি « cēcā-mēci » *shouting and noise (singly or by many),* কাঁদাকাটি « kādā-kāṭi » *weeping and sorrowing,* etc.

[Q]   Compound Verbs.

777. Modern IA. languages agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb roots in connexion with a noun or a verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun which is compounded is in the accusative, and occasionally in the locative ; and the verbal form remains unaffected, the root following taking the temporal and personal affixes. The two parts combined form one idea. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary ; and sometimes it has no special force, although generally it strengthens or otherwise modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this 'Compound Verb' or 'Group Verb' construction amply compensates for the loss of the root-modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of Sanskrit and of Indo-European speeches outside India. In English, the modifying prefix now comes after (*e.g., to lie down, to sit down, to put off, to put out*), though

we have older forms (like *to with-stand, to for-give, to for-get, to up-set,* etc.). So for English *sit down,* and Skt. « ni + √sad », we have in Bengali বসিয়া পড়া « băsiyă pără », lit. *having sat, to fall,* = Hind. « baiṭh jănă » *having sat, to go.* The loss of the root-prefix both in form and significance (*e.g.,* « upa-viśati » becoming « băïsĕ, băsĕ », « pra + √ăp » becoming « √pă ») as well as the absence of new root-modifying prefixes or particles when the old ones were lost by assimilation, has gradually brought about this make-shift of the Compound Verb. These compound verbs supply to some extent the want of modal and temporal affixes, and are as characteristic of the modern Indo-Aryan speeches as the 'aspects' of the verb in the Slav languages.

In this point there is a remarkable agreement with Dravidian (see *supra,* p. 174). In the Dravidian languages, compound verbs of exactly similar formation and function occur, *e.g.,* in Tamil, with « koḷḷu » *take,* « varu » *come,* « viḍu » *leave,* « pō » *go,* « uṛu » *come,* « aḍi » *strike,* « paḍu » *suffer,* etc.; in Telugu, with « konu » *buy, take,* « vesenu » *throw,* « iccu » *give,* etc. It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches.

778. The Compound Verb occurs from the earliest period in NIA. We have, *e.g.,* in the Caryăs, « diṭa(= diḍha)-karia » (1), « ? cauri-nila » (2), « ṭuṭi-gĕli » (36), « ? sadi-paḍiă » (44), « uṭhĕ (= uṭhi)-gĕli » (47); in the ŚKK., আনি দিবোঁ « ăni dibŏ » *I shall bring,* কাড়ি নিলে « kăṛhi nilĕ » *snatched away,* লাগি গেল « lăgi gĕlă » *become fixed,* কহিআঁ দেহ « kăhiă dĕhă » *do describe,* মুছিআঁ পেলাইবোঁ « muchiă pĕlăïbŏ » *shall wipe off,* etc., etc. Examples are common in MB.

779. Types of the Compound Verb in Bengali.

(Cf. J. T. Platts, 'Hindustănī Grammar,' pp. 169-180; S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar,' pp. 257-279; Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' pp. 289-298.)

I. Nominals.

(a) Accusative : জমা করা « jămă-kără » *to gather,* দর্শন করা « dărśănă-kără » *to see* (e.g., *the deity in a temple*), দর্শন দেওয়া « dărśănă-dĕwă » *to*

show oneself, আহার করা « āhārḍ-kārḍ » *to eat*, আহার দেওয়া « āhārḍ-dēwā » *to feed*, পাস or ফেল করা or হওয়া « pāsḍ-, phēlḍ, kārḍ, hāwā » *to pass or fail (in examination)*, স্বাদ নেওয়া « swādḍ-nēwā » *to taste*, জল দেওয়া « jālḍ-dēwā » *to water*, নাম নেওয়া « nāmḍ-nēwā- » *to repeat the name (of God)*, লাফ দেওয়া « lāphḍ-dēwā » *to jump* (Sanskritised in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as লম্ফ প্রদান করা « lāmphā-prādānḍ kārā »), etc., etc.

(b) Locative : আগ বাড়া or বাড়ান « āgḍ-bāṛā, -bāṛānā » *to advance*, গা করা « gā-kārā » *to receive properly, to attend (receive on body*, cf. গায়ে মাখা « gāē mākhā » = *to smear on the body* in the same sense), etc.

(c) With the locative verbal noun (or infinitive) in ইতে « -itē » :

(i) Inceptives (with « √lāg » *to be attached*) : করিতে > ক'রতে লাগা « kāritē > kōrtē lāgā » *to set to do*, খাইতে > খেতে লাগা « khāitē > khētē lāgā » *to set to eat*, etc.

(ii) Desideratives : দিতে চাওয়া « ditē cāwā » *to wish to give* (with « √cā, cāh » *to want*) ;

(iii) Acquisitives : দেখিতে > দেখতে পাওয়া « dēkhitē > dēkhtē pāwā » *to be able to see* (with « √pā » *to get*),

(iv) Permissives : বসিতে > ব'সতে দেওয়া « bāsitē > bōstē dēwā » *to allow to sit* (« √dē » *to give*) ;

(v) Potentials : চলিতে > চ'লতে পারা « cālitē > cōltē pārā » *to be able to walk* (« √ pār » *to be able*).

(d) With the verbal noun in « -i » and in « -ā » : Reflexives : মুড়ি দেওয়া « muṛi-dēwā » *to wrap oneself up*, গুড়ি মারা « guṛi-mārā » *to creep, to cower*, হামা দেওয়া « hāmā-dēwā » *to crawl on all fours*, etc., etc.

II. Verbals.

(a) With the conjunctive (in « -iyā, -ē ») :

(i) Intensives : কাড়িয়া > কেড়ে নেওয়া « kāṛiyā > kēṛē nēwā » *to snatch away* ; ভাঙ্গিয়া > ভেঙে দেওয়া « bhāṅgiyā > bhēṅgē dēwā » *to break fully* আসিয়া > এসে পড়া « āsiyā > ēsē pāṛā » *to come along, to reach* ; উঠিয়া > উঠে পড় « uṭhiyā > uṭhē pāṛā » *to get up* ; দিয়া > দিয়ে দেওয়া « diyā > diyē dēwā » *to give away* ; ভাগিয়া > ভেগে পড়া « bhāgiyā > bhēgē pāṛā » *to decamp* ; সরিয়া > স'রে পড়া « sāriyā > sōrē pāṛā » *to retire (silently)* ;

পড়িয়া > উঠে প'ড়ে লাগা « uṭhiyā-pāṛiyā > uṭhē-pōṛē lāgā » *to be up and doing, to be at something tenaciously* ; etc., etc.

(ii) Intensives and Completives : খাইয়া > খেয়ে ফেলা « khāïyā > khēyē phēlā » *to eat completely, to finish entirely* ; মুছিয়া > মুছে ফেলা « muchiyā > muchē phēla » *to rub off* ; কাটিয়া > কেটে ফেলা « kāṭiyā < kēṭē phēlā » *to cut down* ; বলিয়া > ব'লে ফেলা « bāliyā > bōlē phēlā » *to blurt out* ; বসিয়া > ব'সে পড়া « bāsiyā > bōsē pāṛā » *to sit down*, etc., etc.. Generally with « √phēl » *to throw, to cast* with transitives, and « √paṛ » with intransitives.

(iii) Inceptives, with যা « √jā » *to go* ; লাগিয়া > লেগে যাওয়া « lāgiyā > lēgē jāwā » *to start* ; বসিয়া > ব'সে যাওয়া « bāsiyā > bōsē jāwā » *to sit down for something*, etc.

(iv) Staticals : বসিয়া > ব'সে থাকা, রহা (রওয়া) « bāsiyā > bōsē thākā, rāhā (rāwā) » *to continue to sit, to remain sitting* ; লাগিয়া > লেগে থাকা, রহা « lāgiyā > lēgē thākā, rāhā » *to be fixed or working at something* ; জাগিয়া > জেগে থাকা, রহা « jāgiyā > jēgē thākā, rāhā » *to keep awake*, etc. (The « -iyā » forms here may be the passive participle rather than the conjunctive).

(v) Continuatives : বকিয়া > ব'কে যাওয়া « bākiyā > bōkē jāwā » *to go on chattering* ; খাইয়া > খেয়ে যাওয়া « khāïyā > khēyē jāwā » *to go on eating*, etc. (খাইয়া যাওয়া « khāïyā jāwā » is also passive, *to get eaten*, where the « -iyā » form is not the conjunctive : see *supra*, pp. 922 ff.).

(vi) Miscellaneous : *e.g.*, করিয়া > ক'রে দেখা « kāriyā > kōrē dēkhā » *to experiment (to do and see)* ; বুঝাইয়া > বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া « bujhāïyā > bujhiyē dēwā » *to explain* ; ছিটকাইয়া > ছিটকিয়ে পড়া « chiṭkāïyā > chiṭkiyē pāṛā » *to be scattered* ; etc., etc.

(b) With the Present Participle in ইতে « -itē » :

(i) Continuatives or Frequentatives : দিতে, করিতে > ক'রতে, হাসিতে > হাসতে থাকা « ditē, kāritē > kōrtē, hāsitē > hāstē thākā » *to remain giving, doing, smiling* ; etc.

(ii) Staticals : করিতে করিতে যাওয়া « kāritē-kāritē jāwā » *to go while doing*, নাচিতে নাচিতে গাওয়া « nācitē-nācitē gāwā » *to sing while dancing*. (Here the form is strictly not of the compound verb, as both roots retain their independent meaning : but the « -itē » forms have an adverbial sense.)

APPENDIX.

780. The following are the main or typical stages in the development of Bengali as a Modern Indo-European language from the Primitive Indo-European speech :

(1)   Indo-European, c. 2500 B.C. ;

(2)   Indo-Iranian or Aryan, c. 1800 B.C. ;

(3)   Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic Dialects), c. 1200 B.C. ;

(4)   Transition to Middle Indo-Aryan in the Prācya or Eastern speech, c. 700 B.C. ;

(5)   Early Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha (Old Māgadhī), c. 300 B.C.;

(6)   Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, about the time of Christ ;

(7)   Second Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, c. 300 A.C. ;

(8)   Late Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha and Bengal, or Māgadhī Apabhranśa, c. 800 A.C.;

(9)   Old Bengali, c. 1100 A.C. ;

(10) Early Middle Bengali, c. 1400 A.C. ;

(11) Late Middle Bengali, c. 1600 A.C.;

(12) New Bengali or Modern Bengali, after 1800 A.C.

In the preceding pages, this development from the third stage as above, from Old Indo-Aryan, has been sought to be indicated in its general lines, both in sounds and in inflexions. The development of Old Indo-Aryan from the parent Indo-European speech properly forms a distinct branch of the subject. To illustrate the transformation of Indo-European to Bengali, however, a few sentences in New Bengali are taken below, and their equivalents through the typical preceding stages are given, and in this way the hypothetical Indo-European source-forms are worked back. This will indicate within a short compass the processes underlying this transformation.

All the words in OIA., Indo-Iranian, and Indo-European sentences below have been accented.

(i) মা ঘরে আছে « mā ghárē āchē » *mother is in the house* < eMB. মাও ঘরে আছে (আছএ) « māo ghárē āchē (āchàē) » < OB. * « māẇa gharē (gharaï, gharahi, gharahī) āchaï » < Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa * « māa (māẇa) gharahī (gharahi, ghalahī, ghalahi *or* ghari) acchaï » < Māgadhī Prakrit * « māā (<māǒā, mādā) ghalahī (<ghalaǒhi, ghaladhi ; *or* ghalaśśi, *or* ghalē\ acchaï (< acchaǒi, acchadi) » < Old Māgadhī (Prācya) (= First MIA.) * « mātā ghaladhi (ghalaśśi, ghalē) acchati » = Late OIA. (not Prācya) * « mātā gharadhi (< garhadhi) *or* gharassi (< garhasmin, gharē) acchati » < OIA. « mātá * gṛhá-dhi (gṛhḗ) * ácchati (* accháti) » < Indo-Iranian * « mātá ghṛdhá-dhi (ghṛdháí) as-ç(h)á-ti (<as-skā-ti) » < Indo-European * « mātḗ(r) ghṛdhó-dhi (ghṛdhéi) es-ské-ti ».

(ii) সাধ হয় মোর মনে « sādhá [ʃɑ:dĩ] háy mōrá mánē » *a longing is in my mind* (the form মোর « mōrá » *my* is archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. সাধ হোএ মোর মনে « sādhá hōē mōrá mánē » < .OB. * « sādha hōi mōra maṇē (maṇaï, maṇahi, maṇahī) » < Māg. Ap. * « śaddba hōi mŏarahī (= mŏ-alahī, maẇa-kalahī) maṇahī » < Māg. Prakrit * « śaddhā hōi (< hōǒi, hōdi) mama-kalabi maṇahi (< maṇaǒhi, maṇadhi, maṇaśśi) » < Old Māgadhī * « śaddhā hōti (*or* bhōti) mama manadhi (manaśśi) » < Transitional OIA. * « śarddhā bhavati mama manadhi (manasmin) » < OIA. « śráddhā bhávati máma mánasi » < Indo-Iranian * « çrád-dhā bháwati mána mánasi » < Indo-European * « kréd-dhē bhéweti méne ménesi ». (হয় « háy » also represents an OIA. « * as-a-ti », IE. « es-e-ti » : see *supra*, pp. 1038-1040).

(iii) দাঁড়ে না বায় « dāṛē nā bāy » *rows a boat with an oar* (= *stick*) (the word না « nā » is rather archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. দাঁড়ে (দাড়ে) নাও বাহে « dāṛē (dā ọḍẽ) nāo bāhē » < OB. * « dā ọ ḍẽ nāẇa bāhaï » < Māg. Ap. * « daṇḍēṁ (daṇḍĩ) nāaṁ (nāẇā, nāā) bāhēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « daṇḍēụa(ṁ) nāaṁ vāhēi (< vāhēǒi, vāhēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « daṇḍēna nāvaṁ vāhēti (<vāhaiti, vāhay'ti) » <OIA. « daṇḍéna, daṇḍā (* dandrá) návam vāháyati » <Indo-Iranian * « dandrá náwa (náwm) wāṣháyati » < Indo-European * « dendró (? derdró) náwṃ wēghéyeti ».

(iv) গোয়ালা গাই দোয় « goẅālā gāï dōy » *the cowherd milks the cow* < eMB. গোয়ালা গাই দুহে (দুহএ) « goālā gāï duhē (duhåē) » < OB. « gōāl-ā (goẅāl-ā) gāï (gāẅī) duhaï » < Māg. Ap. * « goāla (goāli) gāïṁ (gāï) duhaï » < Māg. Prakrit * « gōvālē (< gōbālē, gōbālē) gāviṁ duhaï (< duhaði, duhadi) » < Old Māgadhī * « gōpālē gāviṁ duhati » < Transitional OIA. * « gōpālaḥ gāviṁ duhati » < OIA. « gō-pālāḥ (gō-páḥ) gávīm (gám) dógdhi » < Indo-Iranian * « gau-pás (gau-pālás) gá(w)m dháugdhi » < Indo-European * « gʷou-pós (gʷou-pōlós) gʷó(w)m dhéugh-ti ».

(v) বর বে (বিয়ে) ক'রে বউ আনে « bårå bē (biyē) kōrē båu ānē » *the bridegroom brings (leads) the bride after having married* < eMB. বর বিআ (বিহা) করিয়া বহু আণে (আণএ) « bårå bi(h)ā kåriā bahu āṇē (āṇåē) » < OB. * « bara biāha (= biyāha, biẅāba) kariā (karī) babu āṇaï » < Māg. Ap. * « bara (bari) biāhaṁ (biẅāhā) karia bahuṁ (bahū) āṇei » < Māg. Prakrit * « valē vivāhaṁ kalia (kadua) (*or* ŭddhā) vahuṁ āṇēi (< āṇēði, āṇēdi) » < Transitional OIA. * « valaḥ (varaḥ) vivāhaṁ karya (kṛ-t-ya, kṛtvā) (*or* ūdhvā) vadhūm āṇaiti (ānay'ti) » < OIA. « váraḥ (* válaḥ) vi-vāhám kṛtvá (*or* ūdhvā) vadhúm á́ náyati » < Indo-Iranian * « wáras (wálas) wí wāźhám kṛtwá́ (*or* uźdhwá́, uźhtwá́) wadbúm á́ náyati » < Indo-European * « wélos wí wēghóm kṛtwó́ (*or* ughtwó́) wedhúm ó́ néyeti ».

(vi) মানুষের আই শ বছর « mānuṣērå āï śå båchårå » *a man's life-time is a hundred years* (the word আই « āï » *life-time, man's age,* is by itself rather archaic for New Bengali, but it occurs in পরমাই « påråmāï », আইবুড় « āï-burå », etc.; and বছর « båchårå » seems to be a *sts.*) < eMB. মানুষের আউ শ (শঅ) বছর « mānuṣērå āu śå (śåå) båchårå » < OB. * « māṇuśērå āu (āẅu) śaa (śaẅa) bacchara » < Māg. Ap. * « māṇuśa-ēra āu (āẅu) śaaṁ baccharā (bacchalā) » < Māg. Prakrit * « māṇuśa-kēlē (= māṇuśaśśa) āu śaaṁ (< śaðaṁ, śadaṁ) vacchalā » < Old Māgadhī * « māṇuśaśśa āvu (āyu) śataṁ vacchalā (vacchalāśē) » < OIA. « mánuṣasya (=mánuṣasya) āyúḥ śatám vatsaráḥ (vatsarásaḥ ; * vatáḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « mánuṣasya āyúś çatám watsarás (watsarásas ; watás) » < Indo-European * « mónusosyo āyús kṃtóm wetós (? wetserós) ».

(vii) সে দৌড়ে এল (গেল) « sē dåurē ēlō (gēlå [gælo]) » *he came (went) running* (lit. *having run*) < eMB. সে দৌড়িয়া আইল (গেল) « sē dåuriā

āïlā (gēlā) » < OB. * « śē daüḍiā (daüḍī) āïlaa, āyilaᵛa (gēlaa, gēlaᵛa) » < Māg. Ap. * « śē (śaï, śi) dava-ḍ-ia āyillaa (gaillaa, gaᵞaillaa) » < Māg. Prakrit * « śē (śaē < śagē, śagē) dava-ḍ-ia (davia) āāē (āᵞāē<aᵞāōē, āᵞāōē) (gaē <gaōē, gaḍē ; gaḍē) » < Old Māgadhī * « śē (śakē) davia (dava-ṭ-iya) āyātē (gatē ; gaṭē) » < Transitional OIA. * « saḥ (sa-ka-ḥ, sa) dravya (dru-t-ya, drutvā) āyātaḥ (gataḥ) » < OIA. « sa drutvá (= drávan) ā́ yātáḥ (gatáḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « sa drutwā́ (= dráwan[ts]) ā́ yātás (gatás) » < Indo-European * « so drutwó (= drówonts) ó (e)yātós (gʷm̥tós) ».

   (viii) ব্যাটেৰ দেশে না, ম'লে পাৱ « jyāntē [j̈ænte] dēkhē [dækhe] nā, mā'lē [mole] pāy » *does not see while living, obtains when dead* < eMB. জিয়ন্টে দেশে (দেখএ) না, মৈলে পাৱ « jiyāntē dēkhē (dēkhāē) nā, māilē pāē » < OB. * « jīantē (=jīᵞantē, jīᵛantē) nā dēkhaï, maïlē pāaï (=pāᵛaï) » < Māg. Ap. * « jīantahī na dĕkkhaï, maillahī (< maᵞaillahī) pāvëï » < Māg. Prakrit * « jīvantahi (< jīvantadhi ; jīvantaśśi) na dekkhaï (< dekkhaōi, dekkhadi), maahi (< madadhi, madaśśi ; maḍadhi, maḍaśśi) pāvēi (< pāōēōi, pābēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « jīvantaśśi (jīvantē ; jīvantadhi) na dĕkkhati (dakkhati), maṭaśśi (maṭadhi ; maṭē) pāpēti (pappōti) » < Transitional OIA. * « jīvantē (= jīvantasmin, jīvati ; jīvan) na drekṣati (derkṣati < dṛkṣati, drakṣati, *present form*), mṛtē (mṛtaḥ) prāpaiti (< prāpay'ti, prāpayati = prāpnōti) » > OIA. « jívan na *drakṣati (= *dárśati), mṛtáḥ prá āpnóti » < Indo-Iranian * « g'íwan(ts) na dárçati, mṛtás prá apnáuti » < Indo-European * « gʷ íwonts ne (nē) dérketi, mṛtós pró apnéuti ».

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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PAGE

1, *l.* 8 : the number of Bengali speakers according to the Census of 1921 is 49,290,499.

4, *l.* 13 : *read* 1915 *for* 1914, *and* F. *for* W.

8, *ll.* 20-23 : these voiced stops accompanied by closure of the glottis are as a matter of fact found in certain East Bengali dialects, as regular substitutes for the voiced aspirates, [g', dz', ḍ', d', b'] for [gɦ, ɟɦ, ḍɦ, dɦ, bɦ], as I have found out subsequently. In East Bengali there is accompanying high tone.

12, *ll.* 12-17 : Amīr Khusrau was born at Patiyālī in 1253, and died at Delhi in 1325 (E. G. Browne, 'Literary History of Persia,' II, p. 540). The first authentic poet of Urdū seems to have been Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Šāh, king of Golconda in the Deccan, who died in 1611 A.C. He used a vernacular Western Hindī speech with Panjābī affinities, not exactly identical with the Hindōstāni of later times. (Cf. Braj-ratn Dās, 'Urdū-kā Pratham Kavi' in the 'Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā,' Benares, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2.)

27, *footnote l.* 17 : *after* 1916, p. 364, *add* : R. G. Bhandarkar, in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, 1917, pp. 76-81.

28, *footnote l.* 10 : *in the list of references on the Harappa seals, add at the beginning* : A. Cunningham, (Archæological) Reports, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 105 ff.; J. F. Fleet, JRAS., 1912, pp. 699 ff.

About the recent discoveries in Sindh and at Harappa, see Sir John Marshall's article in the 'Illustrated London News' for September 20, 1924, and further articles by Prof. A. H. Sayce and Messrs. C. J.

Gadd and Sidney Smith in the same journal for September 27 and October 4, 1924, respectively. Cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilisation' in the 'Modern Review' for December 1924; also the 'Modern Review' for February, 1925, and the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1925, p. 371. See also 'Sumerian Connexions with Ancient India,' by Ernest Mackay, JRAS. for 1925, pp. 697-701. Further articles on these 'Indo-Sumerian' antiquities by Sir John Marshall have appeared in the 'Illustrated London News' for February 17 and March 6, 1926 and in the 'Times of India Illustrated Weekly' for March 7, 1926.

31, *l.* 7 : *read* dialects *for* languages.

44, *l.* 16 : *read* Kauṣītaki.

46, *l.* 8 : the Vrātyas. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī derives « vrātya » from « vrāta » *horde,* in a suggestive paper containing some interesting information about the Vrātyas or 'the Original Inhabitants of Magadha,' one of six lectures on 'Magadhan Literature,' delivered in the University of Patna, 1923.

47, *l.* 12-21 ; « hēlayaḥ (hēlavaḥ) ». This form has been sought to be explained as a Semitic word, the same as the Hebrew « ĕlōăh » = Arabic « ? ilāh- » (K. P. Jayaswal, in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 719 : cf. R. G. Bhandarkar in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, pp. 76 ff.). But this is extremely unlikely. Hebrew (as well as Arabic) was rather removed from the tracts where the Aryans moved much or were settled in, in North Mesopotamia and North-Western Iran, at this early period (B.C. 2000-B.C. 1300); and Hebrew conquest of Palestine took place during the closing centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. The Semitic word for *god* which the Aryans would be likely to pick up, if they did pick it up at all, would be the Babylonian and Assyrian « ilu », which makes the connexion with the Indian form remote. Jayaswal also derives the Indian « mlēccha (Pkt. milakkhu) » *foreigner* from a Semitic word « mlk », in Hebrew « mĕlĕx ». But there is no reason not to regard this word as Indo-European (see Uhlenbeck, 'Altindisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch').

54, *l.* 33 : *after* « -āni », *add* : the dative plural affix was « -ehi » (= -ebhyaḥ, *-ebhiḥ) rather than the genitive-dative affix « -ānaṁ » (= -ānām) which characterised the Midland, North-Western and Southern speeches as in the Aśōka Inscriptions and in Pali (cf. Surendranāth Majumdar Sāstrī, 'The Dative in Pali,' in 'Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III,' Calcutta University, 1925).

56, *l.* 3 : *read* presents *for* present ; *and in l.* 19, *read* dramas *for* drama.

59, *l.* 17 : *read* nama *for* nāma.

59, *footnote* : Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in the JBORS. for 1924, pp. 189 ff., for further Brāhmī seals from Magadha with « -ṣa (= -śśa) » for the genitive affix « -sya » (*e.g.*, Mamaśa, Citaśa, Bhadaṁta Lōpagōraśa, Abhaya-vamaśa).

65, *l.* 19 : *read* Mōlāḍandī *for* Mōḍālandī.

66, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *read* ত্স্বী *for* চ্চ্বী.

67, *l.* 27 : *read* Bāgādīs *for* Bāgŭdīs. (The « Vāthurīs » are different from the « Bāurīs ».)

68, *l.* 24 : *read* Mangalore *for* Bangalore.

71, *l.* 4 : *read* Gaina *for* Gaina.

72, *footnote, l.* 2 : *read* Lāḷa- *for* Laḷa-. *Also in l.* 11, *correct* Dipa *to* Dīpa.

75-76. King Candra-varman of Puṣkaraṇā. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archæological Survey of India, definitely suggested the identification of Puṣkaraṇā of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a place in Bengal—in the district of Bankura, and not with Pokharaṇ in Rajputana. Also Mr. Nikhil-Nāth Rāy B.L., in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Jyaiṣṭha, 1330, p. 832. There is actually in that district a village 'Pokharna' (*vulgo* 'Pākhānnā, Pōkhānnā ') on the Dāmōdar river, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill (23 N 87 E, Bengal Survey, scale one inch = one mile, Sheet No. 238, Survey Season 1854-64). This is conclusive, and it would show that Rāḍha at least was entirely Aryanised, and had a Hindu Vaiṣṇava king in the 4th century A.C. ; and it may be concluded that Aryanisation was already some centuries old.

90, *l.* 19 : *add at the end, after* Jan. 1923, *the following* : C. D. Dalal and P.D. Gune, ' Bhaviṣayattakaha by Dhanapala,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction.

94, *ll.* **18-20** : the future in « -t- », from the old Present Participle, occurs in East Vaṇga Dialects : see under *Morphology*, pp. 961-963.

100, *l.* **6** : *for* rahaulaũ, *read* rahalaũ.

104, *l.* **2** : *after* in Brajabuli., *add* : The Braja-bulī dialect also spread into Assam, or rather, an Assamese Braja-bulī was developed, as early as the 15th century, Śaṅkara-dēva and others having composed poems and dramas in it. From the biographies of Caitanya, we learn that it had also spread into Orissa during that century, Braja-bulī songs being sung by Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa as much as in Bengal.

104, *footnote* : the 'Kīrtti-latā' has been published in the Bengali character, with Introductions and Translation in Bengali, by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, in 1924 (Hṛṣīkēśa Series).

106, *ll.* **21-24** : the earliest specimen of connected Oṛiyā seems to be in the newly discovered bilingual inscription (Oṛiyā and Tamil) of Nṛsiṁha-dēva II (13th Century) from Bhubaneswar, very carelessly edited in the JASB. for 1924, pp. 41 ff. Among some of the noteworthy things in this inscription, we may mention the following : (i) the vowel [ṛ] was pronounced as [ri] and not as [ru] as in Modern Oṛiyā : cf. the spelling « Krīṣṇa » in *l.* 3 ; and (ii) the word « ācāya < ācārya », which occurs here, also occurred in Old Bengali (see pp. 121-122, *Introduction*). The writing differentiates between the dental and cerebral « l » sounds, and the former, marked with a diacritical sign below as in Modern Oṛiyā (see under *Phonology*, p. 538), has been wrongly transcribed as double « ll », in the verb past tense.

109, *ll.* **13-21** : the 'Ṭīkā-sarvasva' was written Śaka 1082 : Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī published the first part in 1911, and completed the entire work in 1917.

110, *footnote,* *l.* **2** : *read* Caryā *for* Carjā.

123, *footnote* : the OB. line quoted was evidently a proverb, and it occurs in another MB. work, the 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' of Kavi-kaṇkaṇa Mukunda-rāma Cakravartī, in the form হরিণ জগৎদেবী আপনার মাঝে « hāriṇ jāgātā-bāirī āpanārḍ māsē » (as pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji of Dacca University).

127, *after* line 2, *add* :

65a.   The Sanskrit encyclopædia ' Mānasôllāsa ' or ' Abhilaṣārtha-cintāmaṇi ' (of which the first volume has been published in the Gaek-wad's Oriental Series, 1925), composed in Śaka 1051 or 1129 A. C. under the auspices of king Sōmêśvara III Bhūlōka-malla of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.C., seems to contain a few Old Bengali lines.   (Sakhārām Gaṇêś Dêuskar in the Bengali journal ' Āryāvartta ' for Māgha)317, pp. 678-679; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, ' Early History of the Deccan², ' Bombay, 1895, pp. 89-90; Dēuskar mentions a Marāṭhī article by V. K. Rājawāḍē on this work read before the 1st Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Sammēlan which I have not seen.   I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., for bringing Dēuskar's article to my notice.)

In the section on Poetry and Music (' Gīta-Vinōda ') in this work, short poems and verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṅśa, Lāṭī, and in the Dravidian Kaṇṇaḍa speech have been given; and besides a few verses occur, which are undoubtedly in the various NIA. speeches—Old Marāṭhī, Old Braj-bhākhā, and Old Bengali, to judge from at least some of the forms.   The work is preserved in various MSS. at Poona, Tanjore, Bikaner, and elsewhere.   I could consult one of the Poona MSS. (copied Saṁvat 1930 = 1874) which happened to be in the Indian Museum at Calcutta in 1923, and through the kind offices of my friend Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterji, Engineer and Architect, lately in the service of the Bikaner State, I also obtained (December 1923) transcripts of the relevant parts from an old MS. of the work (dated Śaka 1593 = 1671 A.C.) in the Fort Library of Bikaner.   Both the MSS. are very corrupt, and although there is a close agreement between them (both seemingly being based on the same original), the bad readings make it almost impossible to restore the text of the non-Sanskrit portions from these only.   Instead of attempting to give a critical edition of these portions in question, I give below tentative readings of some of the vernacular passages based on a comparison

of the two MSS., wherever they can be made out with any degree of certainty. We have thus—

« ...... chāṁḍu chāṁḍu maī jāīvō (= jāībō ? jāība ?) Gōvinda-saha khēlaṇa ...... Nārāyaṇu jagaha-kēru (-kārā) gōsāṁvi » (Bikaner, fol. 141a ; Poona, fol. 168b)=*Leave (me)*, *leave (me)*, *I shall go to sport with Gōvinda......Nārāyaṇa the lord of the world.*

Bikaner folia 141b and 142a and Poona fol. 169(a, b) give a song praising the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, which seems to represent more than one form of NIA. The first verse is in Old Marāṭhī, and runs thus : « jēṇē rasātala-uṇu matsya-rūpēṁ vēda āṇiyalē(ṁ)......tō saṁsāra-sāyara-tāraṇu, maha-tē(ṁ) rākhō Nārāyaṇu » *by Whom the Vedas were brought from Rasātala in the form of a fish......the Saviour in the ocean of transmigration...He, Nārāyaṇa, (may) keep me.* The next verse (on the Tortoise Incarnation) is very corrupt. The third verse is as follows : « jō suvara-rūvēṁ pāyalu paīsi dānaū Hariṇa-kachapu mācaviṁ (?), dāḍha Gōvinda dharaṇi uddhariaṁ sō dēu...... » *Who in the form of a boar entered Pātāla and killed the demon Hiraṇya-kaśipu, Gōvinda who rescued Earth with his tusk, that God......*This verse has Śaurasēnī affinities, as also the next two verses on Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana Avatāras, but both are hopelessly corrupt.

The sixth shows some distinctive Bengali features : « jē brāhmaṇēra kulē(ṁ) upajiyā(ṁ), Kātavī(r)yā jēṇē bāhu-pharasē khāṇḍiyā : Paraśarāmu dē(v)u śē māhara (mōhara ?) maṅgala karaü » *Who was born in the family of a Brāhman, by Whom with the touch of his arm Kārttavīrya was cut down, He, the God Paraśurāma, may work my welfare.* The above reading is substantially that of the Bikaner MS., and the Bengali character of this passage is shown by the pronoun « jē », and « -ē(ṁ), -ēra » affixes for the locative and genitive ; and « -iyā » would be the non-l passive participle adjective (> verb past) which featured in Old Bengali (see pp. 946 ff.)

The verse describing Rāma is missing in both the MSS. That on Kṛṣṇa is apparently in Old Braj-bhākhā : « Nanda-gōula jāyau Kanhu jō gōvī-janē(ṁ) vaḍihō...... » : but it is corrupt. The

verse on Buddha runs thus : « Buddha-rūpeṁ jŏ dāṇava-surā vañcaüṇi vēda-dūsaṇa bŏllaüṇi māyā mōhiyā, tŏ dĕu mājhi passū karu » *Who in the form of Buddha, after having Cheated Gods and Demons and having said words of scorn for the Vedas, led (them) astray by his Māyā —that God may grant grace to me* : it is distinctly Old Marāṭhī. The last verse on Kalki is in Sanskrit.

131, *ll.* 27 *ff.* Ḍāk the Gōwālā (cowherd) is also well-known in Bihār as a sage and author of proverbial sayings, as Sir George Grierson tells me. See also Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī on Ḍāk and Khānā in the Bengali journal ' Prācī ' (Dacca) for Śrāvaṇa, 1330.

137, *l.* 13 : *read* form *for* from.

148, *l.* 30 : *read* « bhāṣā » *for* « bhasā »:

156, *l.* 13 : *read* vēlā *for* vēla ; *l.* 15, *correct to* between.

157, *l.* 13 : *read* « nīb » *for* « nīb » ; *l.* 14, *read* tāmra *for* tamra.

159, *ll.* 14, 15 : Pischel gives ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 304) « uṭṭa, iṭṭa » as MIA. forms . The deaspiration in these words thus goes back to MIA. times, and the W. Hindī « ūṭ, īṭ » are obviously based on MIA. « * uṇṭa, * iṇṭa » showing Spontaneous Nasalisation (discussed at pp. 368 ff.).

166, *l.* 6 : *after* mī *read* :, myā.

171, *l.* 5 *from bottom of page* : *after* Dravidian sounds, and *add* : these (barring the last, which is found in Dravidian—in Tamil only, to be precise).

176, *l.* 7 : *read* « ghōrā-ṭōṛā » *for* « ghōrā-ṭōṛā ».

176, *l.* 11 : *read* « kudure-gidure » *for* « kudire-gidire ».

177, *ll.* 21 *ff* : This idiomatic use of a verbal conjunctive meaning *having said* is a common idiom in Tibeto-Burman as well—in Kuki-Chin, for instance—and it is also found in Burmese (see LSI., III, Part III, p. 5) ; and it is common in Boḍo also, which was the original language of a large section of present-day Bengali-speakers in North and East Bengal (J. D. Anderson in the JRAS., 1913, pp. 867 ff).

180, *after l.* 14, *add* :

In connexion with the above is to be taken (iv) the Ghugrahati Copper-plate of Samācāra-dēva (cf. Ep. Ind., 1925, Vol. XVIII, pp.

74 ff., ed. by Nalinī-Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī, M.A.), which mentions « Navyāvakāśikā », as well as « Vāraka-maṇḍala », and « Vyāghra-cōraka » and « Gōpēndra-cōraka » village, and « Vidyādhara-jōṭikā »; and among personal names it gives « Pavittruka, Dāmuka, Vatsa-kuṇḍa, Śuci-pālita. Vihita-ghōṣa, Śūra-datta, Priya-datta, Janārddana-kuṇḍa ».

Para 87 : This Copper-plate Inscription has been edited and. published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Ep. Ind. (' Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga,' Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.).

182, *l.* 24 : « koppam ». Compare also Tamil « kuppam » *village.*

187, *l.* 10 : The Gōvindapur Grant has since been edited by Prof. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in the ' Bhārata-varṣa' for Phālguna, 1332.

188, *after line* 5, *add* :

[27a] A new Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sēna has been recently discovered in Maimansing, and has been edited by Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī in the ' Indian Historical Quarterly,' Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1926, pp. 77-86. This gives quite a number of place-names in Vaṅga, besides some personal names.

195, *after l.* 6, *add* : (আ)শ্বার « (ā)sāwārḍ » *horseman, trooper,* সওয়ারী « sā-wārī » *rider* (*on horse, in carriage*) : occurs in the Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions as « asavāri » : from Old Persian « asa-bāri- » *horseman* (=New Persian « suwār »).

195, *after l.* 18, *add* : কোণ « kōṇḍ » *corner,* from MIA., and Skt.,=Greek « gōnos ».

196, *last line but one* : *read* « śuruṭṭu » *for* « śuḷuṭṭu ».

197, *l.* 1 : *after* Tibetan « blama », *add* : টাঙন « ṭaṅgāṅḍ » *a hill pony, Bhotia pony* = Tibetan « rta-ṅāṅ ».

198, 199 : The word « dhītā » (as the source of « jhī ») has also been derived from the Indo-European « √ * dhē » *suck* (=OIA. « dhā »), which we find in the Latin « fī-lius ».

203, *l.* 22 : *read* « fatḥ *for* faṭḥ.

213, *last line in footnote* 1, *read* ' khājāñcī ' *for* ' khajāñcī '

215, *ll.* 9 ff. : the word চ্যাটে « mēṭē », a slang term to denote dark-skinned

Eurasians, is at least influenced by the French « métis », if not actually derived from it. The word may be from « māṭiā » *earthen*, by Umlaut.

215, *l.* 22 : *read* ইস্ক্রপ *for* ইস্ক্রপ.

232, *l.* 7 : *read* rasūla *and* mŏhāmŏti ; *l.* 20, *read* pūsŏ *for* pusŏ.

233 : *immediately before* § 126, *add* : Bengali MSS. in the Persian character are but rarely found in other parts of the country. One such MS., however, has come to light recently—a Bengali version of the 'Qissah-i-Amīr Hamzah'—from Jessore district. It was exhibited by Maulavī 'Abdu-l-Walī in the ASB. (November 1925). In its transcription, unlike the Chittagong MSS., it employs regularly ে and ে for �চ and ছ.

235, *heading, read* : SILĒṬ ; *footnote, l.* 4, *read* in *for* is.

245, *l.* 22 : *read* tzándanon *for* tsándanon.

254, 255 : *loss of* « -tr- » > « -tt- » : W. Geiger cites also (Festschrift E. Kuhn, p. 186) Sinhalese « hū » (sūtra), « mū » (mūtra) « rā » (rātri).

256, *l.* 21 : « ratta (< ratna) » actually occurs in MIA. (in the Pali 'Sutta-nipāta,'—'Sabhiya-sutta' : « ratta-ñña » = « ratna-jña », explained in the Commentary of Buddha-ghōṣa as « ratana-ññū »).

260, *l.* 25 : *read* « -vā » *for* « -ā ».

263, *l.* 18 : *read* 'ʃi(ŏ)a:la *for* ʃi(ŏ)a·la.

264, *l.* 14 : *read* kɒhi *for* kɒhi ; *l.* 17 : *read* ʤupɒri *for* ʤupari.

265, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *read* mɒɒɒ *for* mɒɒɒ.

239, *l.* 3 *from bottom, add* : The glottal stop occurs with the voiced stops and palatal or dental affricates[g', ʤ' (dz'), ḍ', d', b'] in some East Bengali dialects as the regular substitutes for the corresponding aspirates [gɦ, ʤɦ, ḍɦ, dɦ, bɦ] of Standard Bengali.

272, *l.* 17 : *correct the figure for* : [h] *from* 2·02 *to* 0·02.

282, *l.* 12 : *read* pānIya- *for* pāṇIya.

287, *ll.* 11, 12. It should be noted that the « Payār » has also 16 *morae*, including the pauses, although the number of syllables is 14.

293, *l.* 6 : *read* bāʤia *for* bāʧia.

294, *l.* 12 : *read* 'ʤa(ŏ)e *for* 'ca(ŏ)e.

298, *l.* 6 : *read* 'ʃaӠɟo *for* ʃaӠɟo.

301, *last line* : *read* pātɕ́ *for* pātɕ́.

302, *l.* 20 : *read* kɐ̱rā *for* kɐ̱rā.

305, *l.* 20 : *after* (grīvā), *add* : MB. গড় « ghɐ̱rɐ̱ » *array* (ghaṭā) ;

307, *last line but one* : *read* « ɐ̆c » *for* « ɐ̆c ».

309, *l.* 8 : *read* MB. *for* MA.

313, *l.* 11 : *after* (alābu), *add* : চেট « hɛ̃ṭɕ́ » *below* > *in a crouching position* (* ahɔ̆ɳṭa, * ahɔ̆ṭṭha < * adhiṣṭāt, Buddhist Sanskrit hɛṣṭa, = OIA. adhastāt) ; MB. পাসরে « pāsɐ̱rē » *forgets* (apasmarati) ;

315, *l.* 19 : *read* mɐ̱sāṇɕ́ *for* mɐ̱sāṇɕ́.

315, *l.* 12 : *read* « ɐ̆tɕ́ » *for* « ātɕ́ » ; *after* (antra), *add* :- আশথ *beside* অশথ « āśāthɕ́, ɐ̱śɐ̱thɕ́ » (aśvattha) ; *and in l.* 15, *delete* : খাজা « khājā » *a sweetmeat* (khādya), *and take this deleted portion to p.* 321, *l.* 23, *before the word* কাড়, *adding* khɐ̆jja *before* khādya.

319, *l.* 20 : the word « sabhā » forming the plural. Mr. Sukumār Sen has drawn my attention to the word « yuvati-sabhā » *young women* in Song 18 of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' (Canto IX). Cf. also pp. 732-733.

324, *l.* 6 : *read* ˙« niṣuti » *for* « niṣuṭi » ; *l.* 10, *read* * piuśī *for* plu śī ; *l.* 25, *read* টীঠ *for* টীঠ.

325, *l.* 20 : *read* * ūru- *for* * uru ; *l.* 21, *read* -aṣṭbī- *for* -asthi-.

329, *l.* 8 *from bottom* : *correct* bōḍṛa *to* bōḍṛa.

331, *l.* 20 : *read* 'যদিন' *for* যদিন ; *l.* 25, *read* caritavya *for* cartavya.

333, *l.* 8 : *after* [ʃidne], *add* : বটীটা « ghɐ̱ṭī-ṭā » *that water-vessel*, বাটীটা « bɐ̱ṭī-ṭɐ̱ » *that cup* > Standard Coll. ঘট্টে, বাট্টে [ghoṭṭe, baṭṭe].

334, *l.* 7 *from bottom, add* : করমচা < করমোচা « kɐ̱rɐ̱mcā < kɐ̱rɐ̱-mōcā » *a fruit, Cassia carondas* (Skt. kara-marda, Hind. karaundā : cf. 'Devatā,' Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1917, p. 155).

335, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *correct* persons *to* person.

337, *l.* 10 : *correct* -ŭ- *to* -ŭ-.

341, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *read* ʃaɐ̆r *for* ʃaɐ̆r.

342, *l.* 10 : *read* chɐ̃yɕ́rɐ̱ *for* chɐ̃yɕ́rɐ̱ ; *l.* 19, *delete* MB.

349, *l.* 1 : *after* NIA., *add* : (where no special force of the « -ɐ̆ » is present or evident).

350, *l.* 4 : *before etc., add* : বাই, তাই « jäï, täï » (yadā-hi, tadā-hi).

351, *l.* 13 : *add at the end* : But পৌনে [poune] *less by a quarter has* « -åu- » for MIA. « -āō- » (pāōṇa, pādōna).

352, *l.* 15 : *read* * duūlia *for* duulia ; *l.* 8 *from bottom, after* (dēva, dēha), *add* : ‡ রে [rɛː, ræː:] *line for plough to follow* (* rĕă, rēhă, rēhā, rēkhā) ;

353, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* * ghrata.

355, *l.* 8, *after* (nacca, nṛtya), *add* : ‡ বাসোয়া « bāswā » *or,* Maithilī « basahā » (vasaha-, vṛṣabha-) ; *in l.* 21, *read* * tādṛśana.

356, *l.* 2 : *before etc., add* : বুক « bukå » *chest* (cf. Skt. vṛkka, Avestan vərəðka *kidney,* MIA. bukka) ;

357, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *correct* egreja *to* igreja.

358, *l.* 3, *l.* 6 : *read respectively* [abritɔ] and [abbritɔ] ; *last line, correct to* ghanakam.

359, *l.* 12 : *for* « w̃ » *read* « ẇ ».

364, *l.* 7, *add* : But we have the *sts.* বেন্ন « bēnnånå » [bænnon] *curry* from « vyañjana ».

365, *l.* 12 : *read* ṣaṇḍa *for* saṇḍa.

366, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* śimulå *for* śimula.

367, *l.* 12, *add* : an ! ŚKK. চাম্ভলী « cāmbhålī » *a flower* for « cāmēlī ».

369, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* * inṭa *for* * inṭa.

370, *l.* 6 : *read* sēcayati *for* śēcayati ; *l.* 19, båṭulå *for* båṭulå.

373, *ll.* 11-12 : *read* ʃ *for* ʃ.

378, *l.* 13 : *after e.g., add* : Pali « issēra, acchēra < * ĕssaira, * acchaira < * essairᶦa, * acchairᶦa < āiśvarya, āścarya ».

386, *l.* 18 : *after* « gåṭå », *add* : beside গেঁট « gẽṭå ».

392, *l.* 19 : *read* [ʃoïttɔ] *for* [ʃoïttɔ].

396, *l.* 3 *from the end* : *read* [borp(h)i] *for* [borp(hˋı].

398, *l.* 10 *from bottom* : *read* * কুড়লি *for the first* কুড়লি, *and* kurāli *for* kurālı.

402, *l.* 14, *before* origin, *add* to their : *l.* 5 *from bottoᵐ, read* [ʃore ɔː].

424, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *add* : MB. « -åhå-, -aẏa- » *also occur as* [ɔĕ] : গয়না < গহনা [gɔĕna] < « gåhånā » *ornaments, jewels* (grahaṇa-) ; ময়না [mɔĕna] < « måẏånā » *a talking bird,* 'mynah' (madana-). *In l.* 16, *read* bĥɔĕʃa *for* bĥɔĕʃa.

430, *ll. 4 and 2 from the end*: [ʃts] (as in [koʃtsit] and [dzoǐk:hoʃtsok:re:]) is pronounced also as [rcǰ] and [ccǰ].

438, *l. 9* : *read* §84 *for* §86.

440, *l. 21, read* gàr *for* gàr ; *last line, correct* † *to* ‡.

441, *l. 3* : *The Aspirates.* It should be noted that the aspirate nasals and liquids (« nh, mb, rh, lh » : cf. 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' Bib. Ind. ed., p. 6) occurred in OB. and Early MB., and these became deaspirated in the Late MB. stage.

443, *l. 5 from bottom* : *read* « ādɖlā » *for* « ādla ».

449, *l. 5, add* recent *before* foreign, *and put a comma after* words. *After l. 8, add* : Other instances of assimilation : « n > m » : মোহনভোগ « mōhȧnɖ-bhōgȧ » *pudding made of flour, sugar aud ghee* > [mo(ñ)on-bñog > mombñog > mumbñog] in the Calcutta Colloquial ; « nɖ > n > ṅ » : ডাগুলি « ɖānɖȧ-guli » *tip-cat (game)* > ডান্গুলি, ডাংগুলি [ɖanguli, ɖaṅguli].

451, *l. 22* : *correct* pañca *to* pañca; *l. 24, at the beginning, add* : [r] is similarly assimilated to a following [ʃ], as in মাকড়সা « mākȧrɖsā » *spider* > Calcutta Coll. মাকসা « mākȧsā » [makorʃa > makoʃa], হাঁড়িশাল « hā̃riśālȧ » *room for pots, kitchen* > [ñāǐrʃal] by Epenthesis > হেঁসেল [ñãʃel].

452, *l. 5, and l. 4 from bottom* : *correct* < *to* >.

453, *l. 17* : *correct* gh *to* gñ.

456, *l. 14* : *correct* kāskȧ *to* hāksȧ.

460, *after l. 8, add, in a new paragraph* : OIA. « -kṣy- » : ভেখ, ভেক « bhēk(h)ȧ » *mendicancy, the life of a monk, monk's garb* (bhāikṣya).

468, *l. 13* : *add* so *before* long.

470, *l. 2 from bottom* : *correct the semicolon before* পেঁচা *to* >.

471, *l. 8 supply, after* jēāɕȧ : *woman with first child living.* L. 9, *before etc., add* : MB. আচাভুয়া « ācābhuā » (accabbhua-, atyadbhuta-). *After l. 11, add as a new paragraph* : OIA. « -rc- » > MIA. « -cc- > -ñc- » : আঁচ « ā̃cȧ » *heat of flame* (arciḥ); কুঁচি « kū̃ci » *brush* (kūrcikā).

472, *l. 2 from bottom* : *read* * es-ské-ti *for* * es-sko-ti.

473, *l.* 2 : *read* *pró+bhu-ské-ti; *l.* 3, *read* *pṛk-ské-ti; *l.* 17, *add at the end* : MB. নেউছা, নিছা « nĕuchā, nichā » *adorn* (« nĕvaccha-, nĕpathya- »: there is another form in MB., নিছা « nichā », for which see *infra*, p. 551).

475, *l.* 13 : *read* '*fry*' *for* '*try*'; *l.* 3 *from bottom, correct* † *to* ‡.

480, *l.* 15 : *delete* * *before* dhītā, *and add after* duhitā) : (the MIA. «dhītā » is derived by some scholars from the IE. « * √ dhē » *suck* = OIA., « √dhā », which is found in the Latin « fīlius, fīlia ».)

L. 7 *from bottom, read* বঁরা *for* বঁবা; *l.* 5 *from bottom, read* ৰুটী *for* ৰটা.

484, *l.* 18 : *read* « mardā-mi » *for* « mardāmi »; *l.* 5 *from bottom, delete one* and.

488, *l.* 26 : *read* ডাঁসা *for* ডাঁসা.

490, *l.* 16 : *read* টাঁৰু *for* টাঁৰু.

495, *l.* 5 : *read* ḍimba *for* dimba.

498, *l.* 15 : *read* ডেগ *for* বেগ.

502, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *correct* > *to* <.

509, *l.* 21, *read* পুঁটী মাছ *for* পুঁটী মাছ.

510, *l.* 10 *from end* : *add, after* « rūpā » : *silver; and after* rūpya- : *stamped coin.*

513, *l.* 2 *from bottom* : *correct to* বেওরা.

514, *add after l.* 17, *as a separate para.* : OIA. « -vy- » : the future base ইব « -ibĂ- » (OIA. « -itavya- », MIA. « -iavva-, -iabba- »).

515, *l.* 5, *read* bhukhā *for* bhukha; *after l.* 23, *add as a separate para.* : OIA. « -dbh- » : MB. আচাঁৰুআ « ācābhuā » (atyadbhuta-); *and then after that add the portion from* উভিৰা ৰাওৰা *to* (ud+√bhṛ, bhar) *in ll.* 31-33 (*by mistake entered under* OIA. « -rbh- »).

520, *l.* 9 : *before* MB. গোঁৱাৰ, *add* : ওঁই « gũi » *a surname* (« -gōmin » : cf. Candra-gōmin, the Bengal grammarian of c. 600 A.C.);

521, *l.* 11 : *before* ছাতিম, *add* : Standard Coll. গোম্নে [gomne] *late, a sts.,* for গোৱে « gāuṇē [goune, gõwne] » (< gāuṇa);

523, *l.* 10 : *read* ē̃ *for* ē.

525, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *read* most *for* all; *l.* 3 *from bottom, correct to* intervocal.

527, *l.* 9 : *correct to* বিষ্ণুপুরের.

534, *l.* 11 *from bottom* : *correct to* পক্.

535, *l.* 2 : *read* [ŏ] *for* [ŏ].

536, *l.* 13 *from bottom* : *read as follows* : at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the West as well), to change....

548, *l.* 11 *from bottom* : *read* apasmarati *for* prasmarati.

549, *l.* 1 : *read* śiṁśapā for śimsapā.

550, *l.* 9 : *read* si *for* sī ; *l.* 2 *from bottom, read* śatâyuḥ.

556, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *read* bǎīcī *for* bǎīcī.

557, *l.* 10 : *read* sāhā *for* sāha ; 11, *read* nēhǎ *for* nēha.

560, *l.* 9 : *read* regarded *for* regard ; *l.* 12, *read* Saifī *for* Saifi.

563, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *correct to* syllable.

570 : *l.* 8, *read* 'Moghals' *for* Moghals ; *and in the Table of Consonants, take* h *from the Semi-vowel to the Fricative line.*

576, *l.* 7 : *read* [tǎbu] *for* [tǎbu] ; *l.* 11, *correct* Hindōstanī *to* Hindōstānī ; *l.* 23, *read* fiab(e)li *for* fiab(e)i ; *l.* 25, *read* হানুম়া *for* হানুম়া ; *and l.* 26, fiabʃi *for* fiabʃi.

577, *l.* 4 *from end* : *read* বিশবৎ *for* বিশবৎ.

580, *l.* 9 : *read* হিন্দু *for* হিন্দু ; *and l.* 5 *from bottom, before* and, *add* : and আমারী « āmārī » *canopied seat on elephant* (ˤimārī).

581, *l.* 14 : *read* corpses *for* corpes.

593, *last line* : *add* In *as the last word.*

608, *l.* 12 *from bottom* : *correct* pɦǣʃad *to* pɦǣʃad.

613, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *before* হাজির, *add* : নজর [nɔɟɟɔr] *present* (naŏr) ;

621, *l.* 10 : *correct* Collectcd *to* Collected.

623, *l.* 11 : *read* তোলো *for* তোলা.

625, *l.* 5 : *read* 'coffee' *for* 'caffee.'

643, *l.* 6 : *before* 'theatre,' *add* : (also ঠিয়েটার [ʈhieʈar] commonly in Calcutta cockney, through assimilation with the following cerebral).

656, *l.* 13 : *read* ghūrṇ- *for* ghūrn-.

658, *l.* 4 : *read* রাধনী *for* বাধনী.

670 ; *read* rūpālī *for* rupālī *in l.* 7, *and* rūpuli *for* rupuli *in l.* 8.

672, *l.* 17 : *read* রাঁধনী *for the first* রাঁধুনি.

673, *l. 2 : read* বহুূমী *for* বহুূমৌ.

677, *last line : read* pleonastically *for* peonastically.

682, *l. 13 : read* ḍholla *for* dholla ; *l. 20, before* খুঁটকে, *add :* মেচেকো in মেচেকো ফের « mēcḁkō » in « mēcḁkō pherḁ » *a strong knot, a complication < a knot in a jute rope* (< মেচা « mēcā » *jute* in the Standard Dialect in tracts to the south of Calcutta) ;

688, *l. 5 : read* sāpḁriyā *for* sāpḁriyā ; *l. 6, read* লুঠিয়াড়া.

697, *l. 6 from bottom : add :* « ugra-rūpa » *exceedingly fierce,* Pali « kalya-rūpa » *exceedingly pleased,* etc., etc.

699, *l. 5 from bottom : read* ঝুপসা *for the second* ঝাপসা.

702, *l. 4 from bottom : read* thānı *for* thanı.

703, *l. 1 : correct to* Perso-Arabic.

706, *under* (9) মঝ, *add :* It is likely that in the locative sense, as in বেশমঝ, the affix is partly based on the NIA. locative suffix from « madhya » noted *infra,* p. 751.

706, *before last line add : ◇*

(12) স্থ « -sthḁ ».

467a. Following Skt. forms like দেশস্থ « dēśḁ-sthḁ » *remaining in the land,* সভাস্থ « sabhā-sthḁ » *present in the assembly,* মধ্যস্থ « madhyḁ-sthḁ » *remaining in the middle, arbitrator,* etc., etc., the compounded « -sthḁ » has come to be used as an affix with *tbh.* and foreign words, in the sense of *occurring at, present in,* etc. : *e.g.,* কলিকাতাস্থ « Kḁlikātā-sthḁ » *of Calcutta, from Calcutta, staying at Calcutta* ; লড়াইস্থ সংবাদদাতা « lḁrāi-sthḁ sambādḁ-dātā » *war correspondent* ; কর্ণওয়ালিস-স্ট্রিটস্থ দোকান « Kḁrṇawālisḁ-Sṭriṭḁ-sthḁ dōkānḁ » *shop in Cornwallis Street* ; etc.

712 : *Add at the beginning :*

(5a) পাতি, পাত « pāti-, pāt- ».

473a. This word, in the sense of *small,* occurs with a number of terms, like পাতি-কুয়া or পাতকো « pāti-kūā, pāt-kō » *a small well* (as opposed to an ইঁদারা « ı̄dārā » *a large masonry well < « indrāgāra »), পাতি-শিয়াল « pāti-śiyālḁ » *small jackal,* পাতি-লেবু « pāti-lēbu » *a kind of tiny lemon* (as opposed to other kinds), পাতি-হাঁস « pāti-hāsḁ » *duck*

(as opposed to রাজ-হাঁস « rājɑ̆-hās̄ɑ̆ » *goose*), পাতি-ভাঁড় « pɑ̄ti-bhḁ̄rɑ̆ » *small earthen cup*, পাতি- or পাত-মোঁড় « pɑ̄ti-, pɑ̄t-māurɑ̆ » *an ornament for the head* (< mukuṭa), পাতি-কাক « pɑ̄ti-kāk̄ɑ̆ » *crow* (as opposed to দাঁড়-কাক « dɑ̄r̄ɑ̆-kāk̄ɑ̆ » *jack-daw*), পাতি-নেড়ে « pɑ̄ti-nēr̄ē » *shaveling, small shaven-headed one* = *Mohammedan of the lower castes* (a term of abuse), etc. The form occurs in East Bengal as পেতি « pēti », as in পেতি-কোঁয়া « pēti-kā̄uā » *crow*, পেতি-মেকুর « pēti-mēkurɑ̆ » *kitten*. The source seems to be OIA. « patra » *leaf* > « patrika »,, MIA. « pattia » > NIA. « pɑ̄tī » *thin as a leaf* > *small, insignificant*: cf. পাতলা « pɑ̄tɑ̆lā » *thin, not deep* (patra-la). The French « petit » [pəti, pti] *small* has been suggested by some as the source of this form, but it is exceedingly unlikely, despite the fact of the presence of the French in Bengal (at Chandernagore), and of the East Bengali form « pēti » presenting an unexpected vowel in the « -ē- » (the East Bengali form, however, seems to be a borrowing from Standard Bengali with irregular alteration of the vowel).

712, *l.* 13: *correct* « nābɑ̆lɑ̄kɑ̆ » *to* « nābɑ̄lɑ̄kɑ̆ ».

720, *ll.* 8, 9 : *delete* : বৎসহারা গাভী « bɑ̄tsɑ̆-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf. In l.* 11, *read* form *for* from.

731, *ll.* 11, 13 : *read* ' *professors' for* ' *scholars* ' ; *and in last line but two, put an* * *before* মায়ুবোদ.

733, *l.* 5 : *read* rājɑ̆-naítikɑ̆.

740, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* : a form of Māgadhī.

741, *l.* 9 : *read* * ṭhãᵘi *for* thãᵘi ; *l.* 12, *add after* NB.: so Assamese « gādhāï » (< * gaddahi, gaddahĕ, gardabhaḥ), « lātāï » (*ts.* latā + -i). *In l.* 24, *read* p. 1 *for* p. 2.

744, *l.* 6 : *read* « gōru-ē » *for* « gōru-ē »

745, *l.* 2 : *read* « -ānām » *for* « -anām ».

751 : *add as a new paragraph, after l.* 16 :

In dialectal Bengali, as in Sylhet, there is a locative affix in « -ŏ, -ɑ̆ » ; *e.g.*, ঘরো, ঘর « ghɑ̆rō, ghɑ̆rɑ̆ » *in the house* (LSI., V, I, p. 225). This would seem to be based on a MIA. « * gharaha »,

where « -ha » is the OIA. affix « * -dha », of a locative character, which is found in Sanskrit in « i-ha (cf. Prakrit i-dha), ku-ha, sa-ha (cf. Vedic sadha) », and which seems to have been extended to the noun also. (This « -dha » seems to be connected with the other locative affix « -dhi » discussed before at p. 745, and has cognate forms in the Latin « in-de », Slav « kŭ-de » : cf. Thumb, 'Handbuch des Sanskrit,' Heidelberg, 1905, § 407).

751, *l. 8 from bottom* : *read* an unsolved problem.

756, *l. 8* : « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » (cf. Grierson, 'On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. 38, pp. 473 ff. : also « karaṇḍē mālā-kṛtē », in the 'Mahā-vastu,' etc.). *Last line but two* : *read* puruṣāṇām.

759, *l. 12* : the affix in Assamese seems to be ᨔ « sā » : cf. also the genitive form « tōmāsā-rā » and the locative « tōmāsā-tā » in Early Assamese.

762, *ll. 2, 3 from end* : a solitary example of an ablative form in OB. There is another instance of an ablative in « -hu » in the Caryās, *viz.*, « raaṇahu ṣahajē kahēi » (Caryā 27), which the Sanskrit Commentary translates and explains as « sadguru-vacana-tattva-ratna-prabhāvāt sa mayi sahajânandaṁ kathayati ».

772, *under Post-position No.* (26), বই « băï ». My friend Mr. Sailêndranāth Mitra, M.A., of the Department of Pali in Calcutta University draws my attention to the use of « bahiddhā » in Pali, with the ablative, to mean *apart from, outside of* : *e.g.*, « itō bahiddhā samaṇō'pi n'atthi » *outside of this, there is no monk* (Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, V, 27). The use of « bahiḥ, bahirdhā (= bahiḥ + dhā) », with the ablative as well as genitive, to denote *outside*, occurred in OIA. (cf. Speijer, ' Vedische und Sanskrit-syntax,' §§ 88, 89, 90). The source of the Bengali post-position বই, বহি, বহী « băï, băhi, băhī » would thus be the OIA. « bahiḥ », and not « vyatīta » as suggested in the text.

790, *l. 14* : *correct to* Wackernagel.

800, *l. 15* : *read* śō *for* sō.

801, *l.* 21 : A MIA. form for « sahasra » seems to have been « sahaṁsa » (beside « sahassa »), and this nasalised form occurs as « sahāsa » in Early Western Hindī. An old spelling of the place name ' Sasseram ' or ' Sahasram ' in Bihar is ' Sahansram.'

802, *l.* 11, *add at the end*: There is also the word সিকি « siki », সিকা « sikā » *a quarter, a silver coin equal to the fourth of a rupee.* The word occurs dialectally as « suki, sukā », and is apparently the same word as the Hind. « sūkā ». Platts derives « sūkā » from « sapādaka » *with a quarter* (' Hindustani Dictionary '). It may be that here we have the influence of the MIA. « sikka » (see *supra*, pp. 194-195) or the Perso-Arabic « sikkah » *coin*, in connexion with the « -k- » consonant as well (as the « -i- » vowel in the Bengali form).

811, *l.* 17 : *read* য়ুঁর্বি, *for* য়ঁর্ব,

821. *In the Table, under Old Plural, Oblique,* read তা for তা ; *under New Plural, Nominative, read* তা.(হা)রা, *and oblique,* তা(হা)দের ; *and in connexion with what has been said in l.* 8 *in* § 555, *note* : the form « sa-kah » actually occurs in OIA. (Rig-Veda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.): see below, note on p. 993.

823, *l.* 13 *from bottom* : *read* তী *for* তা.

825, *l.* 17 : *read* possesses *for* possess.

828, *l.* 10 : *read* tāmⱥ-rā-rⱥ *for* tāmⱥ-ra-rⱥ.

829, *l.* 2 *in* § 566 : *delete comma after* « ē-ta- » ; *l.* 5, *read* : base « *to- ».

832, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *read* in the Shahbazgarhi Aśōkan.

835, *l.* 7, *read* উহা for উহা ; *in the Table, under Oblique of Old Plural, read* এহা *for* ওহা.

839, *read* [F] *for* [D] *before the heading* THE RELATIVE PRONOUN ; *and in the Table, under Oblique of Double Plural, read* যা(হা)দের *for* যা(হা)দের.

840, *l.* 6 : « ya-kaḥ » as the source of « jē » occurs in OIA., like « sa-kaḥ » the source of « sē » : see *supra*, note on p. 821, and *infra*, on p. 993.

861, *l.* 14 : *read* *-n- *for* -n-.

862, *l.* 4, *read* dīv-ya-ti *for* div-ya-ti.

867, *l. 3 from bottom* : *read* cár-i-tav-āí *for* car-i-tav-āí.

869, *l. 12 from bottom* : *read* NOUN *for* VOUN.

871, *l. 15* : *read* seem *for* seen.

873, *l. 12, read* es-ské-ti *for* es-sko-ti; *l. 15, read* পুঁজ *for* পুঁজ; *l. 24, read* ধবম *for* ধবম.

874, *l. 5* : *read* lāj *for* āj ; *last line, read* Bengali.

875, *l. 12* : *read* es-ské-ti ; *l. 14, read* pró+bhu-ské-ti.

882, *l. 22* : *read* vyākhyāna *for* vyyākhāna.

884, *l. 16* : *read* গাগ *for the second* গাগ.

885, *heading line* : *read* COMPOUNDED AND SUFFIXED ROOTS.

898, *ll. 18-19* : The dative-accusative with the post-position occurs in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 12, « matiě ṭhākura-ka parinivittā » = « matyā prajñāpāramitânubuddhyā ṭhakuram iti saṅklēśârōpita-cittaṁ parinirvvāṇārōpitaṁ kṛtaṁ », according to the Commentary.

L. 3 from bottom : *read* like *for* ike.

900, *l. 12* : *read* labh-ē-ta *for* labh-ī-ta.

901, *l. 3* : *read* NB. *for* MB.

904, *l. 5* : *read* « -aü » : « kar-aü ».

907, *l. 16, add* : The affix in the form of « -ūt », however, is actually found in S.-W. Bengali : চলূৎ « calūtá », etc.

908, *l. 15* : *read* later *for* latter.

909, *l. 15* : *add* : The form « gá » (earlier form « gai, gaě ») is also optionally added in Maithilī to emphasise the future (cf. Grierson, Maithilī Grammar², pp. 136-137).

L. 4 from bottom (=*heading line*) : *read as* (1) PASSIVE INDICATIVE.

924, *l. 18* : *read* lálaṭá- *for* lálata-.

932, *l. 7: read* খোরাঁ *for* খোরা ; *l. 11, read* পারাঁ *for* পারা.

941, *l. 11: correct to* Grammatik.

956, *l. 4* : *read* « cálī, jáṛī ».

961, *headline* : *correct to* FUTURE.

968, *l. 13* : *read* is *for* in.

975, *l. 9, from end* : *read* « pāṛilāhŏ » *for* « pāṛilāhŏ ».

984, *l.* 19 : *correct the first* सुविन *to* नुहेन.

993, *last line, after 'e.g.,' add* : MIA. « aha-ka-ṁ, tva-ka-ṁ », OIA. (Rig-
   Veda) « asa-ka-, sa-ka- », (Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa) « yāma-k-i », (Śata-
   patha Brāhmaṇa, etc.) « sa-kā, sa-ka-, ya-ka-, ya-kā, asa-ka- », etc ; and
   note also......(I am indebted to Mr. Sukumār Sen for drawing my
   attention to the OIA. forms occurring in the Vedic texts).

1019, *l.* 9 *from the end* : *read* « āch » for the present and the past.

1029, *l.* 13 : *read* « -(i)t- + -it- » + root « āch ».

1032, *l.* 10 : *read* pālāṅā *for* pālāṅā.

1035, *l.* 3 : *read* adjective passive participle *for* verbal noun ; *and in l.*
   6, *take the semicolon before* so.

1040, *last line but one* : *read* altindischen.

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